SONYA RHIE QUINTANILLA

HISTORY OF EARLY STONE SCULPTURE AT MATHURA

CA. 150 BCE - 100 CE



Studies in Asian Art and Archaeology

BRILL

STUDIES IN ASIAN ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY

CONTINUATION OF
STUDIES IN SOUTH ASIAN CULTURE

EDITED BY

JAN FONTEIN

VOLUME XXV

SONYA RHIE QUINTANILLA

HISTORY OF EARLY STONE SCULPTURE AT MATHURA, CA. 150 BCE-100 CE

HISTORY OF EARLY STONE SCULPTURE AT MATHURA, CA. 150 BCE-100 CE

BY

SONYA RHIE QUINTANILLA

WITH A PREFACE BY PRAMOD CHANDRA



BRILL

LEIDEN · BOSTON
2007

Funding for this publication was provided by The Neil Kreitman Foundation and The San Diego Museum of Art.

This book is printed on acid-free paper.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Quintanilla, Sonya Rhie.
History of early stone sculpture at Mathura, ca. 150 BCE-100 CE / Sonya Rhie Quintanilla ; with a preface by Pramod Chandra.
p. cm. — (Studies in Asian art and archaeology, ISSN 1380-782X ; v. 25)
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN-13: 978-90-04-15537-4
ISBN-10: 90-04-15537-6 (hardback : alk. paper)
1. Sculpture, Mathura. 2. Sculpture, Ancient—India—Mathura. 3. Stone carving—India—Mathura. 4. Decoration and ornament, Architectural—India—Mathura. I. Title.

NB1008.M3Q56 2006
732'.44—dc22

2006049268

ISSN 1380-782X
ISBN-13: 978 90 04 15537 4
ISBN-10: 90 04 15537 6

© Copyright 2007 by Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden, The Netherlands
Koninklijke Brill NV incorporates the imprints Brill, Hotei Publishing, IDC Publishers, Martinus Nijhoff Publishers and VSP.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, translated, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without prior written permission from the publisher.

Authorization to photocopy items for internal or personal use is granted by Brill provided that the appropriate fees are paid directly to The Copyright Clearance Center, 222 Rosewood Drive, Suite 910 Danvers MA 01923, USA. Fees are subject to change.

PRINTED IN THE NETHERLANDS

To my parents

CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

The illustration section can be found after p. 314.

PREFACE

Pramod Chandra

Dr. Quintanilla's book, a mine of new information on the sculpture of Mathura, greatly expands our knowledge of artistic production in that great city. I had the pleasure of being closely associated with the work from its inception and shared the many joys of discovery with the author as the work proceeded to completion. It is thus a particular pleasure to accept her request that I write a preface.

The categorization of Indian art, on whatever principle the categories may be based, whether religious, dynastic, chronological, territorial, or otherwise, is largely conditioned by a quantitative assessment of the materials available at the time when these categories were first established. That the number of objects to have survived might be purely accidental and subject to radical change by new discoveries either in the field or by a re-examination of the existing corpus, or both, is given but little consideration. Moreover, with the passage of time these categories tend to entrench themselves, taking on an autonomy and magnetism of their own. So strong is their pull that the differences among objects of art, minor or major, tend to be passed over as they are willy-nilly assigned to one period or the other. This naturally results in objects that do not belong to a particular category being nevertheless assigned to it. And if works of art clearly resist falling into established categories, they are consigned to a marginal existence, and there they remain in limbo, largely forgotten among the concerns of everyday scholarship, except perhaps as some kind of minor prelude to the major settled divisions.

The work produced at Mathura, one of the greatest centers of Indian art, is an excellent case in point. Because of the recovery there, in however disorderly a manner, of great numbers of sculptures datable to a period roughly coinciding with the rule of the Kuṣāṇa dynasty, there came to be established the so-called Kuṣāṇa school of Mathura sculpture. This school has attracted fairly intense attention for about a century, the extensive studies throwing a flood of light not only on the history of Indian art but also on many vital aspects of the aesthetic, religious, and cultural life of India. So firmly did the Kuṣāṇa school take hold of the imagination of scholars that many works of art that did not belong were nevertheless assigned to it, the differences being either not observed or unconsciously glossed over. Works that clearly did not fit were sidelined and at best assigned to what was called the pre-Kuṣāṇa style, as though this was but a phase transitional to Kuṣāṇa achievement, and not a style in its own right, with its own individuality and distinct excellences.

Dr. Quintanilla corrects this situation. She firmly establishes, in this meticulous and discerning study, the existence of two vital and important periods of sculpture at Mathura before the Kuṣāṇa period that had not been clearly formulated earlier. The first of these, which parallels work from other parts of India, stretches from the middle of the second to the early first century BCE. Its legitimacy is established beyond doubt by two splendid images, one of a *yakṣa* and the other of the divinity Agni, both accidentally discovered at the site of Bharana Kalan less than 20 years ago (Figs. 86–89). In my estimation

they are true masterpieces and point up the high achievements of the Mathura school in this phase. The second period, extending from about the first century BCE to the so-called Kuṣāṇa period, has also been set forth clearly. Dr. Quintanilla has successfully established and filled out its hitherto vague outlines not only by assembling and analyzing newly discovered images but by convincingly reassigning several images that had been earlier assigned to the Kuṣāṇa period. One such is the splendid image of the *yakṣī* from Faizabad, another masterpiece that Dr. Quintanilla conclusively assigns to this period, confirming the continuing vitality and strength of Mathura in this phase as well (Figs. 203–206. All this skillful discourse involves a sensitive appreciation of problems of form backed up by the palaeography of inscriptions, the historical evidence, as is often the case with early Indian sculpture, being but of marginal use.

Once this basic task of recreating the identity of work at Mathura is done, the author uses the art to cast light on the history of religious developments in Buddhism, Jainism, and the Hindu religion, though paradoxically enough, she also asserts that there is no denominational art as such, but rather one Indian art that is used by the various religions for their own purposes. In explicating the subject matter of this art, she expands on the work of Coomaraswamy. That great scholar, on whose shoulders we all stand, had earlier demonstrated in his innovative *Elements of Buddhist Iconography* and other studies the impossibility of a comprehensive understanding of Buddhist art without reference to a pan-Indian imagery occurring as early as the Veda. Dr. Quintanilla extends this mode of interpretation in an exhaustive study of the well-known Jaina *āyāgapaṭa*s (though she identifies a Buddhist one as well). We also learn from the art much about the Jaina Ardhaphālakas, a shadowy group of Jaina monks, and the development of Jaina *tīrthaṃkara* images from a period as early as the late second century BCE. All this, of course, has profound implications for the time-honored topic of the development of the Buddha image and establishes that there was a much longer tradition in India for this type of iconographic development than was thought previously.

Harvard University
1 November 2001

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Above all, I owe a great debt to Pramod Chandra, my advisor and guide in every aspect of this endeavor. Words cannot express my gratitude for his boundless generosity in teaching me to understand the arts of India. He instilled in me the importance of thorough examination of all available evidence, close visual analysis of objects, familiarity with languages and literature, and aspects of Indian culture and scholarship too numerous to list. Deep gratitude is also due to David Gordon Mitten, who devoted enormous energy to editing the manuscript of this book and contributing his insights from his expertise in the arts of the ancient world. Similarly, I extend my sincerest appreciation to Michael Witzel for his invaluable guidance in deciphering and analyzing Brāhmī inscriptions and for his illuminating contributions derived from his profound and extensive knowledge of Sanskrit literature and ancient Indian culture. I am greatly indebted to Richard Salomon and Gregory Schopen for generously sharing their unparalleled expertise in the literature and epigraphy of first century CE South Asia and especially for the many hours they spent patiently evaluating my readings and rereadings of the Mathura lion capital inscriptions. In numerous ways, Robert L. Brown has aided and supported this endeavor in its final stages, from assistance in obtaining research materials to his constant willingness to discuss and expertly evaluate ideas, and for all this I am very grateful.

The constant and unconditional support of my husband, Marcus Salvato Quintanilla, and my mother-in-law, Debra Louise Rohan, have been invaluable. For their many years of forbearance as I sought after, studied, and wrote on the ancient stones from Mathura, I am eternally grateful. I am also grateful to my children, Vita Margaret Quintanilla and Gregory Marco Quintanilla, for taking long naps and being patient and forbearing while their mother worked on these chapters. My mother and father, Young and Marylin Rhie, to whom I dedicate this book, have assisted me at every stage in this work, and without their advice and encouragement it might never have reached fruition.

For their generous and learned insights that have aided me in many aspects of this study, from numismatics to epigraphy and issues in philology, I thank N. P. Joshi, Joe Cribb, Gourishwar Bhattacharya, Dieter Schlingloff, and Oskar von Hinüber. The directors and curators of many museums and galleries around the world have been of great assistance in arranging for special access to Mathura sculptures and works of art used in this study. I owe much gratitude to Richard Blurton, Helmut Brinker, Joan Cummins, John Emanuel Dawson, Christine Knoke, Steven Kossak, Gerd Kreisel, Jitendra Kumar, Stephen Markel, Theresa McCullough, Forrest McGill, Moolchand, Robert Mowry, Pratapaditya Pal, Amy Poster, Girraj Prasad, Zsuzsanna Renner, S. M. Sethi, R. C. Sharma, Caron Smith, S. D. Trivedi, Mr. Verma, and Michael Willis. I also am grateful to Berthe and John Ford, Vinod Krishna Kanoria, Heidi and Helmut Neumann, and René Russek for granting me access to their collections of Indian sculpture. Catherine Glynn Benkaim, Robert Del Bonta, Brian Domitrovic, Ananda Krishna, H. Tiffany Lee, Ramona Gickling, Robert Kimpton, Vanessa Corbera, Alka Patel, and John M. Rosenfield have kindly and generously aided me in various aspects of this work.

My editors, Jan Fontein, Faith Rogers, and Marilyn Adams, expended weeks on end in polishing this unwieldy manuscript; I could not have produced a finished product without their guidance and assistance. At Brill Academic Publishers I extend my gratitude and admiration to Patricia Radder and Renee Otto for their care and professionalism in the production of this book and to Bonny McLaughlin for the indexing. Gregg Middlemist and Luciana Fernandes generously and cheerfully provided technical support essential for the completion of this manuscript. Finally, I am grateful for the grants from the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation and Harvard University that funded the travel and research necessary for this project and from the Neil Kreitman Foundation and the San Diego Museum of Art for supplying the funds for this publication.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AIIS	American Institute of Indian Studies
AUM	Allahabad University Museum
BMA	Brooklyn Museum of Art
CII	Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum
EI	*Epigraphia Indica*
GMM	Government Museum, Mathura
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society*
JISOA	*Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*
JRAS	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*
JUPHS	*Journal of the U.P. Historical Society*
KAM	Kannauj Archaeological Museum
NMD	National Museum, New Delhi
PM	Patna Museum
RBS	Rajgir Bodh Sangrahalaya, Gorakhpur
SMHP	State Museum, Himachal Pradesh, Shimla
SML	State Museum, Lucknow

INTRODUCTION

The region of Mathura is famous for, among other things, the stone sculptures made there during the Kuṣāṇa and Gupta periods, from the second to sixth centuries CE. They have figured prominently in scholarship on Indian art since the mid-nineteenth century, when the British civil servant Frederic Salmon Growse published his book on the region.[1] Further, nearly every collection of Indian art throughout the world includes sculptures that are carved from a distinctive spotted red sandstone, which was quarried near the city of Mathura. Although the importance of Mathura as a prominent and influential religious and artistic center from the time of the Kuṣāṇa period onward is universally attested by scholars, its status as such long before the beginning of Kuṣāṇa rule has not been demonstrated.

Only disparate and preliminary studies of the earliest known works of art from Mathura, dating from ca. 150 BCE through the first century CE, have been undertaken. Curators of the core collections of early Mathura sculpture in the Government Museum, Mathura and the State Museum, Lucknow, particularly Jean Philippe Vogel, Vasudeva Sharana Agrawala, N. P. Joshi, and Ramesh Chandra Sharma,[2] have been the primary proponents for the recognition of a school of sculpture at Mathura before the Kuṣāṇa period. Several other scholars, most notably Johanna Engelberta van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, Doris Meth Srinivasan, and Gritli von Mitterwallner,[3] have also published works that contribute to our knowledge of the pre-Kuṣāṇa art of Mathura. Despite the pioneering efforts of these scholars, however, the prevailing assumptions continue to be that, prior to the entry of the Kuṣāna kings into northern India, the school of art at Mathura was either minor or no longer extant, if it is acknowledged at all.[4] It is in response to these prevailing

---

[1] Frederic Salmon Growse, *Mathura, A District Memoir*, Allahabad, 1874.

[2] Representative examples of the publications by these scholars that include references to pre-Kuṣāṇa sculptures from Mathura are: J. P. Vogel, *Catalogue of the Archaeological Museum at Mathura*, Allahabad, 1910; J. P. Vogel, *La Sculpture de Mathura*, Paris, 1930; V. S. Agrawala, "Catalogue of the Mathura Museum I, II, III, and IV", *Journal of the U.P. Historical Society*, XXI–XXIV, Lucknow, 1948–1951; V. S. Agrawala, "Pre-Kuṣāṇa Art of Mathura," *Journal of the U.P. Historical Society*, VI, Lucknow, 1933, pp. 81–120; R. C. Sharma, *Buddhist Art, Mathura School*, New Delhi, 1995; and R. C. Sharma, *The Splendour of Mathura, Art and Museum*, New Delhi, 1993.

[3] J. E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, *The "Scythian" Period: An Approach to the History, Art, Epigraphy and Palaeography of North India from the 1st Century BC to the 3rd Century AD*, Leiden, 1949. This ground-breaking study, especially regarding the importance of *āyāgapaṭa*s and the stylistic characteristics of the earliest known Buddha images, showed that it was possible to reconstruct a history of art prior to the Kuṣāṇa period. Her initial work on pre-Kuṣāṇa art history largely served as the inspiration for the present study. Doris Srinivasan, "Vaiṣṇava Art and Iconography from Mathurā," *Mathura: The Cultural Heritage*, Doris Srinivasan ed., New Delhi, 1989, pp. 383–384; Gritli von Mitterwallner, *Kuṣāṇa Coins and Sculpture*, Mathura, 1986; and Gritli von Mitterwallner, "Yakṣas of Ancient Mathura," *Mathura: The Cultural Heritage*, Doris Srinivasan ed., New Delhi, 1989, pp. 368–382.

[4] Among others, Ludwig Bachhofer, in his important and otherwise perspicacious study of early Indian sculpture articulates these assumptions: "The phenomenon can only be explained by the fact that the old school of Mathurā, to which we owe a couple of works from the early period, the 'Āmohini relief' of 15 CE, and the jambs of Amin, had degenerated on account of political circumstances which arose towards the middle of the century . . . It is no mere coincidence when the new impetus appears at the very time of the

assumptions and in recognition that the foundation laid by the aforementioned scholars could be much expanded that I have undertaken this study of the pre-Kuṣāṇa schools of sculpture from Mathura.

This book examines architectural fragments, bas reliefs, and figural images from the Mathura region that I consider to have been produced before the reign of the famed Kuṣāṇa king Kaniṣka, spanning a time of nearly two hundred years from ca. 150 BCE to 100 CE. The lack of intact architectural monuments from Mathura may explain why it has been eclipsed by sites such as Sanchi, Bharhut, Bodhgaya, and Amaravati in scholarship on Indian art of these early phases. However, when the sculptural remains, which today are widely scattered in museums and private collections in Asia, Europe, and America, are gathered and viewed collectively, Mathura emerges as the most prolific region of sculptural production in early India, much of it powerful, sophisticated, and of the highest quality. More large-scale icons carved in the round, architectural pieces of various sizes, and varieties of sectarian affiliation are found among the sculptures of Mathura datable to before the reign of Kaniṣka than those from any other single site or region dating to the same time. Consequently, a study of this earliest phase of Mathura sculpture is essential for understanding the sources of image-making traditions in South Asia and the cultural history of this otherwise obscure time in northern India. Those sculptures and their accompanying inscriptions are some of our most reliable documents for this period, to which very few texts can be reliably dated.

The sculptures included in this book are all from the region of Mathura, though they are not solely from within the confines of the modern city of Mathura. What I call the Mathura region correlates in theory with the ancient state of Śūrasena, also known as Vraj, whose capital was the city Mathura on the Yamuna River. The state of Śūrasena is included in lists of the sixteen great states of the Indian subcontinent (*jambudvīpe soḍaśahi mahājanapadehi*) in the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali (ca. 150 BCE), numerous Buddhist and Jaina texts (second century CE and later), and the *Mahābhārata*, and it apparently encompassed a coherent cultural region. Thus, works of art found from the Śūrasena territory—i.e. the area bounded approximately by the modern cities of Bharatpur, Agra, and Delhi, with a central focus at the city of Mathura—are all included in this study.

---

reign of the greatest of the Kuṣānā kings . . . It can be proved without any difficulty that at Mathurā sculpture was inaugurated with a group of secular images: the statue of the mighty king, fully corresponding to the rank of the personality represented, seems to have been the first." He goes on to assert that the earliest anthropomorphic representations of the Buddha were carved during the reign of Kaṇiṣka. Ludwig Bachhofer, *Early Indian Sculpture*, New York, 1929, pp. 51–52.

The eminent scholar Heinrich Zimmer echoed these sentiments in the 1950's, further suggesting that the schools of sculpture at Mathura were compelled to high levels of production when exposed to foreign influences during the time of the Kuṣāṇa kings: "About the beginning of the Christian era Buddhist art was expanding in a three-fold current. In north central India, the style of Mathurā appeared, as a sequel to that of the stūpas of Bhārhut and Sāñcī . . . During the period of the Mongoloid Kuṣāna kings, however (first and second centuries CE), the workshops of this productive city were touched by two strains of external influence: in the first place a Mongolian, which is conspicuous in the royal portrait-statues, and in the second, a Greco-Roman, stemming from Gandhāra . . . In India the Kuṣānas welded a number of strains into preliminary patterns, which, filtered and transformed then through the genius of the Gupta period, were destined to inspire enduring monuments of Buddhist art throughout Indonesia and the Far East . . . These, then were the young and vigorous emperors under whose patronage the arts both of Mathurā and of Gandhāra came to flower." Heinrich Zimmer, *The Art of Indian Asia*, New York, 1955, pp. 337–338.

In more recent publications, the pre-Kuṣāṇa schools of Mathura are overshadowed by the art of Bhārhut, Sanchi and Amaravati. See Vidya Dehejia, *Discourse in Early Buddhist Art*, New Delhi, 1997, pp. 141–142.

The scope of this study is confined to stone sculptures made prior to the reign of Kaniṣka. This *terminus ante quem* is chosen because many objects are dated by inscription to his reign and the reigns of his successors; hence, the characteristics of Mathura sculpture made during the Kuṣāṇa period of the second and third centuries CE are already well known. This study seeks to define the styles and identify the works of art produced during the much less familiar pre-Kaniṣka periods. Though Kaniṣka had predecessors, the early kings of the Kuṣāṇa dynasty (Kujula Kadphises, Vima Takto, and Vima Kadphises), we do not have a critical corpus of stone sculptures from Mathura dated by inscription to their reigns.[5] It is for this reason that 'art of the Kuṣāṇa Period at Mathura' refers to the period beginning with the reign of Kaniṣka and ending around 265 CE with the last of the Kuṣāṇa kings. In recent years, a scholarly consensus on the date of our *terminus ante quem*—the commencement of Kaniṣka's reign—appears to have been reached, thanks in large part to the efforts of Harry Falk and Richard Salomon.[6] The first year of Kaniṣka's reign was likely to have been 127 CE. Salomon plausibly attributed Year 279 of the Dašt-e Nāwur trilingual inscription to the newly identified Yavana Era of 186/5 BCE, which yields a date of 92 or 93 CE as a year during which Kaniṣka's grandfather, Vima Takto, was reigning. The beginning of Kaniṣka's reign, therefore, cannot by these calculations have begun before 92 or 93 CE. Instead, the year 127 CE calculated by Falk using evidence from an astronomical text (*Yavanajātaka*) is very plausible for Kaniṣka's accession, given the relatively secure date of 92/3 CE as falling within his grandfather's reign.

A study of the art of Mathura from ca. 150 BCE to ca. 100 CE reveals stylistic currents and trends which, once identified, allow the sculptures to be placed in a more accurate relative chronology. Because the styles of this period, particularly between circa 75 BCE to 50 CE, have not been adequately analyzed before, much of my discussion emphasizes the formal characteristics of the sculptures by which we can attribute them to one or another period. The purpose of such analysis is to suggest a relative chronology of the known material that is free from internal contradiction, so that elements pertinent to the cultural history of Mathura as seen in the sculptures can be dated with greater confidence.

The period ca. 75 BCE–ca. 50 CE preceding the advent of Kuṣāṇa rule at Mathura has been termed the 'Kṣatrapa Period' by some scholars and the 'Śaka-Pahlava Period' by others.[7] Neither of these terms is fully satisfactory when applied to Mathura, however,

---

[5] One fragmentary sculpture inscribed as Mahavira, only the pedestal and feet of which survive (SML J.2, Figs. 309–310), is dated during the reign of an unnamed "Great King, King of Kings" (*mahārāja rājatirāja*). The unnamed ruler may be one of Kaniṣka's predecessors, either his grandfather Vima Takto or his father Vima Kadphises, who was ruling in 114 CE. I interpret the year date of this inscription to be the Year 299, reckoned to the Yona Era of 185 BCE. See Appendix I.20.

[6] Harry Falk, "The *Yuga* of Sphujiddhavaja and the era of the Kuṣāṇas," *Silk Road Art and Archaeology*, vol. 7 (2001): 121–36; and Richard Salomon, "The Indo-Greek Era of 186/5 BC in a Buddhist Reliquary Inscription," in *Acts of the Colloquium 'Afghanistan, Meeting Point Between East and West'*, ed. O. Bopearachchi, forthcoming. The Kushan genealogy in which Vima Takto is identified as Kanishka's grandfather is set forth in the Rabatak inscription. See Nicholas Sims-Williams and Joe Cribb, "A New Bactrian Inscription of Kanishka the Great," *Silk Road Art and Archaeology*, vol. 4 (1995–96): pp. 75–142; and Joe Cribb, "The Early Kushan Kings: New Evidence for Chronology. Evidence from the Rabatak Inscription of Kanishka I," in *Coins, Art and Chronology*, ed. M. Alram and D. Klimburg-Salter, Vienna, 1999, pp. 177–205.

[7] See, *inter alia*, Doris Srinivasan, "Newly Discovered Inscribed Mathurā Sculptures of Probable Doorkeepers, Dating to the Kṣatrapa Period," *Archives of Asian Art*, XLIII, 1990; and B. N. Mukherjee, *Mathurā and Its Society: The Śaka-Pahlava Phase*, Calcutta, 1981.

for *kṣatrapa*s (satraps) exercised power throughout the Kuṣāṇa Period, and the degree and extent of either Śaka (alternatively, 'Saka,' who are Scythian peoples probably from the region of Seistan) or Pahlava (people of eastern Iranian extraction) rule in Mathura are uncertain at best. Unlike the subsequent Kuṣāṇa, Gupta, and medieval periods, only scant evidence survives with which to synthesize a historical account of this so-called Kṣatrapa or Śaka-Pahlava period of the first century BCE to the first century CE. One must rely upon inscriptions that, for the most part, are either undated or dated to eras with correlates unknown to our present system of dating, upon coinages with unfamiliar names and titles from uncertain sources, and upon a disjointed body of historically or geographically remote literary sources. The historical uncertainty of the first century BCE to the first century CE and the inability to postulate a coherent dynastic chronology of rulers from the extant evidence seem to have contributed to the lack of knowledge of the art produced during this time, for traditionally scholars have been inclined to relate works of art to the reigns of dynasties under which they were made. It is my hope that the analyses of the works of art and inscriptions in this volume aid in bringing to light what appears to have been a multicultural, vibrant, and cosmopolitan society at Mathura and in clarifying to some extent the political and religious history of this period.

To use the content of works of art as documents of history, we must first date them and place them in at least a relative chronology. The chronological study of Mathura sculpture of ca. 75 BCE to ca. 50 CE presented here would have been impossible without the combined sculptural and epigraphic evidence provided by a unique group of objects known as *āyāgapaṭa*s, large stone tablets carved with devotional bas relief sculptures and donative inscriptions; they seem to have been quite common in Mathura during this time. Two *āyāgapaṭa*s are particularly important, because their inscriptions include a date, one being 37 BCE and the other 15 CE;[8] these dates fall within a period during which no other specifically dated sculptures from Mathura survive. Therefore, an analysis of those inscriptions together with their accompanying bas reliefs provides clues as to the sculptural styles, paleography, and epigraphic conventions current during that time. Since the *āyāgapaṭa*s represent such important documents for understanding the art of the pre-Kuṣāṇa periods, a separate chapter, Chapter Four, is devoted to an analysis of the twenty-eight known examples. Their inscriptions are examined fully in Appendix II.

The other chapters discuss the architectural pieces and iconic statuary that can be attributed to the period between ca. 150 BCE and 100 CE, along with the cultural and historical significance of individual objects. The works of art are analyzed in the context of the traits that define each period. The early material in Chapters Two and Three, approximately corresponding to the so-called 'Śuṅga Period' (ca. 150–75 BCE), is examined first, because of its chronological priority. Sculptures are attributed to this period by comparative analysis with the art from other regions more securely datable to this time, such as the carvings from the *stūpa* at Bharhut. Chapter Four on *āyāgapaṭa*s follows because their inscriptions and bas reliefs provide the prerequisite stylistic framework with which sculptures can be compared and attributed to the subsequent period (ca. 75 BCE–50 CE, inclu-

[8] The Year Twenty-One Āyāgapaṭa is dated to 37 BCE (Figs. 133–134; Appendix II.9), and the Amohini Āyavati is dated to 15 CE (Figs. 148–149 and 273; Appendix II.15).

sive of the so-called 'Kṣatrapa Period'). Chapters Five and Six contain examinations of sculptures from this period, the latter focusing in particular on art made during the reign of Śoḍāsa, a scion of a foreign Śaka clan of potentates, who figures prominently in the epigraphical record of ca. 15 CE and several other undated inscriptions. Chapter Seven deals with the sculptures that are transitional in style between works produced during the reign of Śoḍāsa and those produced during the reign of Kaniṣka—i.e., ca. 50 and 100 CE.

A major result of this chronological examination is that the sources for many iconographic and stylistic elements seen in art of the Kuṣāṇa period can be identified in the art of the earlier schools. The arrival of the Kuṣāṇa kings at Mathura seems to have had minimal effect on the modes of artistic production in this region. The familiar extroverted and dynamic iconic styles and simplified bas relief compositions that characterize the early second century CE can be seen to have developed naturally and seamlessly from the pre-existing pictorial prototypes. The impetus for depicting the Buddha and Jina in the form of anthropomorphic icons, for example, had already begun more than a hundred years before the beginning of the reign of Kaniṣka. The role of the *ardhaphālaka* sect of Jainism, localized in Mathura, in the development of influential iconic imagery is closely examined in this work, as are the effects of the regional propensity for anthropomorphism among cults of nature divinities and Brahmanical groups. The establishment of a clear and workable chronology of pre-Kuṣāṇa sculptures at Mathura allows us to discern the early emergence of these influential iconic traditions and other significant iconographic and stylistic innovations. Without such a chronological study, the famous Mathura sculptures of the Kuṣāṇa and Gupta periods cannot be assessed in their proper light, as outgrowths of those strong early traditions.

The appendices to this book contain transcriptions, updated translations, and epigraphical analyses relevant to the study of the art of the pre-Kuṣāṇa periods. Many of the translations, particularly those of the *āyāgapaṭa*s, are based on new readings of the inscriptions, which in many cases revise the preliminary work of prominent early scholars of Brāhmī epigraphy, most notably Georg Bühler and Heinrich Lüders.

Study of the earliest known art of Mathura shows that the region was one of the most multisectarian and prominent centers of artistic production in South Asia from the mid-second century BCE through the first century CE. Once they are identified as belonging not to the Kuṣāṇa period but to earlier phases of Mathura's history, the sculptures and inscriptions discussed in this volume document developments in a rich cultural and religious history about which very little can otherwise be known; these artifacts provide information about the extent of foreign interactions, social mores, sectarian dynamics, modes of worship, and acts of devotion.

CHAPTER ONE

EVIDENCE FOR STONE SCULPTURE AT MATHURA BEFORE THE MID-SECOND CENTURY BCE

Findings from Archaeological Excavations

Although Mathura is recognized in the literature of Buddhist, Jaina, and Hindu traditions as an important city during the lifetimes of the Buddha Śakyamuni (ca. early fifth century BCE), the Jina Mahāvīra (ca. sixth to fifth century BCE), the Jina Pārśvanātha (who, the Jainas attest, lived in the eighth century BCE), and Kṛṣṇa around the time of the *Mahābhārata* war, archaeological evidence suggests that Mathura did not emerge as a cultural and economic center until the third century BCE at the earliest. Archaeological excavations conducted at Sonkh and other sites in and near the city of Mathura reveal that before the Maurya period (late fourth to early second century BCE), Mathura was a hamlet of little consequence. The earliest traces of a city wall made of mud date only to about the third century BCE.[1] Although pottery sherds and sundry terra-cotta and metal items have been found in pre-Maurya and Maurya strata, no sculptures or architectural elements made in stone have been recovered from archaeological contexts that correspond to dates earlier than the mid-second century BCE. Hence, it seems that it was with the Maurya period that Mathura began to be a settlement worthy of note, and by the mid-second century BCE Mathura had achieved prominence. From the archaeological evidence, therefore, before the mid-second century BCE Mathura apparently had not risen to the status of other important early centers, such as Pāṭaliputra, Kauśāmbī, Vidiśā, or Amaravati, all of which already had stone fortifications, sculpture, and architecture during the Maurya period.

Textual Evidence

Numerous works of literature and texts belonging to various sects describe events of consequence in Mathura prior to the Maurya period. However, none of these sources can be dated with certainty to earlier than the first or second centuries CE, by which time Mathura had already become well established as a major religious and commercial center. Even the Śūrasena territory, of which Mathura was the capital, was not included among the list of states or cultural territories (*janapada*s) until the third or second century BCE at the earliest, with Manu and Patañjali.[2] References to the Mahājanapada of Śūrasena

---

[1] M. C. Joshi, "Mathurā as an Ancient Settlement," p. 167; H. Härtel, *Excavations at Sonkh: 2500 Years of a Town in Mathura District*, p. 85.

[2] *Manusaṃhitā*, II, 185 and VII, 193. B. C. Law, *Tribes in Ancient India*, p. 40.

with its capital at Mathura are found primarily in Buddhist texts of around the second century CE or later.[3]

Mathura is apparently entirely absent in the corpus of Vedic literature.[4] Only late texts that are sometimes termed 'Vedic,' such as the astronomical text, the *Bṛhat Saṃhita*, of the sixth century CE, contain references to Mathura (IV.26, XIV.3, XVI.17, and XVI.21).[5]

The earliest known textual reference to Mathura of which I am aware is in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini, the grammatical treatise datable to around the fifth or fourth century BCE, wherein it is only mentioned in passing as a toponym (IV.ii.82 and IV.iii.90).[6] The *janapada* of Śūrasena (of which Mathura is considered to have been the capital in texts of ca. second century CE and later) is not found among Pāṇini's extensive lists of states and territories.[7] Many other states, cities, and towns, such as Kosala, Kuru, Kaliṅga, Takṣaśilā, Sāṅkāśya, Kauśāmbī, and Gayā figure far more prominently than Mathura. Had Mathura been a city of much import while Pāṇini was writing in Gandhāra, one would expect that it would be mentioned at least as often as Kauśāmbī or Kaliṅga, which are much farther away from Gandhāra than Mathura was. This evidence from Pāṇini's treatise suggests that Mathura was a place of relatively minor importance during the fourth century BCE.

Subsequent to Pāṇini and attributable to the end of the fourth or beginning of the third century BCE, is the fragmentary *Indika* of Megasthenes, the Syrian ambassador from the court of Seleucus Nicator to that of Chandragupta Maurya in Pātaliputra. Megasthenes mentioned Mathura, but only once in passing, and enigmatically: "This Heracles is held in especial honour by the Sourasenoi, an Indian tribe who possess two large cities, *Methora* and *Cleisobora*, and through whose country flows a navigable river called the Iobares."[8] This is the only possibly contemporaneous reference to Mathura's having been a 'large city' (*polies megalai*) (*sic*). This passage in Megasthenes, however, was paraphrased by Arrian, who wrote in the second century CE, when Mathura was unquestionably a large city, and he may have added his own gloss in places. It is thus not impossible that Mathura had become a large city by the early Maurya period, but the textual evidence for this is somewhat weak, and all the less reliable when viewed in conjunction with the archaeological evidence, which suggests that it was relatively small before the second century BCE.

---

[3] References to Buddhist sources that list the sixteen Mahājanapadas during the time of the Buddha, including that of Sūrasena, are provided by G. P. Malalasekera in his *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names*, vol. II, p. 494 (1983 reprint).

[4] Historians have asserted that Mathura does not appear in Vedic literature at all; see B. C. Law, *Historical Geography of Ancient India*, p. 107, and Romila Thapar, "The Early History of Mathurā: Up to and Including the Mauryan Period," in *Mathura: The Cultural Heritage*, ed. Doris M. Srinivasan, p. 12.

[5] In the *Bṛhat Saṃhita*, Mathura is only mentioned as one of many 'central regions' (XIV.3); Mercury presides over its eastern half (XVI.17), while Jupiter presides over its western half (XVI.21). No other cultural information is provided. See *Varahamihira's Brihat Samhita*, trans. Panditabhushana V. Subrahmanya Sastri and Vidwan M. Ramakrishna Bhat, Bangalore, 1947, pp. 42, 160–161, and 177–178.

[6] *The Ashṭādhyāyā of Pāṇini*, vol. I, ed. Śrīśa Chandra Vasu, (Allahabad:, 1891 reprint, Delhi: 1988), p. 780.

[7] For a list of the *janapada*s known to Pāṇini, see V. S. Agrawala, *India as Known to Pāṇini*, second edition (Varanasi: Prithvi Prakashan), 1963, pp. 49ff.

[8] Fragment B.9 in Flavius Arrianus: Indika VIII: 4ff, in Allan Dahlquist, *Megasthenes and Indian Religion* (Stockholm: Almquist & Wiksell) 1962. Scholars have speculated on the identity of the 'Indian Heracles' mentioned by Megasthenes, suggesting that he may be Krishna, Shiva, Indra, or Manu. Most recently, S. R. Goyal (*Kautilya and Megasthenes*, Meerut, 1985, p. 115) suggested that the Indian Heracles mentioned by Megasthenes may be a conflation of several deities.

The text most likely to have been written during the mid-second century BCE and possibly even in the vicinity of Mathura, and hence most relevant to the study of the art of that period, is the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali, the commentary on Pāṇini's grammatical treatise.[9] In the *Mahābhāṣya*, Mathura is mentioned more often than in Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī*—about eight times.[10] The name 'Śūrasena' as referring to the cultural region with its capital at Mathura does not appear in the *Mahābhāṣya*. Nevertheless, the more numerous references to Mathura indicate that by the mid-second century BCE, Mathura had risen to greater prominence since the time of Pāṇini. Many texts datable later than the *Mahābhāṣya* consistently refer to the *mahājanapada* of Śūrasena with its capital at Mathura for many subsequent centuries.[11] Hence, after the second century BCE, the importance of Mathura as an urban center is undisputed from the point of view of literary sources. Since the *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali possibly was composed in the general vicinity of the Mathura region, the cultural information embedded in the sample sentences, that Patañjali used to illustrate points of grammar may constitute the most reliable textual source for our knowledge of Mathura in the mid-second century BCE. In the discussions of the stone sculpture of this period in Chapter Two, I refer to elements from the *Mahābhāṣya* that may further elucidate the cultural situation in Mathura.

Only texts datable to the second century CE and later assert that Mathura was a city of consequence during the Maurya period. In the Buddhist context, the *Aśokāvadāna*, for example, ascribes to Mathura great prosperity during the time of the Maurya emperor Aśoka (mid-third century BCE).[12] The *Divyāvadāna*, among other Buddhist sources, reports that there was a vast Buddhist community led primarily by Aśoka's own spiritual advisor, Upagupta, who purportedly lived in a cave monastery outside the city of Mathura.[13]

---

[9] This date of Patañjali is suggested by his references to the Mauryas and the Hindu monarch Puśyamitra Śuṅga as well as the military advances of the Greeks (Yavanas) into Mathura, which most likely occurred during the time of Menander. If the *Mahābhāṣya* was not written in the immediate vicinity of Mathura itself, it does seem that it was at least written in Madhyadeśa, somewhere between Mathura and Pātaliputra, since Patañjali was quite familiar with directions and distances between places in Madyadeśa (Äryāvarta). See B. N. Puri, *India in the Time of Patañjali*, pp. 18–20.

[10] Patañjali, *Vyākaraṇa-Mahābhāṣya*, ed. F. Kielhorn, I.1.57, p. 144; I.2.1, p. 192; II.1.192; II.2.64, p. 244; II.4.7, p. 474; IV.1.14, p. 205; VII.1.1, p. 239; VII.2.62 p. 299. *Word Index to Patañjali's Vyākaraṇa-Mahābhāṣya*, compiled by Pandit Shridharshastri Pathak and Pandit Siddheshvarshastri Chitrao (Poona: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 1927), pp. 847–848.

[11] In the *Mānavadharma-śāstra* (II.19 and VII.193), attributed to a time between the second century BCE and second century CE, the land of the Śūrasenas is mentioned together with its neighboring *janapada*s of Kurukṣetra, Matsya, and Pañcāla, which together form the exalted Brahmarṣideśa, 'The Land of the Priestly Sages.' (*The Laws of Manu*, ed. Wendy Doniger, [London: Penguin Classics, 1991], pp. 19 and 148.) The Śūrasenas also are mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*, the *Rāmāyana*, and frequently in Pāli Buddhist texts, such as the *Aṅguttara Nikāya, Mahānidessa*, and *Dīgha Nikāya*. (For specific references see B. C. Law, *Tribes in Ancient India* [Poona: Bhandarkar Oriental research Institute, 1943, pp. 39–45 and notes]; and G. P. Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names*, p. 494.) The Śūrasena country with its capital at Mathura is also found in Jaina Prakrit texts, including the *Prajñāpanā*, the *Sūtrakṛtāṅgavṛtti* of Śilāṅka, and the *Sthānāṅgavṛtti* of Abhayadeva. (For specific references, see *Prakrit Proper Names*, compiled by M. Mehta and K. R. Chandra [Ahmedabad: L. D. Institute of Indology, 1970], p. 852.) See also B. C. Law, *Historical Geography of Ancient India*, p. 108; Sudama Misra, *Janapada State in Ancient India* (Varanasi: Bhāratīya Vidyā Prakāśana, 1973), pp. 48–49; and D. C. Sircar, *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*, pp. 70 and 71.

[12] The *Aśokāvadāna* dates to between ca. 100 and 300 CE, when it was translated into Chinese. See John Strong, *The Legend of King Aśoka*, p. 26.

[13] For a complete discussion of the Buddhist sources on Upagupta at Mathura, see John Strong, *The Legend and Cult of Upagupta*, Introduction and Part I.

Hsüan Tsang, the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim who visited Mathura in the seventh century CE, said that he went to the cave monastery of Upagupta, but no caves or hills have been identified at the location Hsüan Tsang recorded.[14] A supposition of Upagupta's presence in Mathura during the third century BCE is further problematical because several texts report that his monastery was actually near Pāṭaliputra or that he resided in regions other than Mathura.[15] Moreover, it is not even entirely clear that Upagupta was actually a contemporary of Aśoka; his association with the monarch may have been an invention of later authors.[16] These inconsistencies thus call into question the Buddhist literary tradition that locates Upagupta at Mathura during the Maurya period, and, consequently, Mathura's status of having been a major Buddhist enclave and a prosperous city in the third century BCE.

Hsüan Tsang also stated that the Maurya emperor Aśoka built three *stūpa*s in Mathura.[17] If that were true, Mathura would have surpassed many other sites in importance during the Maurya period, since most other sites more directly linked to events in the life of the Buddha received only one *stūpa* from Aśoka. However, it is difficult to gauge the accuracy of Hsüan Tsang's statements and the historicity of the Buddhist documents recording past events, in this instance particularly, since we lack conclusive corroborating archaeological evidence for the existence of an Aśokan *stūpa* at Mathura. All we know for sure is that by the time of Hsüan Tsang (seventh century CE) and even by the time many of the Buddhist works referring to Mathura were written (around the second century CE), Mathura had become one of the largest and most prosperous and productive Buddhist centers in the Indian subcontinent.

Reliable contemporaneous evidence for Jaina activity in Mathura during the Maurya period or earlier is equally unavailable. No Jaina texts datable to the Maurya period exist that mention Mathura at all. However, it is important to note that during the period discussed in the next chapter, from around the mid-second to the early first century BCE, the majority of the surviving sculptures from Mathura that have specific religious attributes belong to either Jaina or Hindu contexts, if they are not images of nature divinities that were the focus of their own cults (*yakṣa*s or *nāga*s). Therefore, it is possible that the Hindu and Jaina traditions were stronger at Mathura than was Buddhism during the last centuries before the common era.

---

[14] "To the east of the city [of Mathura] about 5 or 6 li we come to a mountain *saṅghārāma*. The hill-sides are pierced (*widened*) to make cells (for the priests). We enter it through a valley as by gates. This was constructed by the honourable Upagupta. There is in it a *stūpa* containing the nail-parings of the Tathāgata." (*Si-Yu-Ki. Buddhist Records of the Western World*, vol. I, pp. 181–182.)

[15] John Strong noted that in the *Avadānaśataka* and in a number of *avadānamālā*s Upagupta is said to reside at the Kukkuṭārāma monastery in Pāṭaliputra. For his discussion of Upagupta's association with regions other than Mathura, see John Strong, *The Legend and Cult of Upagupta*, pp. 145ff.

[16] See the arguments of Jean Przyluski, *La légende de l'empereur Açoka (Açokāvadāna) dans les textes indiens et chinois* (Paris: 1923), p. 8.

[17] *Si-yu-ki: Buddhist Records of the Western World*, vol. I, p. 180.

Sculptural Evidence

At present, no trace of an Aśokan pillar or any other sculpture carved from the distinctive Chunar sandstone dating to the Maurya period has been found at Mathura. However, one surviving bas relief possibly indicates that there was originally an Aśokan pillar at Mathura. That bas relief, a panel on a corner pillar carved from the familiar spotted red sandstone of the Mathura region, was reportedly found at the Jaina site of Kaṅkālī-Ṭīlā in Mathura (Figs. 63–67). Although this bas relief dates to ca. 120 BCE as will be shown in Chapter Three, it depicts in miniature a freestanding pillar being circumambulated by a man and a woman (Fig. 64); this pillar is similar in form to Aśokan pillars of the Maurya period, particularly the example still standing in situ at Vaiśālī in Bihar (Figs. 109–110).[18] Like the pillar from Vaiśālī, the small relief from Mathura is surmounted by a lion seated on a square abacus, under which is a twisted rope molding and the familiar capital in the form of an inverted bell-shaped lotus. The smooth, circular shaft of the pillar in the relief tapers slightly towards the top, and it seems to have no base, like the Mauryan pillar type. It is shown surrounded by a low *vedikā*, which indicates its sanctity. None of the surviving Aśokan pillars is surrounded by a stone *vedikā*; however, if the *vedikā*s had been made of wood, they simply may not have survived.

This form of the capital and the circular shape of the tapering shaft differ from those of pillars that are contemporaneous with the carving of the relief. The pillars that frame the panel itself have straight, parallel shafts that are faceted (Fig. 64), like those from other sites dating to around the mid-second century BCE such as Bhārhut,[19] and they continue to be faceted rather than smoothly circular in ensuing centuries. Moreover, the lotus-bell capital and twisted rope molding of the framing pillars are carved in different proportions, as though to emphasize their formal differences from the capital and moldings of the pillar featured in the center of the panel (Fig. 64). Even the freestanding Garuda pillar of Heliodoros in Vidiśā, datable to the mid- to late second century BCE,[20] approximately contemporaneous with the Kaṅkālī-Ṭīlā relief, is distinct in form from the Mauryan pillars, with its increasing numbers of facets, lotuses, and garlands carved on the shaft, as well as a more complex type of capital (Fig. 108). In other words, freestanding pillars of the second century BCE differed in form from those erected during the time of Aśoka, and the form of the sacred pillar on the second century BCE Kaṅkālī-Ṭīlā relief conspicuously represents the earlier type. Hence, we can infer the possibility that this bas relief carving on the corner post from Kaṅkālī-Ṭīlā depicts a Mauryan pillar—the original being yet undiscovered—that was venerated at Mathura during the second century BCE. Whether it depicts a pillar that was actually set up at Mathura, where the relief itself was carved, or a pillar that was set up at another site cannot be known for certain.

---

[18] We cannot be certain that it actually dates to the reign of Aśoka himself, since it is uninscribed. I contend that it may postdate his reign slightly, as will be argued below.

[19] See, for example, the pillars of the gateways that are straight, faceted, and topped with a bell-shaped lotus capital and a twisted rope molding, a modification of the Aśokan type of pillars from the Maurya period (L. Bachhofer, *Early Indian Sculpture*, Pls. 15, 16, and 17).

[20] Heliodoros was an envoy of the Indo-Greek King Antialcidas, who reigned between ca. 130 and 100 BCE.

The similarity between the bas relief representation of the lion pillar from Kaṅkālī-Ṭīlā and the uninscribed Mauryan pillar from Vaiśālī (Fig. 109) is worthy of note, since the form of the Vaiśālī pillar capital stands out as unique when compared to Aśokan pillar capitals from such sites as Rampurva, Lauriya Nandangarh, Sarnath, or Sanchi, although they are all carved from the same Chunar sandstone. The abacus of the Vaiśālī pillar capital is plain and square, rather than round and carved with animals or symbols. More importantly, however, is the more cubical quality of the seated lion and the squatter form of the bell-shaped lotus (Fig. 110); overall, the carving of the Vaiśāli capital is markedly stiffer, and the lion and lotus lack the energy, tension, and expansive organic quality with which some Aśokan capitals are endowed. These traits have led many scholars to characterize the Vaiśālī capital as 'primitive' and to suggest that therefore it consequently is the earliest among all the Mauryan pillars; other scholars have suggested that the Vaiśālī pillar is not primitive, but decadent and degenerate and therefore later than the rest. John Irwin articulated this disagreement:

> Hitherto, the relative earliness or lateness of the Vaiśālī pillar has been debated simply as a problem of style. Nobody would deny that it differs in style from all the others: the plain, square abacus; the comparatively squat 'bell'; the rather un-feline character of the lion; the heavy proportions of the shaft and its apparent stumpiness, and so on. But opinion has been divided on whether these features indicated 'primitiveness' or 'decadence' in relation to other 'Aśokan' pillars.[21]

John Irwin, who considered structural aspects to be indicative of chronology, thought the Vaiśālī pillar to be pre-Aśokan, because of the supposed absence of an underpinning stone. He supported this conclusion by saying that the 'plain and clumsy' style of the Vaiśālī pillar should be an indication of its earlier date.[22] However, since Irwin's publication, archaeological excavations at Vaiśālī have revealed the existence of a large foundation stone and have shown that the original height of the shaft (46½ feet; 14.17 meters) actually exceeded that of most Aśokan pillars for which height can be determined.[23] S. P. Gupta responded to Irwin's stylistic argument by saying that the "comparative crudeness" of the lion on the Vaiśālī pillar "may be deduced as well in favour of post-Asokan date" (*sic*).[24] I suggest that the more cubical quality of the lion on the Vaiśālī pillar foreshadows the pan-Indian style of the mid-second century BCE, as is most commonly exemplified by the carvings at Bharhut.[25] The enhanced schematization of the Vaiśālī lion's facial features and its stiffer pose, in contrast to the more naturalistic, energetic, and supple renderings of lions from Rampurva, Lauriya-Nandangarh, Sarnath, and Sanchi, for example, is seen to an even greater extent in the lions from Bharhut. Because we do not have any comparable examples of stone sculpture securely datable prior to the reign of Aśoka, we lack the evidence to assert that the pre-Aśokan style was more cubical or 'primitive.' We do, however, have the evidence of art of the Śuṅga period (second to early first century

---

[21] J. Irwin, "'Aśokan' Pillars: A Reassessment of the Evidence—I: Structure," p. 726.
[22] Ibid. pp. 726–727.
[23] See S. P. Gupta, *The Roots of Indian Art*, p. 45.
[24] Ibid.
[25] For photographs of comparable lions from Bhārhut see, *inter alia*, A. K. Coomaraswamy, *La Sculpture de Bharhut*, Figs. 10 and 252.

BCE) that invariably exhibits these traits. Stylistically, the Vaiśālī lion forms one of the few surviving examples of a transition between the remarkably naturalistic sculptures carved at the height of Aśoka's reign and the cubical, abstracted style of the mid-second century BCE. Therefore, it seems more reasonable to attribute the Vaiśālī pillar to a period that slightly postdates the other group of Aśokan pillars.

If the Vaiśālī pillar dates to around the mid- to late third century CE, towards the end of the Maurya period, and if the bas relief on the Kaṅkālī-Ṭīlā corner post depicts a late Maurya pillar of the Vaiśālī type that once stood at Mathura, then we might deduce that Mathura was endowed with a Mauryan pillar rather later than most other sites and cities. The appearance of what I argue to be the later form of Mauryan pillar in this relief could imply that it took some time for Mathura to grow into a city of enough prominence during the Maurya period to warrant a pillar and, by extension, a *stūpa*.[26] This inference accords with the results of archaeological excavations that have revealed no evidence for urbanization at Mathura before the third century BCE.

The representation of the Mauryan type of lion pillar on a post that by all indications belonged to a Jaina site alludes to the pan-sectarian appeal of the Aśokan columns in India. As scholars have long suspected, the references to *dharma* in the edicts of Aśoka on these pillars may not have been directed only at Buddhists. The Jainas of Mathura apparently venerated the pillar by circumambulation in a clockwise direction while touching it with their right hands (Fig. 64). This also reveals the distinctively inclusivist character of Jainism at Mathura, a theme throughout this book.

In sum, the evidence for Mathura's having been a prominent center before and during the Maurya period of the third century BCE is weak. The most reliable, albeit oblique, indication for the status of Mathura as a cultural center during the third century BCE is found in the small bas relief panel from Kaṅkālīī-Ṭīlā that depicts the worship of an Aśokan type of pillar (Fig. 64). Even this evidence suggests that the pillar that may have been at Mathura was of what I consider to be a relatively late variety, like the example at Vaiśālī. Otherwise, we only have references to the prominence of Mathura in Greek, Buddhist, Jaina, and Hindu (Purānic and epic) texts, most of which significantly postdate the Maurya period and have only tenuous historical validity. Nevertheless, we must always allow for the contingency that a future discovery may confirm the literature that significantly postdates the Maurya period. The archaeological excavations and texts datable to the third century BCE and earlier suggest that Mathura was not a particularly important center—Buddhist or otherwise—before the third century BCE. Furthermore, during the Maurya period itself, Mathura seems to have begun to rise to prominence quite late in the third century BCE. Hence, at this stage in our knowledge of the early history of Mathura, we find that it was in the subsequent century, between ca. 150 and 100 BCE, that Mathura emerged as a cultural and urban center, one of the most influential metropolitan centers of the ancient Indian subcontinent.

[26] Most of the Mauryan pillars seemed to have been erected in front of the gate of a *stūpa* or other *caitya*.

CHAPTER TWO

ABSTRACTED FORMS: THE 'BHARHUT STYLE' OF THE MATHURA REGION (CA. 150 BCE)

Dating the 'Bharhut Style'

Since no examples of stone sculpture or architectural pieces from Mathura can be securely attributed to the Maurya period (ca. 320–180 BCE), the earliest known works of art in stone from Mathura are dated to ca. 150 BCE at the earliest, to an epoch generally called the 'Śuṅga period' (ca. 180–80 BCE). The Hindu dynasty of the Śuṅgas succeeded the Mauryan Empire in large parts of northern and central India, but their territory likely did not include Mathura and the Śūrasena region, since no coins or inscriptions mentioning the Śuṅgas have been found there. It has been stated that King Dhanabhūti, whose name is found in an inscription on a railing pillar from Mathura (Fig. 1, Appendix I.1) and in donative inscriptions at Bharhut, was a Śuṅga monarch.[1] If it is true that the Dhanabhūti of the inscription from Mathura was the same person as the Dhanabhūti in the Bharhut inscription (see discussion below), and if the Bharhut Dhanabhūti was indeed a member of the Śuṅga dynasty, then this would be the only evidence of Śuṅga presence in Mathura. However, the Dhanabhūti of the Bharhut inscriptions probably was not a Śuṅga monarch. As far as we know, the Śuṅga kings were Hindu and performed horse sacrifices prohibited by Buddhists, but in his inscription from Mathura, Dhanabhūti recorded the gift of a railing and a gateway for the sake of honoring all the Buddhas and the Buddhist fourfold assembly, and at Bharhut Dhanabhūti and members of his family also made major donations to the Buddhist *stūpa*.[2] Moreover, a careful reading of the Dhanabhūti inscriptions at Bharhut, gives no indication that King Dhanabhūti belonged to the Śuṅga dynasty, only that he ruled at the same time when the Śuṅgas were also in power, for it would be unusual to mention his donation 'in the reign of the Śuṅgas' (*suganam raje* at Bharhut) if he himself were the reigning Śuṅga king. Further, the names Dhanabhūti, Āgaraju, and Visadeva do not appear in later textual lists of the monarchs of the Śuṅga dynasty.[3] Hence, there is as yet no evidence that the Śuṅgas had control of Mathura.

For this reason, the term 'Śuṅga period' may be used with respect to Mathura only in a qualified sense to refer to the general time period of ca. 180–80 BCE, without implying Śuṅga dynastic hegemony in the region. It is, however, more accurate to avoid this misleading dynastic terminology with reference to the art of Mathura. Although it is admittedly more cumbersome than using the rubric 'Suṅga,' I have chosen to refer to the

---

[1] Vidya Dehejia, "Circumambulating the Bharhut Stupa: The Viewers' Narrative Experience," p. 22.

[2] See, *inter alia*, ed. H. Lüders, *Bharhut Inscriptions*, Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, vol. II, pt. II, rev. [and supplemented] by E. Waldschmidt and M. A. Mehendale, (Ootacamund: Government Epigraphist for India, 1963), pp. 11–15.

[3] E. J. Rapson, *Cambridge History of India*, pp. 518ff.

sculpture of this early period at Mathura in terms of general dates and comparisons with other contemporaneous sites in India.

Since evidence that the Śuṅga kings controlled Mathura is lacking in the surviving archaeological, textual, and epigraphical records, a different group probably wielded political control over Mathura in the second and early first centuries BCE. Literary, numismatic, and epigraphic evidence suggests that Mathura was under Indo-Greek (*yavana*) suzerainty between ca. 185 and 85 BCE. In particular, the Indo-Greek king Menander (reigned ca. 165–135 BCE), whose kingdom was centered in the regions just south of the Hindu Kush in modern Pakistan, seems to have controlled the region of Mathura for a time, followed by his successors Strato, Antimachus, and Apollodotus. Later literary evidence implies that his territories abutted those of his contemporary, Puśyamitra Śuṅga, to the east.[4] Coins of Menander and his son Strato I have been found at Mathura and its environs,[5] and the Flavian geographer, Ptolemy, writing in Greek in the early second century CE, recorded that Menander's territory extended to Mathura (Μόδουρα).[6]

The remarkable inscription from Mathura dated on the last day of Year 116 of '*yavana* hegemony' (*yavanarajya*) also attests to Indo-Greek (*yavana*) presence in the second century BCE (Fig. 118).[7] Year 116 is best reckoned to the Yavana Era of 186 or 185 BCE, recently identified by Richard Salomon, thus yielding a date of 70 or 69 BCE for this inscription, which I hereafter call the *yavanarajya* inscription.[8] This important inscription is unique in its mention of *yavana* hegemony, and it may confirm the literary and numismatic evidence for Indo-Greek control of Mathura and explain the lack of evidence for Śuṅga presence in the region. It is noteworthy that the date is recorded in the one hundred and sixteenth year of *yavana* rule in Mathura, which suggests that the foreign conquerors made a significant and lasting impression upon the inhabitants, or at least on the family of Brahmin merchants who were the patrons of the well and tank mentioned in the inscription. Whether Indo-Greek kings were actively ruling Mathura when the inscription was written in 70 or 69 BCE is questionable, because they had weakened considerably by 80 BCE with the influx of Scythian invaders from Iran, such as Maues. It is possible that Indo-Scythian overlords displaced the Indo-Greeks as rulers of Mathura by around 80 BCE and that these distinct but foreign groups were conflated as *yavana* hegemons by the authors of the inscription.

Although Mathura was under *yavana* hegemony, and the Indo-Greeks and perhaps early Indo-Scythians appear to have held political control over Mathura, the excavations at Sonkh have yielded coins inscribed with the names of local kings of the so-called 'Mitra' dynasty, beginning with Gomitra, in strata that date to a period beginning ca. 150 BCE

[4] A passage in the *Mālavikāgnimitram* of Kālidāsa, dating to the fifth century CE, recounts the struggles of the Śuṅga prince Vasumitra with the Yavana king Menander, who captured Mathura, among other areas. The historicity of this text is not beyond dispute, however. (See the discussion in W. W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, p. 228.)

[5] For the hoard of ninety-six coins of Menander's son, Strato I, from Mathura, see S. P. Noe, *A Bibliography of Greek Coin-Hoard*, p. 126 and references cited there. Coins of the Indo-Greek kings Antimachus and Apollodotus have also been found at Mathura (B. D. Chattopadhyaya, "Mathurā from the Śuṅga to the Kuṣāṇa Period: An Historical Outline," p. 24.)

[6] Ptolemy, *Geography*, VII, I, 47, cited by W. W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, p. 245.

[7] See Appendix I.2.

[8] Richard Salomon, "The Indo-Greek Era of 186/5 BC in a Buddhist Reliquary Inscription."

and ending ca. 50 BCE.[9] In light of the *yavanarajya* inscription (Fig. 118) and the approximately contemporaneous coinage of Menander and his successors also found in the region of Mathura, we may posit that there was a kind of tributary relationship between the local rulers of the Mitra dynasty and the Indo-Greek suzerains.

Despite the apparent political sway held by the *yavana*s over Mathura, Indo-Greek cultural elements do not seem to have infused the art or architecture of this region more than any other region of peninsular India during this early period. The sculptural remains from Mathura during the time of presumed Indo-Greek domination are not more Hellenistic, Scythian, or Parthian in either style or subject matter than the contemporaneous art of other regions less affected by foreign conquerors. Alhough the Indo-Greeks may have held political sway over Mathura, the artists producing sculptures at this time were not using Hellenizing techniques or motifs, and there are no identifiable examples of recognizably Indo-Greek art at Mathura, for, as we shall see, all the surviving sculptures are carved in a local idiom. In this and the next chapter we examine in detail the sculptural remains datable to the period from ca. 150–75 BCE.

The expansion of Mathura into an important urban and cultural center seems to coincide with the time of Menander (reighned 165–135 BCE) and his senior contemporary Puśyamitra Śuṅga, who founded the dynasty of Śuṅga kings ca. 180 BCE. Such growth is evident from the combined evidence of archaeological excavations, literature, epigraphs, and sculptures. Excavations in the vicinity of the city of Mathura reveal a significant enlargement of the city's Mauryan fortifications and buildings during this time.[10] As noted in Chapter One, Patañjali, writing ca. 150 BCE, mentioned Mathura eight times in the *Mahābhāṣya*, in contrast to his predecessor, Pāṇini (fourth century BCE), who mentions Mathura only once. While stone sculptural production at Mathura cannot be traced earlier than ca. 150 BCE, numerous works made in a style akin to that of the sculptures of Bharhut (ca. 150 BCE) have been found. This indicates that during the time of Indo-Greek hegemony, art and architecture in the medium of stone began to be produced in the Mathura region.

The Dhanabhūti Inscription

One significant piece of epigraphical evidence might indicate that Buddhist monuments were constructed at Mathura at approximately the same time as at Bharhut.[11] An inscription carved on a railing post from Mathura records the donation of a railing with gateways by Dhanabhūti, for the sake of honoring all the Buddhas (Fig. 1; Appendix I.1). It is possible that the Dhanabhūti of this inscription from Mathura can be equated with the

[9] H. Härtel, *Excavations at Sonkh*, 1993, pp. 85–86. The coins from the Sonkh excavations reveal a chronology of the Mitra kings during the mid- to late Śuṅga period (ca. late second to mid-first century BCE), beginning with Gomitra, followed by Sūryamitra and Brāhmamitra and ending with Viṣṇumitra.

[10] M. C. Joshi, "Mathurā as an Ancient Settlement."

[11] The Bharhut stūpa, located in northern Madhya Pradesh, was surrounded by an extensively carved railing and four gateways, most of which are now housed in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. For the purposes of this study, I specify ca. 150 BCE for the date of the sculptures at Bharhut, on the basis of stylistic evidence and the general framework of early Indian sculpture. If evidence emerges to suggest a slightly earlier or later date for the carvings of the Bharhut *stūpa*, then the date may be shifted accordingly.

donor also named Dhanabhūti in two or three inscriptions at Bharhut. If they were the same, then we would have evidence for a connection between Mathura and Bharhut by way of a royal patron who contributed substantially to both sites.

Alexander Cunningham first published this inscription and asserted that it was from Mathura and housed in the Aligarh Institute; Heinrich Lüders proffered the same information.[12] Unfortunately, however, according to Klaus Janert, the rail pillar with this inscription had been lost; no one has since been able to locate it.[13] Therefore, we must rely on the descriptions and facsimile of Cunningham, who described the pillar as follows:

> This inscription was originally cut on a corner pillar of an enclosure with sockets for rails on two adjacent faces, and sculptures on the other two faces. Afterwards another railing was attached, and fresh holes of a much larger size were then cut in the face bearing the inscription. Some of the letters in the last line are doubtful; but the general drift of the record is to announce some gift of *Dhana-bhūti*, the son of * * *bhūti*, in honour of all the Buddhas.[14]

I have been unable to locate a photograph of the sculptures on the other side of the pillar, but Cunningham described them:

> The sculpture on the uninjured face represents Prince Siddhārtha leaving Kapilavastu on his horse Kanthapa [*sic*], whose feet are upheld by four Yakshas to prevent the clatter of their hoofs from awakening the guards. On the adjacent side is the inscription placed above a Buddhist Railing. At some subsequent period the Pillar was pierced with larger holes to receive a set of Rail-bars on the inscription face. One of these holes has been cut through the three upper lines of the inscription, but as a few letters still remain on each side of the hole it seems possible to restore some of the missing letters.[15]

Cunningham's description of the Great Departure scene does not provide us with clues as to the dating of the piece. If he had specified that Siddhartha was depicted in human form, for example, the relief would likely be of a later date than the sculptures of Bharhut, where, as at other early sites such as Sanchi and Pitalkhora, the Great Departure is rendered with the figure of Prince Siddhartha not shown anthropomorphically.[16] However, Cunningham did not specify the form, and without a photograph or recovery of the piece, it is not possible to determine whether it was carved around the same time as the sculptures from Bharhut.

In one of the Bharhut inscriptions Dhanabhūti is called a king,[17] and in another his mother is called a 'Vāchhi,' and his grandfather is called king Visvadeva; his donation of a gateway and stonework was apparently made during the reign of the Śuṅgas.[18] Remarkably,

---

[12] A. Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey of India, Report for the Year 1871–72*, vol. III (Varanasi: Indological Book House, reprinted in 1966), p. 36, Pl. XVI, no. 21; and Lüders, "A List of Brahmi Inscriptions," no. 125.

[13] K. Janert in H. Lüders, *Mathura Inscriptions*, p. 212.

[14] Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey of India, Report for the Year 1871–72*, p. 36.

[15] A. Cunningham, *The Stūpa of Bharhut*, p. 16.

[16] P. Pal, *Art from the Indian Subcontinent* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2003), p. 44; V. Dehejia ed., *Unseen Presence* (Mumbai: Marg Publications, 1996), pp. 40–41.

[17] "(Gift) of prince (*kumāra*) Vādhapāla (*Vyādhapāla ?*), the son of king (*rajan*) Dhanabhūti." (Lüders, "A List of Brahmi Inscriptions," no. 869.) Another inscription at Bharhut possibly refers to 'King Dhanabhūti', but his name is mostly effaced: "Gift of Nāgarakhitā (*Nāgarakshitā*), the wife of king (*rājan*) [Dhanabhū]ti (?)." (Lüders, "A List of Brahmi Inscriptions," no. 882.)

[18] "Erection of a gateway (*tōraṇa*) and stone-work (*śilākaṃmaṃta*) by Dhanabhūti Vāchhiputa (the son of a *Vātsī*), the son of Āgaraju (*Aṅgāradyut*) Gotiputa (the son of a *Gauptī*), the grandson of *rājan* Visadēva (*Viśvadēva*)

in the fragmentary section of the Dhanabhūti inscription from Mathura, we find—'*tsīputra*.' 'Vātsī' is an alternative spelling of "Vāchhi," the name used for Dhanabhūti's mother in the Bharhut inscription; indeed, Cunningham, B. C. Law, and Heinrich Lüders agreed that '*Vā*' should be the missing syllable preceding *-ts[ī]putra* in the Mathura inscription.[19] The occurrences of the name Dhanabhūti coupled with what appears to be the same matronymic epithet (Vāchhiputra and Vātsīputra) both in an inscription from Bharhut and in one from Mathura suggest that the Dhanabhūti of the Mathura inscription and the Dhanabhūti of the Bharhut inscriptions are the same individual, as Cunningham first asserted. Lüders objected to Cunningham's identification of the Dhanabhūti from Bharhut with the Dhanabhūti from Mathura, and his opinion has not been overturned. However, Lüders's objections bear reexamination. His main objection is that the paleography of the Mathura inscription "must be at least fifty years younger" than that of the Bharhut inscriptions.[20] However, some scribes at Mathura could have used a less conservative form of writing,[21] and, further, arguments of dating based on paleography within the time span of about one hundred years are now held to be basically untenable.[22] Lüders's other objection is that the Dhanabhūti of the Mathura inscription does not seem to have been a king or the son of a king, whereas in the Bharhut inscriptions Dhanabhūti is called a *rājan*. Lüders wrote, "There is nothing to prove that he was a *rājan* or the son of a *rājan*. On the contrary, the assignment of a share in the gift simply to his father and mother tends to show that he was a private person."[23] Again, this objection is not entirely persuasive. The 'share of the gift' was not assigned solely to his father and mother, but also to the four 'assemblies' (*catuhī pariṣāhī*), which apparently refers to the entire Buddhist *saṅgha* of monks, nuns, and semi-ordained laymen and laywomen. Moreover, the gift itself was large and costly; Dhanabhūti donated an entire *vedikā* and multiple gateways, which is even more than the Dhanabhūti of the Bharhut inscriptions gave. Such a large and expensive gift, the merit of which is extended to the whole Buddhist assembly as well as his parents, supports (though admittedly does not prove) the possibility that the Dhanabhūti of the Mathura inscription could have been of royal descent. Hence, the reasons proffered by Lüders to suggest that Vāchhiputa Dhanabhūti of the Bharhut inscriptions is not the same as the [Vā]ts[ī]putra Dhanabhūti of the Mathura inscription are not infallible. While we cannot prove that they were definitely the same man, the possibility should remain open, and indeed considered likely, especially in light of their mothers having the same *gotra* name.

Gāgīputa (the son of a *Gārgī*), during the reign of the Sugas (*Śuṅgas*)." (Lüders, "A List of Brahmi Inscriptions," no. 687.)

[19] A. Cunningham, *Stūpa of Bharhut*, pp. 16 and 128–130; B. C. Law, *Historical Geography of Ancient India*, pp. 106–107; H. Lüders, *Mathura Inscriptions*, p. 212.

[20] H. Lüders, ed. *Bhārhut Inscriptions*, p. 13.

[21] Cf. the inscription on the Śimitrā *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 122), which has very similar paleography to the Dhanabhūti inscription, and which I date in Chapter Four to ca. 150 BCE on the basis of the accompanying relief sculpture.

[22] Richard Salomon summarized the issue: "Thus while it is true that in certain cases, where a relatively large and cohesive body of securely dated material is available for comparison, a somewhat higher level of precision may be attainable, as a general rule of thumb it would be wise to adopt Ramesh's principle of *plus or minus one hundred years* for the range of accuracy of paleographic dating. In the past many epigraphists have paleographically dated inscriptions to a range as short as a quarter of a century, but such precise claims should not be uncritically accepted" (Emphasis added). Richard Salomon, *Indian Epigraphy*, p. 170.

[23] H. Lüders, *Bharhut Inscriptions*, p. 13.

If the Dhanabhūti of the Mathura inscription is the same as the Dhanabhūti mentioned at Bharhut, then this coincidence is significant for several reasons and is relevant to our investigation into the early sculpture of Mathura. It shows that there were contemporaneous Buddhist foundations at Mathura and at Bharhut during the reign of the Śuṅgas, probably ca. 150 BCE. Furthermore, the inscription of Dhanabhūti from Mathura, which records the dedication of a railing and gateways, then would be the earliest evidence for at least one sacred Buddhist site at Mathura, called the Ratnagraha.

It is also noteworthy that, according to at least one of the inscriptions from Bharhut (the other is defaced), Dhanabhūti was a king. It is unlikely that he was a king of the Śuṅga dynasty itself, as I stated at the beginning of this chapter. Instead, it seems that Dhanabhūti and his family were either tributaries or rulers in a neighboring territory, possibly in Kosala or Pañcāla, since 'of—la' precedes his name in the Mathura inscription. Although we do not know for sure where King Dhanabhūti ruled, we do know that if the two Dhanabhūtis were the same person, he gave major donations at two different sites, Bharhut and Mathura, two hundred miles (322 kilometers) apart. The coincidence of the same name appearing in donative inscriptions at the two different sites may also suggest the possibility of royal pilgrimage to both sites. If the Dhanabhūti of Mathura and the Dhanabhūti of Bharhut can be equated, then a cultural link between Mathura and Bharhut can be established.

Date of the 'Bharhut Style'

The combined evidence from archaeological excavations, the *yavanarajya* inscription (Fig. 118), the *Mahābhāsya* of Patañjali, and the Dhanabhūti inscriptions (Fig. 1) reveal that Mathura rose to some prominence during the time of the Śuṅgas, namely ca. 150 BCE. It is to this time that we may attribute some of the stone sculptures found in the region of Mathura, and they can amplify our understanding of Mathura during this time. The sculptures discussed in this chapter are datable to this period on the basis of their distinctive sculptural style, which is like that of the extensive carvings from Bharhut dated to the reign of the Śuṅgas. In general, the sculptures of Bharhut share with the early group at Mathura an emphasis on abstracted forms with hard surfaces articulated with sharp linear detailing. This style matches that of other sites throughout the subcontinent also datable to ca. 150 BCE.[24]

The date of the carvings that display this style cannot be precisely pinpointed; the only epigraphical evidence for dating is the vague inscriptions at Bharhut that read 'in the reign of the Śuṅgas' (*suganam raje*)[25] and the inscription of Heliodoros at Vidiśā carved during the reign of the Indo-Greek king Antialcidas. The scant carvings of birds, flowers, and garlands on the Heliodoros Pillar at Vidiśā (Fig. 108) suggest that they were carved in a flat and linear style similar to that of *Stūpa* II at Sanchi and at Bharhut, though perhaps

[24] Other sites besides Mathura and Bharhut which have yielded sculptures carved in this distinctive mode include, most notably, Sanchi (Stūpa II) and Vidiśā in Madhya Pradesh; Bhaja and Pauni in Mahārashtra; Amaravati and Jaggayyapeta in Andhra Pradesh; Bhubanesvar and Udayagiri (the Alakāpurī Cave) in Orissa; Pāṭaliputra in Bihar; Sarnath, Bhīta and Kauśāmbī in Uttar Pradesh.

[25] See, *inter alia*, A. Cunningham, *The Stūpa of Bharhut*, London, 1879, p. 128; and Lüders' List nos. 687 and 688.

a little later. The beginning of the reign of the Indo-Greek king Antialcidas was ca. 130 BCE, and he was a contemporary of the Śuṅga king Bhāgabhadra, as noted in the inscription of the emissary Heliodoros.[26] Because the date of the Śuṅga dynasty, to the best of our knowledge, falls between ca. 180 and 80 BCE, and the reign of Antilacidas between ca. 130 and 100 BCE, I have chosen ca. 150 BCE for the date of Bharhut and the other sculptures that display the same stylistic characteristics.[27] We are concerned here primarily with a relative chronology, so if the date of Bharhut were to be convincingly proven to be slightly later than 150 BCE, the dates for the corpus of sculptures could be shifted accordingly. The dates provided in this text for the most part are what I deem to be the most logical possible ones that can be assigned given the current state of knowledge and which provide a chronology free from internal contradiction. Except for benchmark dates supplied by inscriptions, the general dates in this work are to be treated as labels that clarify the position of each site or object within the larger structure of a relative chronology, rather than as a pinpoint of a specific year.

The main issue to be clarified here is that there is a group of sculptures from Mathura that were carved in a distinctive abstract style similar to that of the sculptures from Bharhut, with minor regional variations. These sculptures carved in the Bharhut style we shall consider to be approximately contemporaneous with Bharhut, whether that date be 150 or 125 or 100 BCE, since we have no other chronological indicator, and the validity of the comparison is bolstered by the Dhanabhūti inscription discussed above. It seems, however, that 150 BCE may indeed be the most appropriate date for the flat, linear Bharhut style, as it does not excessively postdate the sculptures of the late Maurya period, which can be argued to foreshadow the abstracted forms,[28] while maintaining an adequate distance from sculptures carved in a significantly different, naturalistic style datable to ca. 50–20 BCE (discussed in Chapters Four and Five). For all these reasons, I have concluded that the tradition of stone sculptural production at Mathura probably began ca. 150 BCE in a style analogous to that of the carvings at Bharhut.

Architectural Sculpture

Sculpture from the region of Mathura datable to ca. 150 BCE, coterminous with the rule of the Śuṅgas, has been eclipsed by the art of other regions in scholarship on Indian art, probably in large measure because Mathura lacks any intact surviving monuments. The *stūpa*s at Bharhut, Sanchi, and Amaravati or the cave temples of Orissa or Maharashtra supply architectural contexts for the sculptures that adorn them. However, the early remains from Mathura cannot be readily assigned to specific monuments; they are all fragmentary

[26] W. W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, p. 313.

[27] For a reasonable assessment of the date of the sculptures of Bharhut as being ca. 150 BCE, see A. K. Coomaraswamy, *La Sculpture de Bharhut*, pp. 7–8.

[28] The group of heads from Sarnath (Adris Banerji, "Sunga Sculptures in Banaras—A Study," *Roopa Lekha* 23, nos. 1 and 2 [1952], Figs. 1–4) along with the lion capital from Vaiśālī (Fig. 110), for example, display a mingling of Mauryan characteristics with elements of heightened abstraction and cubicality unseen in sculptures dated during the reign of Aśoka (ca. 245 BCE). Hence, these sculptures may represent a style that is transitional between the Maurya style of ca. 245 BCE and the Śuṅga style of ca. 150 BCE.

and scattered among museums and private collections throughout the world. The only way to attribute sculptures from Mathura to this early period is on the basis of their stylistic similarities with the carvings from Bharhut and the other early Indian sites, while taking into account the general regional tendency for Mathura sculptors to render forms in a more rounded and heavy fashion with less delicate detail. Through a comparative analysis between sculptural remains from the Mathura region with the sculptures datable to ca. 150 BCE from other sites, we can identify several examples of architectural sculpture that were made in much the same style. The existence of these architectural fragments, most of which would have formed parts of *vedikā*s (railings or fences) or *toraṇa*s (gateways), attests to the presence of sacred monuments and stone architecture made during this time period at Mathura that no longer stand.

Railing Pillar with Yakṣī *from Mehrauli (Figs. 2–4)*

One of the works of highest quality among the early sculptures from the region of Mathura is the female nature divinity known as a *yakṣī* from Mehrauli carved on a railing pillar (*vedikāstambha*). The apparently reused pillar was found at the village of Mehrauli outside of Delhi in the modern state of Haryana, and it is currently in the collection of the National Museum, New Delhi (59.539). This *yakṣī* sculpture is said to have been found during excavations near the Qutb Minar at Mehrauli, near Delhi in Haryana, in 1912. For years it was housed in the Delhi Fort Museum.[29] The original pillar has been cut down and re-used as an architectural element. Though somewhat removed from the city of Mathura itself, Mehrauli can be considered to lie within the cultural region of Mathura, i.e. the Janapada of Śūrasena. In its original context the pillar probably would have served as one of many uprights of a railing (*vedikā*) surrounding a sacred site, such as a *stūpa*, in much the same way as similar pillars from Bharhut (Fig. 5). Since the iconography of the woman and tree (*śālabhañjikā*) is not specific to one sect or another, the religious denomination of the site to which this railing pillar originally belonged is uncertain.

The sculpted post from Mehrauli is fragmentary, like most of the early remains from Mathura, although what remains of the carving is relatively unabraded. The stone is been broken off below the knees of the *yakṣī*; her right side, including the arm, and her face have also been broken or cut off. The sharp, vertical break suggests that the pillar was reused for another purpose at some later date. Despite her damaged condition, the Mehrauli *yakṣī* is an exquisite, skillfully carved sculpture that shows her bending gracefully by a tree trunk, which she grasps with her left hand (Fig. 2), thereby indicating that she is indeed a *yakṣī*, or more specifically, a *śālabhañjikā*. Judging from the break and her posture, her right arm would have been raised, probably grasping a bough of the tree, in much the same manner as other *śālabhañjikā*s (e.g. Figs. 5, 39, 116, 117, and 195). The theme of woman-and-tree is common in early Indian sculpture, as seen, for example on the *vedikā* of Bharhut (Fig. 5) and elsewhere.[30] As one of the earliest surviving and highest quality

[29] See V. S. Agrawala, "A New Yakshi Image from Mehrauli," in *Studies in Indian Art*, p. 102.
[30] For a discussion of the "woman-and-tree" motif, see Chapter Nine of A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Yakṣas: Essays in the Water Cosmology*.

examples, the Mehrauli *yakṣī* stands at the beginning of one of the longest and most popular traditions in Mathura stone sculpture and Indian art as a whole.

The Mehrauli *yakṣī* exhibits the attributes of crisp linear detailing, flatness, and angularity that characterize what I call the 'Bharhut style' of ca. 150 BCE, while also revealing traits that are specific to the sculpture of the Mathura region. The stylistic affinities with other sculptures of the mid-second century BCE are seen most notably in the segmentation and simplification of her form, meticulous attention to details and patterns, heavy ornamentation covering the figure, and a hardness of the surfaces. Instead of being a unified form with smooth contours that bend supplely, the Mehrauli *yakṣī*'s body is divided into several discrete segments that seem attached in additive fashion to compose her form. Her broad girdle, consisting of five alternating strings of square and oblong beads plus one accent row of tiny rosettes, demarcates a decisive division between her abdomen and lower body. Likewise, her breasts form a discrete segment from the rest of her torso, as they are clearly separated by raised double lines below them (which may indicate the hem of a diaphanous blouse; Fig. 3). Although the Mehrauli *yakṣī* bends at the waist and neck, she does not move or twist in three-dimensional space as do later images, such as the woman climbing a tree from the *vedikā* at Bodhgaya of ca. 100–75 BCE (Fig. 116); her bending is limited to a flat, two-dimensional plane.

Abstraction is notable in the rendition of her lower garment (Fig. 4). The pleats of the skirt are rigid, narrowly spaced, and parallel, creating a striking ribbed pattern over her thighs, while emphasizing her pudenda by segregating the triangular segment and overlaying it with pleats that run in an opposing horizontal direction. Running down her left thigh is the rippling hem of the lower garment, reduced to a pattern of regularly spaced scallops. Although the knot of her embroidered sash is shown in detail and was carved with care, it clings flatly to her body as though it were pasted onto her form. The artists were little concerned with depicting the natural weight of the cloth. Hardness of surfaces also typifies sculpture of this period, and enhances the sense of stylization. Her left hip, for example, has a smooth, curved contour and hard surface that do not approximate soft flesh (Fig. 2). Instead, the triangulated segment of her hip is largely reduced to a geometric shape.

Perhaps most striking among the characteristics of sculptures carved in the Bharhut style is the meticulous attention to detail. This is seen on the Mehrauli *yakṣī* in the textile patterns, the geometric and floral motifs on her jewelry, and the beads that are woven into her hair. All these details are clearly and sharply carved, creating areas of dense patterning which contrast and balance with the plain, smooth surfaces of her skin. The long braid that snakes down the left side of her body is intertwined with strings of beads, pearls, or embroidered cloth, as are the braids of *yakṣī*s from Bharhut (Fig. 115). The sash that is casually looped and knotted around her waist is delicately and painstakingly articulated with a complex geometric textile pattern edged with rows of beading. Her figure is heavily bejeweled; the array of necklaces and medallions cover much of her form. Heavy cords support two large medallions falling to varied lengths over her torso (Fig. 3). The flat torque adorning her throat is succeeded by a short necklace ornamented with two auspicious symbols (*maṅgala*) called *nandyāvarta*-and-lotus motifs. The term '*nandyāvarta*' refers to the three-pronged ω-shaped symbol, also known as a *triratna, tilakaratna*, or *nandipāda*. I favor the term *nandyāvarta* in light of the convincing arguments, based on early textual

descriptions, made by Oskar von Hinüber.[31] The types of necklaces worn by the Mehrauli *yakṣī* are commonly found in representations of jewelry at Bharhut. Fig. 6, for example shows a depiction of a necklace with two ornaments in the shape of *nandyāvarta*-and-lotus motifs as well as the same type of square lotus medallion with beaded concave edges.[32] A radiant full-blown lotus flower is carved in the lowest and most conspicuous medallion, which, like the square pendant above it, is carefully edged with dots. Such obscuring of the woman's body with voluminous jewelry is a pervasive characteristic of art of ca. 150 BCE throughout India.[33] As the styles developed over time, however, more of the female form was gradually revealed in the later sculptures.

All these characteristics of segmentation, abstraction, hardness of surfaces, detailed patterning, angularity, and linearity do not appear simultaneously in the sculpture of any other period of early Indian art, but they are consistently found in sculptures dating to ca. 150 BCE from sites all over the subcontinent. Accordingly, a date of ca. 150 BCE seems appropriate for the Mehrauli *yakṣī* which makes this work of art coterminous with the carvings of Bharhut and Sanchi *Stūpa* II in Madhya Pradesh, Bhaja and Pauni in Maharashtra, Jaggayyapeṭa and the early phases at Amaravati in Andhra Pradesh, and the Alakapuri Cave at Udayagiri in Orissa.[34]

Although they share pan-Indian stylistic features that argue for their contemporaneity, the sculptures from each of these areas display distinctive regional characteristics that generally persist through time and are noticeable throughout the styles of all periods. It is important that the traits peculiar to the sculptural school of a particular region be taken into account when judging the dates of works of art in comparison with sculptures from other areas in India. The features of roundness and fullness that characterize the Mathura schools are detectable in dated images of all periods when contrasted to contemporaneous dated images from different regional schools. Hence, regional characteristics must be taken into account when analyzing stylistic features as chronological indicators. The Mehrauli *yakṣī*, for instance, is endowed with elements that are unique to works produced in the Mathura region; these elements would be present for centuries in sculpture from Mathura. Like Mathura sculpture in general, this work tends to emphasize rounded mass more than do its contemporaries from other regions. The breasts and belly (Figs. 2 and 3), for example, are slightly rounder and fuller than the corresponding features of the Bharhut *yakṣī*s (Fig. 5), but such heaviness is part of the regional idiom of Mathura rather than an indication of a later date. Female figures from Mathura are usually heavier and plumper than their counterparts from Andhra Pradesh, for example, as seen especially in the generous breadth of the Mehrauli *yakṣī*'s thighs and hips. Thus, these regional characteristics

---

[31] Oskar von Hinüber, "Das Nandyāvarta-Symbol," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Suppl. II: xviii, 1974, pp. 56–65.

[32] See A. K. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, Pl. XIII, Fig. 47.

[33] See, for example, the *yakṣīs* from Vidiśā in Pramod Chandra, "Yaksha and Yakshī Images from Vidiśā," Pls. 1 and 2.

[34] For sculptures from Bharhut see, *inter alia*, A. K. Coomaraswamy, *La Sculpture de Bharhut*. See, *inter alia*, Heinrich Zimmer, *The Art of Indian Asia*, vol. II, Pls. 27–30 for examples of bas reliefs from *Stūpa* II at Sanchi, Pls. 40–43 for carvings from Bhaja, and Pls. 37–38 for bas reliefs from Jaggayyapeṭa and the early phase at Amaravati. For the carvings from Pauni, see Vidya Dehejia, *Discourse in Early Buddhist Art*, Figs. 118–119. For an example of one of the early reliefs in the Alakāpurī Cave at Udayagiri, see E. J. Rapson, ed., *The Cambridge History of India*, vol. I, Pl. XXVIII, no. 80.

of Mathura are found in juxtaposition with the more general and overarching traits of the pan-Indian style of ca. 150 BCE They will be continually noted, along with other local characteristics specific to Mathura to be discussed below, since they remained fairly constant throughout the sculptural production of the region.

The *yakṣī* on the railing pillar from Mehrauli stands at the beginning of a long iconographic tradition of depicting voluptuous female nature divinities on stone monuments at Mathura. Such *yakṣī*s presided over aspects of life and abundance, and they were popularly propitiated for good fortune and children. As Coomaraswamy has ingeniously pointed out, *yakṣī*s, who are intimately associated with trees (the Mehrauli *yakṣī* is entwined with a tree trunk), personify the life-giving essence of the tree, the sap, the formless waters that infuse the plant without which it could not live. In order to convey the idea of vitality and bounty, the *yakṣī* is depicted as a fecund young mother, with broad hips and full breasts. The personification of life-giving waters is inherently auspicious, and the presence of a *yakṣī*, such as the one from Mehrauli, on the exterior of a monument would immediately denote to the visitor an auspicious place, where one's devotions here will be productive. Furthermore, *yakṣī*s and *yakṣa*s manifested themselves in human form only on special occasions or in the presence of another remarkable or powerful person.[35] Thus, when a Buddhist or Jaina *stūpa* was endowed with images of *yakṣī*s, manifest in human form, visitors would understand that this was an especially significant and potent site and that a being even greater than the divinities of nature was interred within the *stūpa*.

As a work of art, the Mehrauli *yakṣī* is among the finest sculptures of its time from all of India, although she is among the earliest works in stone produced in the Mathura region. The gentle rippling of her braid and her lightly meandering sash combine masterfully with the rhythmic patterning of her skirts and jewels and the smooth, sensual volumes of the exposed parts of her body. Even if this image of the *śālabhañjikā* on the railing pillar from Mehrauli were the only sculpture of this date recovered from the Mathura region, she alone would be indicative of sophisticated sculptors at Mathura working at the same time as the producers of the carvings at Bharhut. Her stylistic affinity with the sculptures of Bharhut allows us to date the Mehrauli *yakṣī* to an approximately contemporaneous time, in which case she is the earliest surviving *yakṣī* known from Mathura. From the fact that the Mehrauli *yakṣī* is carved on a *vedikāstambha* we can infer that the Mathura region had at least one site analogous to the *stūpa* at Bharhut by ca. 150 BCE, but its other traces have yet to be recovered. The sacred site likely would have been surrounded by a *vedikā* adorned with other *yakṣa*s and *yakṣī*s carved in the same style as this example, probably along with smaller scale bas relief panels, carved coping stones, and crossbars. Examples of other such architectural sculptures, recovered from Mathura itself, are considered below.

---

[35] The tutelary *yakṣa* of the Śakya clan, Śakyavardhana, manifested himself in human form when the baby Siddharth Gautama was presented to him by his mother. See R. Knox, *Amaravati: Buddhist Sculpture from the Great Stūpa*, pp. 119 and 121, cat no. 61. Also, the serpent Erapatra is shown theriomorphically until he kneels down in reverence before the Buddha, when he transforms himself into human form. (Coomaraswamy, *La Sculpture de Bharhut*, Pl. X, Fig. 29).

Bas Relief Panel with a Male Cauri *Bearer (Fig. 7)*

A number of sculpted male figures survive from Mathura which, by virtue of the characteristics they share with the sculpture of Bharhut and other contemporaneous sites, should also be included among the group dating to ca. 150 BCE. One of the finest examples is a male *cauri* bearer carved in low relief (Fig. 7). Reportedly discovered at Jamālpur-Ṭīlā[36] and currently housed in the Mathura Museum (GMM I.15), the *cauri* bearer is a turbaned and bejeweled male figure who holds in his raised right hand a flywhisk (*cauri* or *camara*) with a fancy handle. I have identified the object held in this figure's right hand as a flywhisk because of long, parallel striations which probably indicate the long hairs of which *cauri*s consist. It does not appear to depict a torch, for flames were indicated by curving triangular tongues rather than long, parallel striations (see the flames behind the head of Agni in Fig. 87); moreover, torches have a broad guard at the end of the handle below the flame to protect the bearer's hand (see Fig. 236). Hence, it is much more likely that the object is a flywhisk, which is quite common in the repertoire of early Indian sculpture. His holding a flywhisk and his relatively large size for a single figure in a bas relief panel suggest that the figure originally may have been an attendant who flanked a main object of veneration, perhaps at the entrance to a sacred site. Since his stance is not rigidly frontal and his left arm is not shown akimbo, it is unlikely that he should be identified as a *yakṣa* or other divinity who was the main icon of worship. The original context of this panel may have been similar to that of the *yakṣa*s carved in panels at the lower inner faces of the *toraṇa* pillars of *Stūpa* I at Sanchi (Fig. 138). Like the Mehrauli *yakṣī* this depiction of a *cauri* bearer reveals no indication of the religious denomination of the site to which it belonged. Though the slab of red sandstone on which the *cauri* bearer is carved in low relief is broken and much of the figure is lost, the remaining head and torso are in excellent condition. This piece thus provides us with a clear example of the male facial and figural types as seen in bas reliefs from Mathura, probably carved ca. 150 BCE.

Several elements that are characteristic of the Bharhut style are also present in this image of a *cauri* bearer, such as hardness of surfaces and sharp linear detailing (Fig. 7). Particularly clear is the expressionless, mask-like quality of his face; each feature is carved as though it were a segregated unit placed upon the template of a typically round Mathura face. The features themselves are simplified and stylized; his eyebrows are formed by a long, flat, bow-shaped strip; his eyes are heavily outlined, and his lips are reduced to simple shapes (cf. Fig. 115). Thick and heavy but flat necklaces cover his chest; the squaring-off at the bottom of the longer one contributes to the overall sense of angularity notable in this sculpture. Sharply incised linear details are detectable in the patterning on his turban, his jewelry,[37] and the flywhisk. The jewelry is of the type found on figures carved

[36] Although J. P. Vogel in his *Catalogue of the Archaeological Museum at Mathura* (p. 137) listed the find spot of this image as 'unknown,' R. C. Sharma stated that it is from Jamālpur-Ṭīlā (*The Splendour of Mathura, Art and Museum*, p. 71). When I questioned Dr. Sharma on his source in December 1995, he replied that he gleaned the information from the records of the Mathura Museum. Jamālpur-Ṭīlā is located about two miles south-southeast of the center of the present city of Mathura, but within the city limits.

[37] This type of trefoil armband is common on male figures carved on the Bharhut *vedikā*. See, for example, A. K. Coomaraswamy, *La Sculpture de Bharhut*, Figs. 17, 18, and 42.

at Bharhut. His diaphanous, scarf-like upper garment clings to his body as it curves over his torso and shoulders, and the ends fall behind him, as seen under his left armpit. The cloth is rendered by a series of parallel, rippling incised lines that contrast to the rigidly straight vertical strips that compose the long necklace. The use of areas of contrasting patterns and textures recalls the articulation of elements on the Mehrauli *yakṣī* and the sculptures from Bharhut, and it is a hallmark of sculpture of this period in general.

When compared with male figures from other regions, the *cauri* bearer evinces the typical regional characteristics of Mathura. The forms of his face and turban in particular are rounder, softer, fuller, and heavier than those of his contemporaries from other regions, such as the early male figures at sites such as Bhaja in western India (Fig. 120) or Jaggayyapeta[38] in southern India. The broad face, with distinctively heavy jowls, is common in the early sculpture of Mathura.

Rail Post with Stūpa *Worship (Figs. 8 and 9)*

A fragment of an inscribed *vedikā* rail post was discovered at Mathura in 1995, and it is now housed in the Government Museum, Mathura (95.18). The broader side of this fairly small post, which measures only seven inches (17.78 cm) across, comprises one full panel depicting the worship of a *stūpa* by a male and female in *añjalī-mudrā* (Fig. 8). It is framed by architectural elements; two pilasters with simple stepped block capitals and bases support a heavy roll entablature, and they rest upon a *vedikā* with plain, flat crossbars and uprights. Two heads belonging to the figures occupying the lower panel, now almost completely broken off, are discernible at the bottom of the fragment. At the top of this side of the rail post are the remains of parapet-like stepped merlons. Some carvings remain on the adjacent right side, but the stone was at some time cut down, and the only items remaining are part of a *caityavṛkṣa* and an arched gateway with a two-tiered tympanum (Fig. 9). The leaves of the *caityavṛkṣa* are carved in stylized diagonal rows, and it is topped by a *chattra*, hung with a long garland, which indicates its sanctity.

Below the *vedikā* bordering the panel with the *stūpa* is a plain space on which a donative inscription was carved. The inscription appears to have wrapped around the pillar, having begun on the left adjacent side, which is now largely missing, and ended on the right adjacent side, now completely missing. The surviving part, which appears to be the middle of the record, reads: . . . *yāye aryadasiye bhadā*. . . . *Bhadā*- may be the first part of *bhadānta*, which is a Buddhist monastic title, and the name of the donor monk may be Aryadasi.

The whole post fragment is, unfortunately, heavily eroded, unlike the previous examples discussed in this chapter, and very little detail can be discerned from the remaining carvings. However, its reliefs are informative because they show, for example, the type of *stūpa* or *caitya* complex from which some of the surviving architectural fragments of this period at Mathura may have come. The *stūpa* does not have a high drum or base; only the hemispherical dome (*aṇḍa*) is visible behind its encircling *vedikā*. The *vedikā* is punctured by a *toraṇa* with three curved horizontal architraves topped with acroteria, and a garland

[38] The well-known relief of the *cakravartin* from Jaggayyapeta has been described in published works, including H. Zimmer, *The Art of Indian Asia*, vol. 2, Fig. 37.

hangs stiffly from the center of the lowermost architrave. A large *chattra* surmounts the *harmikā* at the top of the dome, and it is seen only from the side, rendered in the flat and geometric manner characteristic of this period. Four garlands swing stiffly to the sides from beneath the *chattra*. As for the worshipping couple, only their angular gestures and horizontal girdles lend further support to the ca. 150 BCE date of this fragment, for little else remains. Nonetheless, enough survives in these small-scale relief carvings to allow us to judge its stylized, flat, stiff, and angular characteristics to be typical of the art of ca. 150 BCE. It is one of the rare inscribed pieces of architectural sculpture of this date to survive from Mathura and to reliably testify to *stūpa*s' having been objects of worship in Mathura at this time.

Fragments of Two Tympana (Figs. 10a, 10b, and 11)

Figs. 10a and 10b show the two sides of a fragmentary tympanum spandrel (SML 56.395), and Fig. 11 shows the central part of an arched tympanum (GMM 47.3367). These two fragmentary tympana represent an early version of the well-known types of carved archways that date from the first century CE and later, such as those in Figs. 222–223, 233, 284, and 286–287. The arched tympanum probably formed the upper part of an arched doorway, possibly like the ones represented in relief carvings in Figs. 9 and 29.

All that remains of the tympanum in Figs. 10a and 10b is the spandrel carved with a *makara* and a composite triton-like *naramakara*, whose bifurcate legs are serpentine, ending in fish fins, whereas the head and torso are those of a human male. This figure is an early representation of a *naramakara* like the atlantean *naramakara*s found in the spandrels of carved sacred slabs called *āyāgapaṭa*s (e.g., Fig. 144). It is also a precursor to the *naramakara* of the Camuṇḍā-Ṭīlā capital, discussed in Chapter Five (Figs. 210 and 211). The carving of the *naramakara*s on this fragmentary tympanum spandrel is abstract and highly linear; each flattened belly represents a geometric segment discretely attached to a thorax, and the facial features are expressionless and presented as segregated shapes. The serpentine legs of the two *naramakara*s are like flattened strips with incised line borders; they do not impart the rounded, fleshy volumetric impression of the *naramakara*s dated at about one hundred years later (e.g., Fig. 142a). The *makara*s in the corners are similarly angular and two-dimensional, having squared-off leg joints, simple crisscross detailing, and sharply incised lines indicating the borders of their mouths. Indications of human heads are visible below the broad, plain arc of the border of the tympanum's upper register, and the little that remains reveals the mask-like style of facial type that is characteristic of sculptures carved ca. 150 BCE.

The tympanum fragment in Fig. 11 depicts composite winged leonine creatures with human torsos paying homage to a *stūpa* in the upper register and to a *caityavṛkṣa* in the lower register. Alhough the subjects represented on this tympanum are similar to those found on later carvings (cf. Fig. 284), their flattened, stiff, and angular forms amid much empty ground space reveal that this is a remarkably early example of such an architectural element. Since *stūpa*s, *caityavṛkṣa*s, *makara*s, and *naramakara*s were all regularly included in the sculptural repertoire of both Jainas and Buddhists at Mathura, we cannot determine on the basis of the surviving imagery the religious denomination of the site to which these pieces originally belonged.

Baluster with Two Addorsed Female Worshippers (Figs. 12a and 12b)

Two female figures carved on two sides of a small rectangular baluster in the collection of the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (Figs. 12a and 12b), depicted in postures of veneration, represent examples of figural bas relief sculpture on a smaller and more abbreviated scale than does the Mehrauli *yakṣī* (Fig. 2). These two female figures are probably votaries, either celestial or human, carved on the gateway of a sacred site, adorning it and underscoring its quality as worshipful. The religious denomination of the site to which they belonged is indiscernible from the surviving images. Carved on both sides of a small rectangular block of stone that, when unbroken, would have measured about one foot (0.3 meters) in height, this object originally probably stood as one of several pillarettes in the space between two architraves, as seen on the *toraṇa*s of Bharhut and Sanchi.[39] This small stone piece is relatively unabraded, and it is only broken slightly at the top and at the level of the ankles of the two female figures. Although the actual findspot of this sculpture is uncertain, it seems likely that the piece was carved in the Mathura region, for the stone is closer to the reddish sandstone of Mathura than to the plum-colored stone that distinguishes the sculptures from the *stūpa* at Bharhut.[40] Furthermore, although it is carved in the Bharhut style, it betrays some of the regional idiomatic characteristics of Mathura, such as rounded, heavy masses and a tendency for abbreviation; the sculptures lack the crisp sharpness and cubic quality of carvings from the site of Bharhut itself. Therefore, I submit that this piece was produced in the vicinity of Mathura at the same general time period as the sculptures from Bharhut.

The two female figures differ from each other only in minor details. The woman in Fig. 12a carries a special sort of flower with long strings of blossoms in her left hand and what appears to be a fruit in her right hand, while the devotee in Fig. 12b presses her hands together in *añjalī-mudrā*. Their necklaces and bracelets are of slightly different types—the necklace worn by the votary in Fig. 12b being an abbreviated version of the type seen on the *yakṣīs* from Bharhut in Figs. 5 and 115—but they all share the characteristics of being relatively large and heavy, and they obscure much of the bodies of the women. The flower bearer is turned a bit to her left (Fig. 12a), while her counterpart on the other side of the baluster is more frontal (Fig. 12b). They both wear a long, diaphanous scarf-like upper garment that drapes loosely over their forearms and swings down over their thighs, clinging to their bodies in a stiff manner that is unresponsive to the contours of their figures. That of the figure in *añjalī*, however, has a wavy incised line along its border that recalls the treatment of the similar type of upper garment worn by the *cauri* bearer in Fig. 7. Aside from these differences, the figures are nearly identical.

Specific aspects that link these images to the style of Bharhut include the treatment of the facial features and the overall stiffness and angularity of the carvings as a whole. Their eyes are thickly outlined and lacking in expression, and their mouths and noses are not smoothly integrated into the planes of their round faces. Their stiff, downturned mouths are similar to those of the dancers from Bharhut in Fig. 13, whose faces betray no reaction

[39] Coomaraswamy, *La Sculpture de Bharhut*, Fig. 3; Zimmer, Figs. 7 and 12.
[40] In the catalogue of Indian sculpture in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art this piece is attributed to Bharhut (P. Pal, *Indian Sculpture*, p. 147).

to the music or revelry. The surfaces of their bodies seem hard and flat, but the local Mathura tendency for mass is seen in their broad thighs and plump faces with short necks. Each figure has one leg that is bent rather unnaturally to one side, and though the hands of the votary in *añjalī* are not flattened to the side as they almost always are in he figures from Bharhut, the stiffness and angularity of the figures allow us to date them to approximately the same time as their flattened counterparts at Bharhut.

Although these two figures are probably contemporaneous with the image of the *yakṣī* from Mehrauli, the carving of the addorsed female devotees in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art is more abbreviated than the careful, refined workmanship seen on the Mehrauli *yakṣī* (Fig. 2). The same loosely tied sash and broad girdle that are so masterfully rendered with minute detailing in the sculpture from Mehrauli are cursorily depicted on each of the two small addorsed devotees. The phenomenon of sculptural quality that varies according to the scale of the sculptures is noted at many sites; at Bharhut and Bodhgaya, for example, the larger scale images carved on upright railing pillars were executed with greater refinement than the small-scale reliefs. Nevertheless, they should be regarded as contemporaneous. The stylistic differences between the Mehrauli *yakṣī* and the female figures on the Los Angeles County Museum of Art balusters are analogous to those noticeable between the *śālabhañjikā* carved on the Bharhut railing upright (Fig. 5) and the smaller scale dancers from the coping stone of the same *vedikā* in Fig. 13, or likewise between the large-scale *yakṣī* climbing a tree from Bodhgaya (Fig. 116) and the small bas relief panel with a *mithuna* from the same railing (Fig. 107a). Thus, smaller figures are more abbreviated and carved with less refined detail than contemporaneous large-scale figures at the same site. When dealing with sculptural and architectural fragments as we do in the study of the early schools at Mathura, we are fortunate to have intact architectural sites in other regions which can serve as models and which provide demonstrative principles we can apply to dispersed architectural fragments, such as the Mehrauli *yakṣī* the male *cauri* bearer, and the addorsed female worshippers.

Crossbar Medallion with Elephant and Riders (Fig. 14)

One railing medallion from Gāyatrī-Ṭīlā, depicting an elephant with two riders, exemplifies the small-scale bas relief style of this period at Mathura (GMM 1341).[41] It is closely related to the medallion types seen at Bharhut and other early Indian sites of this period. The large size of the crossbar, which is more than one foot (0.3 meters) in height, attests to the existence of sizable *vedikā*s that would have surrounded a major sacred site, such as a *stūpa* or other type of *caitya*. In Fig. 14 we see, superimposed over a full-blown lotus, a caparisoned elephant with two riders, the foremost of which is holding a goad (*aṅkuṣa*). The angularity of the riders' gestures, their mask-like faces, the sharply cut details and patterns,[42] and the overall stiffness of the elephant's leg all betray the proximity in date

[41] Other *vedikā* medallions from Mathura datable to the mid-second century BCE include a *makara* medallion (SML J.456), a bull medallion (GMM 36.2601, obverse), the deer and fern medallion (GMM 36.2601, reverse), and the medallion with a lion and archer (GMM L.24). The style of these primarily animal reliefs is flat and abstracted.

[42] The geometric pattern seen on the elephant's blanket is commonly seen on elephant trappings in the

of this carving to those of Bharhut. Despite the fact that the elephant is shown in motion, his tail and other trappings, such as the bell hung upon a cord, though slightly slanted, are essentially straight and stiff; they are not portrayed as swinging in response to the movement of the animal, as will be seen in carvings of later styles that display a greater interest in naturalism.

This group, consisting of the Mehrauli *yakṣī* the male *cauri* bearer, the addorsed female worshippers, and the Gāyatrī-Ṭīlā crossbar, and the other architectural fragments discussed in this chapter represent examples of some of the earliest architectural sculpture from Mathura, datable on stylistic grounds to a time approximately contemporaneous with the carvings from Bharhut of ca. 150 BCE. Though they are rather few in number, they are significant, for each represents a different kind of structural component. Moreover, since they are architectural fragments, they imply that many other similar types of sculptures, now lost, were made at Mathura. They attest to the existence of sacred sites in the Mathura region that were embellished by around 150 BCE. The embellishments, not surprisingly, included a stone *vedikā* that was carved with some of the highest quality sculpture of the period in all India, as is proved by the exquisite *śālabhañjikā* on the railing pillar from Mehrauli (Figs. 2–4) and the charming medallion on a lens-shaped crossbar with the elephant and riders from Gāyatrī-Ṭīlā (Fig. 14). Also on the *vedikā* were images of veneration of sacred sites, such as *stūpa*s and *caityavṛkṣa*s (Figs. 8 and 9). The *cauri* bearer (Fig. 7) and the two addorsed female worshippers probably formed part of a large *toraṇa*, while the spandrel and registers in Figs. 10 and 11 each belonged to the tympanum of an arched gateway. We cannot be sure that these fragments all originally belonged to the same site (the Mehrauli *yakṣī* could have been removed from Mathura when it was later reused), nor can we confirm the precise type of site to which the surviving sections of railings and gateways belonged. We can, however, rank Mathura amid the other early centers of stone sculptural production on the Indian subcontinent on the basis of these carved architectural fragments. With respect to large-scale iconic statuary carved in the round, discussed in the following section, the region of Mathura not only rivaled other areas but surpassed them in overall quality and quantity throughout the second and early first century BCE.

Iconic Statues

There are at least four surviving sculptures that attest to the existence of large-scale images carved in the round, datable to the earliest phase of stone sculptural production in the region of Mathura around 150 BCE. Add to these nine other such statues that date to ca. 120–75 BCE and the number of iconic images carved in the round and recovered so far from the Mathura region exceeds that of any other single region in the subcontinent

Bharhut carvings as well (Fig. 6). See also A. K. Coomaraswamy, *La Sculpture de Bharhut*, Figs. 19, 33, 36, 41, and 166. For a similar geometric pattern see Fig. 71 here. The version of this pattern at Bharhut, however, is crisper, flatter, and sharper than that seen on the Gāyatrī-Ṭīlā relief (Fig. 14); this is another example of the Mathura region's propensity for heavier, more volumetric forms, even in ornamental patterns.

from this early period. The relatively large number of cult images found to be in Mathura indicates that this city and its local environs were among the most active regions of South Asia during this time (ca. 150–75 BCE). This activity continued unabated throughout the subsequent Kṣatrapa, Kuṣāṇa, Gupta, and Medieval periods. Mathura's prominence as a religious and artistic center beginning in the second century BCE is often overshadowed by scholarly emphasis on the art of Mathura during the Kuṣāṇa period of the second century CE, which results in the misleading inference that it was with the reign of the Kuṣāṇa sovereign Kaṇiṣka that Mathura rose to become an important center. Rather, it seems that Mathura had been a significant cultural and metropolitan site well before the beginning of Kuṣāṇa rule in northern India.

The earliest known group of four iconic sculptures examined in this chapter all represent divinities associated with forces of nature—namely *yakṣa*s and *nāga*s. While *yakṣa*s and *nāga*s continued to be produced at Mathura for many centuries to come, the subsequent phases also included several examples of Brahmanical and Jaina imagery among the surviving large-scale icons carved in the round. Nevertheless, representations of nature divinities dominated this genre of sculpture between ca. 150 and 75 BCE.

Buddhist literature dating to the early centuries of the common era emphasizes the presence of untamed *yakṣa*s in Mathura in past times, such as during the lifetime of the Buddha Śakyamuni. The Pali *Aṅguttara Nikāya* relates that in Mathura, "[the ground] is uneven; there is much dust; there are fierce dogs; bestial yakkhas; and alms are got with difficulty."[43] It is noteworthy that the city from which we have found the greatest number of *yakṣa*s carved in the round as cult icons is described as having "bestial yakkhas" as one of its salient features. One such fierce *yakṣa* of Mathura, named Gardabha, is said to have been converted by the Buddha in Aśvaghoṣa's *Buddhacarita*.[44] The prominence of *yakṣa*s in Mathura is also reflected in the Buddhist *Mūlasarvāstivādin Vinaya*, wherein Brahmins entreat the Buddha to quell *yakṣa*s and *yakṣī*s who ravage the city. The Buddha subsequently converts these beings to Buddhism, and the citizens of Mathura are enjoined to build Buddhist *vihāra*s in their honor.[45] Thus, it appears that the early examples of iconic statues representing *yakṣa*s, *yakṣī*s, and *nāga*s could have been venerated either in shrines that were integral parts of Buddhist or Jaina *vihāra*s or in independent sanctuaries dedicated solely to their cult. Since none of these early examples was found in its original context, we cannot know whether any were included within a Buddhist or Jaina forum, but the possibility should be considered. However, like all the works of art discussed so far, none of these earliest images of nature divinities admits to any affiliation with a particular religious denomination, except for the followers of the cult of the *yakṣa* Maṇibhadra

[43] *The Book of the Gradual Sayings (Aṅguttara Nikāya)*, trans. F. L. Woodward and E. M. Hare, 5 vols., Pali Text Society Translation Series, nos. 22, 24–27 (London: Pali Text Society, 1932–36), vol. 3, p. 188. Cf. John Strong, publisher, *The Legend of King Aśoka*, p. 29.

[44] *Buddhacarita*, xxi.25. *The Buddhacarita or Acts of the Buddha*, trans. E. H. Johnston, (Delhi: 1984) (first published in Lahore, 1936), Part III, p. 59.

[45] John Strong, *The Legend and Cult of Upagupta*, p. 6; *Gilgit Manuscripts*, Nalinaksha Dutt ed., vol. 3, pt. 1, 16–17. Though Etienne Lamotte stated that this *Vinaya* probably dates no earlier than the 4th–5th century CE, other scholars of Buddhism, most recently Gregory Schopen, prefer to date it closer to the turn of the common era. (Etienne Lamotte, *Histoire du Bouddhisme Indien*, Louvain, 1958, p. 727; Gregory Schopen, "The Bones of a Buddha and the Business of a Monk," *Journal of Indian Philosophy*, vol. 27, 1999, pp. 292–293 and footnoted references.)

mentioned in the inscription on the first image to be discussed, the famous *yakṣa* from Parkham.

Yakṣa *Maṇibhadra from Parkham and* Yakṣa *from Baroda Village (Figs. 15–18)*

A famous example among the earliest stone statues from the Mathura region is the much studied *yakṣa* from the village of Parkham, about fourteen miles (22.5 kilometers) south of the city of Mathura (GMM C.1; Figs. 15–17).[46] A monumental eight-foot, eight-inch (2.6 meters) tall male figure, standing in a rigidly frontal pose, the Parkham *yakṣa* would have been venerated as a deity in its own right. The sculpture is in a moderate state of preservation, except for some erosion and its missing arms. Contemporaneous with the Parkham *yakṣa* is the severely damaged image of another *yakṣa* from the nearby outlying village of Baroda (GMM C.23; Fig. 18). Only its upper half and its pedestal with feet survive, and all the carvings on its front side have eroded away.[47] In its original condition the *yakṣa* from Baroda would have surpassed its colossal counterpart from Parkham in magnitude, for it would have stood at an impressive height of more than twelve feet (3.7 meters).[48] From what remains of the rear of the massive sculpture (Fig. 18), the Baroda *yakṣa* is carved in a manner so similar to that of the Parkham *yakṣa* (Fig. 17) that we may infer that they were produced from the same workshop. Hence, we consider these two sculptures together here.

On the upper surface of the pedestal of the Parkham *yakṣa* was carved an inscription, now quite fragmentary. The most plausible reading of this epigraph has been put forth by Heinrich Lüders, who also asserted that the character of the inscription points to a date in the mid-second century BCE.[49] According to Lüders's reading, the inscription identifies the image as a *bhagavat* ('lord' or 'holy one'), which confirms the divine status of the figure represented by the sculpture (Appendix I.3). More specifically, the divinity is identifiable as the *yakṣa* Maṇibhadra, since the donors of the image refer to themselves as followers of Maṇibhadra, literally 'members of the Māṇibhadra congregation' (*māṇibhada-puge*).[50] This appellation of the donors suggests that the Parkham *yakṣa* was not originally associated with a Buddhist or Jaina *vihāra*, but that there was an independent cult of the *yakṣa* Maṇibhadra at Mathura, and this sculpture served as one of its icons.

The inscription also mentions that the Parkham *yakṣa* 'was made' (*katā*) by Gomitaka (*gomitakena*), the pupil of Kuṇika. This form of the verb 'to make' stands in contradistinction to the form in the first line of the inscription, which reads that it was 'caused to

[46] The Parkham *yakṣa* was found by Alexander Cunningham in 1882. See Alexander Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey of India Report*, vol. XX, 1882–83, p. 40, and F. S. Growse, *Mathura: A District Memoir*, p. 403. J. P. Vogel stated that the villagers worshipped it simply as *devatā*, or 'the divinity' (J. P. Vogel, *Catalogue of the Archaeological Museum at Mathura*, p. 83). However, V. S. Agrawala reported that it was being worshipped under the name of 'Jakhaiya,' in whose honor a fair is held every Sunday in the month of Magh. The Baroda *yakṣa* (Fig. 18) and the *yakṣa* from Noh (Fig. 91), discussed in Chapter Three, were also known in modern times as 'Jakhaiya' (V. S. Agrawala, *Catalogue of the Brahmanical Images in Mathura Art*, pp. 76 and 77).

[47] This image was obtained by Pandit Radha Krishna from the village of Baroda, only four miles away from Parkham (V. S. Agrawala, "Pre-Kushānā Art of Mathura," p. 119).

[48] This projected measurement was given by J. P. Vogel in his *Catalogue of the Archaeological Museum at Mathura*, p. 92.

[49] H. Lüders, *Mathura Inscriptions*, pp. 175–179.

[50] Lüders, *Mathura Inscriptions*, pp. 178–179.

be made' (*kāritā*) by the eight brothers who were members of the Māṇibhadra congregation. If the eight brothers were the donors of the sculpture, then could Gomitaka have been the sculptor?[51] If so, the Parkham *yakṣa* and the Jhingki Nagara *yakṣī* (Fig. 98)—which also was made (*katā*) by a different pupil of Kaṇika (Appendix I.4 and discussed in Chapter Three)—represent rare examples of images whose sculptor is mentioned in the inscription. R. C. Sharma explained Kuṇika as having been a master craftsman who had two disciples: Gomitaka, who made the Parkham *yakṣa*, and Nāka, who made the Jhingki Nagara *yakṣi*. However, we must be cautious in reaching this conclusion, because the verb *katā* is derived from the extremely common root *kṛ*, meaning, very generally, 'to make or do.' Although Gomitaka might be identifiable as the sculptor of the image, he could also have been someone who otherwise effected the production, donation, inscription, or some other aspect of the installation of the icon. Since there is no firm tradition of sculptors' 'signing' their works in ancient India, while there is a tradition of multiple types of people who are mentioned in inscriptions as having been involved in the donation of an image in one way or another, we should consider possibilities for the role of Gomitaka in the production of the Parkham *yakṣa* other than that of sculptor. Perhaps Kuṇika was a spiritual leader in the cult of Maṇibhadra whose disciples would have convinced followers of the cult to donate the money for the making of an image—a common pattern in later inscriptions. This sort of model is seen in later Jaina inscriptions from Mathura, especially when a lay person donated an image under the advice of a spiritual guide. See, for example, the inscription in Appendix II.27, wherein the daughter of Grahadata made a donation at the request of Dhamaśiri, the female pupil of a member of a Jaina monastic order. Nevertheless, the non-causative form of the verb, *katā*, still gives one pause, and it may be an uncharacteristic example of an individually named artist in an inscription.

The *yakṣa* Maṇibhadra was one of the most prominent single *yakṣa*s in ancient India, as attested by epigraphic, literary, and sculptural evidence. At least four early inscriptions specifically refer to him; they are from Parkham near Mathura, Pawaya near Gwalior, and Masharfa and Bhīṭā near Kauśāmbī.[52] His popularity in these various regions shows that he was not worshipped as a divinity associated with a single locale. Maṇibhadra is mentioned as a major *yakṣa* in literature associated with many religious denominations.[53] In the inscriptions and the texts, he primarily serves as a protector of itinerant merchants, as a bestower of wealth, or as a deity capable of quelling outbreaks of smallpox.[54] The inscription on a slab found at Masharfa near Kauśāmbī (near the modern city of Allahabad in Uttar Pradesh) indicates that Maṇibhadra is a *bhagavat*, as on the Parkham *yakṣa*'s

[51] R. C. Sharma, *The Splendour of Mathura, Art and Museum*, New Delhi, 1993, p. 67.

[52] For the life-size, headless iconic image and inscription of Maṇibhadra from Pawaya, dating to the first century BCE, see M. B. Garde, *The Site of Padmāvatī*, pp. 105–106 and Gritli von Mitterwallner, "Yakṣas of Ancient Mathura," pp. 368–371, Pl. 35.III. For the inscription referring to Maṇibhadra from Masharfa, near Kauśāmbī, also datable to the first century BCE, see Fig. 119 here and D. R. Sahni in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XVIII, 1925/26, pp. 158ff. and D. C. Sircar, "Two Brāhmī Inscriptions, I. An Inscription from the Vicinity of Kosam (Kauśāmbī)," pp. 41–45. For the inscription from Bhīṭā, see *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report 1911–12*, p. 44.

[53] For a more comprehensive discussion of the *yakṣa* Maṇibhadra and references to him in Indian literature, see Ram Nath Misra, *Yaksha Cult and Iconography*, Delhi, 1979, pp. 80–85.

[54] U. P. Shah noted that in the Jaina canonical text, the *Piṇḍaniryukti* (v. 245), devotees propitiate Maṇibhadra for deliverance from a smallpox epidemic (U. P. Shah, *Jaina-Rūpa-Maṇḍana*, p. 207).

inscription, and, further, associates him with merchant caravans (Fig. 119; Appendix I.5). In the story of Nala and Damayantī in the *Mahābhārata*, the leader of a traveling caravan of merchants calls upon the protection of Maṇibhadra, 'king of the *yakṣa*s' against the perils of the forest:

> The leader of that large caravan, who bore the name of Śuci, said to the flawless woman, 'Listen, good woman, to what I am going to say. I am the leader of this caravan, sweet-smiling and glorious wench, and I have not seen a man called Nala. I have seen elephants, leopards, buffaloes, tigers, bears, and deer in this dangerous forest, but no men live in it, so help us Maṇibhadra, the king of the Yakṣas!'[55]

Elsewhere in the *Mahābhārata*, Maṇibhadra, called the 'Indra of *yakṣa*s,' is prominently included in descriptions of the retinue of Kubera, the god of wealth.[56] In a Jaina context, Maṇibhadra is associated with merchants in the Śvetāmbara canonical text, the *Nirayāvalikā*, which states that the *yakṣa* Māṇibhadra was a merchant by the same name in his previous birth.[57]

The depiction of the *yakṣa* Maṇibhadra from Parkham underscores his specific association with the conferring of wealth or prosperity. Both Gritli von Mitterwallner and V. S. Agrawala have observed that the Parkham *yakṣa* probably held his left arm akimbo (the sculpture is broken) while grasping a bag full of square coins at his hip, in a manner like that of the representation of the *yakṣa* Maṇibhadra from Pawaya in the Archaeological Museum at Gwalior.[58] The *yakṣa* Maṇibhadra from Parkham, therefore, was probably propitiated as a grantor of wealth and prosperity to his devotees, as is also suggested by his full, distended belly.[59] It is interesting that at least two sculptures of Kubera, the primary god of wealth, dating to the Kuṣāṇa period, have also been found among the otherwise scant sculptural remains from the site of Parkham.[60]

Maṇibhadra also appears several times in Jaina texts, which include him in lists of *yakṣa* chiefs and as a converted follower of Mahāvīra.[61] The Jaina sources are particularly descriptive in their references to the worship of Maṇibhadra and other *yakṣa*s in shrines, and they may provide clues regarding the context of the early worship of *yakṣa*s, such as those

---

[55] *Mahābhārata*, iii.32.61.122–124; translation from *The Mahābhārata*, ed. and trans. J. A. B. van Buitenen, vol. 2, p. 341. Gritli von Mitterwallner also assertd that Maṇibhadra was worshipped by traders and travelers (G. von Mitterwallner, "Yakṣas of Ancient Mathura," pp. 368–371).

[56] *Mahābhārata*, ii(20)10.14 and iii(33)140.6.

[57] See *Prakrit Proper Names*, compiled by Mohanlal Mehta and K. Rishabh Chandra, vol. II (Ahmedabad: L. D. Institute of Indology, 1972), p. 594.

[58] See G. von Mitterwallner, "Yakṣas of Ancient Mathura," p. 369 and Pls. 35.III, 35.IV, and 35.V, and V. S. Agrawala, "Pre-Kushāṇa Art," p. 115.

[59] Doris Meth Srinivasan understands the full belly of a *yakṣa* like the Parkham *yakṣa* as being evocative of Vedic imagery of the pregnant male progenitor (see Doris M. Srinivasan, *Many Heads, Arms, and Eyes*, pp. 198ff.).

[60] GMM 1264 and 1266. See V. S. Agrawala, *A Catalogue of the Brahmanical Images in Mathura Art*, p. 84.

[61] See U. P. Shah, *Jaina-Rūpa-Maṇḍana*, p. 206. Shah also noted that the worship of Māṇibhadra as a deity among the Jains persisted up to the fifteenth century CE. He wrote, "*Māṇibhadra* is a deity who has been worshipped more popularly in Jaina temples in Western India, Gujarat, Marwar, and Rajputana and though no definite early text regarding his legend could be traced, yet it seems that his worship as a Jaina deity is as old as the fourteenth or fifteenth century and probably older. It is a peculiar instance of reviving in new garb the worship of the ancient Māṇibhadra yakṣa, popular with the merchant class. It also suggests that a few worshippers and images or shrines of the old Māṇibhadra had existed in these regions up to c. 1200–1400." (*Jaina-Rūpa-Maṇḍana*, p. 64).

represented by the statues from Parkham and Baroda. A shrine of Maṇibhadra is said to have been situated in a garden or park (*udyāna*) outside of a town, and it seems to have been something like a temple complex, since it included such elements as an assembly hall (*sabhā*) and a *vedikā*.[62] In Mathura there was to have been a park by the name of Bhaṃḍīra with a shrine dedicated to the *yakṣa* Sudaṃsaṇa, which was visited by Mahāvīra and thereupon became a pilgrimage site.[63] The *Aupapātika-sūtra*, an early Śvetāmbara canonical text probably dating to ca. third century CE, describes the sanctuary of another well-known *yakṣa* named Pūrṇabhadra, which was also located in a park. Perhaps the common early tradition of naming Buddhist *vihāra*s with the names of gardens or parks derived from the tradition of *yakṣa*s' being enshrined within named wooded gardens or parks. Indeed, most aspects of the *yakṣa* sanctuaries accord with the elements of Buddhist and Jaina monastic establishments, so that the *yakṣa* sanctuary could very well have served as a model for Buddhist and Jaina sites. Since so many images of *yakṣa*s seem to have been worshipped at sanctuaries in parks, including Maṇibhadra in particular, the description in the *Aupapātika-sūtra* may be evocative of the type of surroundings in which the images of the Parkham and Baroda *yakṣa*s were originally set up. U. P. Shah gave this description:

> The Pūrṇabhadra Caitya was in the udyāna or park called Āmraśālavana, situated to the N. E. of the city of Campā. It was very old in age (cirātīta) recognized by people of old, ancient (porāṇa), famous, praised everywhere, and *jñāta* (? of the Jñātṛ-people?). It was decorated with an umbrella (or umbrellas), banners, bells, flags, *atipatākās* (flags surmounted on flags), whisks or brushes of peacock-feathers (*lomahatthaga*) and having a railing (*vitardikā-vedikā*, according to Abhayadeva, which would also mean, 'containing a sacrificial altar'), its inside floor was coated with cow-dung and the wall-surfaces were polished by rubbing with cowries; it bore palm-impressions in red-giśīrṣa or dardara-sandal, was adorned with *candana ghaṭas* (auspicious jars), and on its entrance-doors were *toraṇas* (arches) with candana-ghaṭa decorations. It was sprinkled all over with perfumed water and garlands were hung; it was odorous with flowers of five colours, and with burning incense of *kālāguru, kundurukka* and *turukka*. It was haunted by actors, dancers, rope-walkers (*jalla*), wrestlers, boxers, experts in mimics (*viṣambaka*), ballad-singers, story-tellers, pole-dancers (*lāsaka*), picture-showmen (*maṇkha*), pipe-players, lute-players and minstrels. Many people visited the shrine which deserved praise, offerings, worship with sandal-paste etc., gifts, adoration and respect, and which like a benefic, auspicious, *devayam* (divine acc. to comm.) *ceiam* (image, according to commentators), deserved to be propitiated with due respect, which when worshipped with desire, did not fail to fulfill it (*saccopāye*) and which was attended upon by divine *prātihāryas*. It deserved a gift of a share from sacrifices.[64]

This vivid description of a bustling holy place in a sylvan setting dedicated to a *yakṣa* may contextualize monumental sculptures like the *yakṣa*s from Parkham and Baroda, despite the fact that it makes no specific mention of an anthropomorphic cult icon. Although the

---

[62] U. P. Shah noted that in the *Piṇḍaniryukti* (v.245f.) the shrine of the Māṇibhadra *yakṣa* was in a garden and furnished with an assembly hall (Shah, *Jaina-Rūpa-Maṇḍana*, p. 207). The *Vipākasūtra* refers to another shrine of the *yakṣa* Māṇibhadra that was situated in the Vijayavaddhamāṇa park of Vaddhamānapura. A *vedikā* was donated by a follower of Māṇibhadra, as recorded in the inscription from Masharfa (Appendix I.5).

[63] Mehta and Chandra, *Prakrit Proper Names*, vol. I, p. 512 lists the following references for the Bhaṃḍīra Park: *Vipākasūtra* 26, *Āvaśyaka-niryukti* 471, *Viśeṣāvaśyakabhāṣya* 1925, *Avasyaka-cūrṇi* I. 281 and 530, *Kalpasūtra-vṛtti* by Vinayavijaya p. 163, *Āvaśyaka-vṛtti* of Haribhadra p. 398, *Bṛhatkalpa-vṛtti* of Kṣemendra p. 1489.

[64] *Aupapātika-sūtra*, sūtra 2. U. P. Shah, *Studies in Jaina Art*, pp. 55–56. Cf. the discussion of the *yakṣa* Pūrṇabhadra in R. N. Misra, *Yaksha Cult and Iconography*, pp. 85–87. Misra also drew from the similar, apparently formulaic list of elements belonging to a shrine in the *Antagaḍadasāo*.

Aupapātika-sūtra was written several hundred years after the date of the Parkham and Baroda *yakṣa*s were sculpted, most of the visual elements adorning the shrine that are mentioned in the passage are seen constantly in bas relief representations of sacred sites datable to ca. 150 BCE, such as flags (Fig. 71), garlands (Fig. 33), bells (Fig. 75), railings (Figs. 8 and 21), umbrellas (Fig. 69), palmprints (Fig. 71), and musicians and dancers (Figs. 65 and 13). Furthermore, by the time the text was written, probably in the third century CE, the sanctuary was already said to be famous for its antiquity. Thus, the description in the *Aupapātika-sūtra* still may be relevant to an understanding of the type of shrine and modes of veneration of early images of *yakṣa*s such as those from Parkham and Baroda.

Buddhist sources also include references to the *yakṣa* Maṇibhadra as a chief among *yakṣa*s. In the *Samyutta Nikāya* (i.208) Maṇibhadra visits the Buddha and converses with him regarding hate and overcoming hate.[65] Remarkably, the *Milindapañha*, which records the questions of the Indo-Greek king Menander of the second century BCE to a Buddhist sage, mentions followers of the *yakṣa* Maṇibhadra. They appear to have been ascetics or recluses, and in the *Milindapañha* they are mentioned together with tumblers, jugglers, and actors—associations like those of the list of the devotees who frequented the Pūrṇabhadra sanctuary in the above description from the *Aupapātika-sūtra*.[66]

Given the multifarious evidence for the early importance of Maṇibhadra found in many subsequent literary traditions, the massive size and powerful mien of his image from Parkham seem fitting. V. S. Agrawala wrote, in connection with the colossal size of images of *yakṣa*s:

> The epic described the Yaksha as colossal in size (*maha-kaya*) [*sic*], lofty like the palm (*tala samuchchrita*) (*sic*), towering high like a mountain (*parvatopama*), radiant like the sun and fire, death-conquering (*adhrishya*, Aranyaka Parva, [*sic*] 297, 20.21), and of great physical strength (*maha-bala*) (*sic*). The available Yaksha statues literally confirm this definition, and as every art critic has observed, they are most impressive by their size and ponderous volume magnificently conceived as free-standing deities, commanding the whole countryside and worshipped as Yakshas (Hindi, *Jakha*, *Jakhaiya*) for about 2,500 years.[67]

Although both the Parkham *yakṣa* and the Baroda *yakṣa* were carved in the round, their origin from a block of stone is still evident (Figs. 15–17); they echo their rectilinear, pillar-like blocks, a trait that links them to ca. 150 BCE sculptures. The left knee of the Parkham *yakṣa* is slightly bent, but this bending is subtle and stiff and does not affect the basic stance of his body as a whole (Fig. 15). The bending of the leg is indicated abstractly by a series of sharply incised semicircular lines below the knee (Fig. 16). This stylized rendering markedly contrasts to the naturalistic modes of carving knees during the preceding Maurya period (ca. mid–third century BCE), a time to which the Parkham *yakṣa* is often, in my view, misattributed.[68] The cubic and angular quality of his dimensions is par-

---

[65] G. P. Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names*, vol. II, p. 426.

[66] Ibid. According to Malalasekera, the *Mahā Nidessa* (89) refers to the followers of Maṇibhadra as a class of ascetics and recluses who perhaps worshipped Maṇibhadra.

[67] V. S. Agrawala, "Yakshas and Nagas in Indian Folk-Art Tradition," p. 8.

[68] The Parkham *yakṣa* has been attributed to the Maurya period by Alexander Cunningham (*Archaeological Survey of India Report*, vol. XX, 1882–83, p. 41), Ludwig Bachhofer (*Early Indian Sculpture*, p. xiv), A. K. Coomaraswamy (*History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, p. 17), V. S. Agrawala (*A Catalogue of the Brahmanical Images*

ticularly evident in the rear view of the Parkham *yakṣa* (Fig. 17); the back, front, and two sides of this sculpture are like four sides of a rectangular block that meet at almost right angles. His large belly projects from his frontal side as though it were a segment of a sphere that had been affixed without any effort to smoothe the transition between the sphere of his belly and the block of his torso (Fig. 15). In these ways he evinces the cubical, geometric, abstract, and angular traits that are consonant with the characteristics of sculpture from ca. 150 BCE.

The ornaments and apparel of the Parkham *yakṣa* further emphasize the abstraction of the carving. The pleated ends of the lower garment seen between his legs form vertical rows of flat, angular zigzags (Fig. 16); this formation is found frequently in the garments of sculptures of *yakṣa*s from Bharhut.[69] Over his left thigh, his garment is rendered by a series of vertical pleats (Fig. 16), which end abruptly in a serrated hem above his knee. Such sharp, bold pleating is not unlike that found on the skirt of the Mehrauli *yakṣī* (Figs. 2 and 4). His long V-shaped necklace, consisting of parallel rows of strings and two square plaques, recalls that of the *cauri* bearer (Fig. 7) in that it seems like an appliqué, as does the band tied around the middle of his torso and his girdle, which are also articulated with the striking narrow, unbendingly parallel rows of incised lines (Fig. 15). The girdle does not respond to the massive weight of his belly; instead, it cuts across his hips, dividing his upper body from his lower body, thereby augmenting the sense of segmentation in this image. These elements also add to the geometric quality of the figure, for the rigid horizontals of his chest band and girdle contrast with the straight, vertical, tubular ends of the sash that falls between his legs, echoing the pendant loop of the chest band. The horizontality and verticality contrast with the severe diagonals of his long necklace and the knot of his girdle. Over each of his ankles are bold U-shaped hems that echo the cuts under his knees, his belly, and the rounded ends of the girdle and bottom of the looped chest band. The boldness of all these geometric elements contributes to the sense of power this sculpture conveys.

The back of the Parkham *yakṣa* (Fig. 17) is almost identical to the surviving carving on the back of the Baroda Yakṣa (Fig. 18), the front of which is completely eroded. Hanging below the napes of their necks are four tassels, which are attached to the back of the V-shaped necklace; each tassel is stiff and boxy, in keeping with the style of the rest of the figures. The backs of the two *yakṣa*s are divided into upper and lower regions by the insistently horizontal and flat chest band that is carved pronouncedly on both the Parkham and Baroda *yakṣa*s. Further dividing their backs into quadrants is the line of the spine, which is rendered as a fairly deep, straight vertical ridge down the middle of the back. The Baroda *yakṣa* also has the block-like quality that was noted in the Parkham *yakṣa*. Finally, the heavy round earrings worn by the Baroda *yakṣa* are of the same type as those of the Parkham Yakṣa. The similarity between the Parkham and Baroda *yakṣa*s is so

in Mathura Art, p. 76), R. C. Sharma (*The Splendour of Mathura*, p. 66), and others. Their argument is generally based on the "archaic character of the inscription on the pedestal" (V. S. Agrawala, *A Catalogue of the Brahmanical Images in Mathura Art*, p. 76). However, the absence of any of the naturalistic features pervasive in Maurya animal and figural sculpture of the third century BCE precludes this dating. For an example of the sensitive and keenly observed rendering of knees and drapery in a sculpture that I consider datable to the Maurya period, see the Didarganj *yakṣī* in Pramod Chandra, *The Sculpture of India*, pp. 6 and 48.

[69] See A. K. Coomaraswamy, *La Sculpture de Bharhut*, Figs. 16(bis), 18, 19, 41, and 42.

remarkable that there may be little doubt that these two sculptures are contemporaneous, if not produced by the same hand or guild. They are representatives of powerful iconic cult images from the Mathura region on a monumental scale.

Yakṣa *from Palwal (Fig. 19)*

We may consider the remains of another colossal *yakṣa* (SML O.107), from Palwal, near the city of Mathura, to be approximately contemporaneous with the Parkham *yakṣa* and the Baroda *yakṣa*. This statue of a male nature divinity shows the massive, monumental quality noted in the *yakṣa*s from Parkham and Baroda, and it likewise exhibits the stylistic characteristics of sculpture from Mathura dating to ca. 150 BCE, despite its damaged condition. Only the head and upper torso survive (Fig. 19); this bust constitutes about one-third of the original figure. If it had been standing like the Parkham *yakṣa*, the entire figure would have measured about nine to ten feet (about 3 meters) in height.

The Palwal *yakṣa* also seems to share several iconographic features with the *yakṣa* holding a sword from Bharana Kalan (Fig. 88), and it is likely that this broken and eroded figure from Palwal can be identified as the same *yakṣa*. The right hand of the *yakṣa* from Palwal is raised to the height of his shoulder, and in it he grasps the handle of an object, probably a sword. Furthermore, his left arm was not held akimbo in the manner of most iconic statues, as is evident from the positioning of the surviving upper arm and the manner of the break above the elbow; instead, it was probably bent, with his hand held in front of him, like that of the Bharana Kalan *yakṣa* (Fig. 88). It is likely that in his outstretched left hand he originally held the miniature figure of a worshipper, as do other representations of the sword-bearing *yakṣa* (discussed in Chapter Three) (Figs. 85 and 90). This particular *yakṣa* holding the sword and the worshipper seems to have been especially popular in the Mathura region; among the fragmentary remains of sculptures, there are four known examples (Figs. 85, 88, and 90).

From what remains of this once impressive sculpture, we can discern some stylistic characteristics that help us to attribute this image to this early period. His torso is covered with a series of heavy torques and a longer V-shaped necklace, which are stiff and indifferent to forces of gravity or his corporeal contours.[70] An incised line down the center of his chest abstractly defines the axial center around which his body is frontally aligned, as is also seen in the large image of the *yakṣa* from Bharana Kalan (Fig. 88), discussed in depth in Chapter Three. The surfaces of his body are hard, not evocative of natural fleshy volumes, and his shoulders are squared and powerful. The arms and body of the Palwal *yakṣa* are more confined to the planes of the rectangular block of stone from which it was carved than is the Bharana Kalan *yakṣa*, and thus the Palwal *yakṣa* is probably of a slightly earlier date.

The head of the Palwal *yakṣa* is eroded, so that the facial features are no longer discernible, but its round shape, heavy jowls, and short neck bespeak an association with the Mathura regional idiom. Still visible also are the puffed rows of hair that curve back from

[70] Doris Meth Srinivasan published a photograph of the Palwal *yakṣa* and mentioned that it is contemporaneous with the Parkham *yakṣa*. ("Newly Discovered Inscribed Mathura Sculptures of Probable Doorkeepers, Dating to the Ksatrapa Period," pp. 63–64.)

his face and the heavy roll earrings that drag down his earlobes and rest on his shoulders. He wears a turban that would have had a large knot on the front, as is evident from the size and shape of the break at the front of the headdress. All these elements are also seen on the much better preserved and probably slightly later image of the Bharana Kalan *yakṣa* (Fig. 88).

Standing Nāga *(Fig. 20)*

A life-size iconic rendition of a standing snake deity (*nāga*) in the form of a man with a seven-hooded serpent canopy in the Mathura Museum (GMM 17.1303) attests to the early date of *nāga* cults in Mathura, which, as we would expect, were concurrent with those of *yakṣa*s. Although the arms and feet, and part of the serpent canopy are gone and the spotted red sandstone has peeled away in many areas, the stately and monumental quality of this sculpture is nevertheless evident. Cubical modeling of massive, abstracted forms and incised linear detailing are traits that combine to convey the superhuman and powerful impression of this serpent deity in the stylistic idiom of this early period.

This sculpture of a *nāga* shares with the Parkham *yakṣa* (Fig. 15) the frontal posture with only the left knee slightly bent and articulated with sharp, semicircular incisions (Fig. 20). Like the Palwal *yakṣa* (Fig. 19), the hair of the standing *nāga* was arranged in wide, puffed rows combed back from his forehead, and his turban had a large knot tied to one side, as indicated by the break in the stone. He wears the heavy roll earrings that were standard in this period,[71] and his rigid torque and V-shaped necklace consisting of parallel strings and ornamented square clasps are also familiar from other sculptures of the period (Figs. 7 and 15). As with the Parkham *yakṣa*, there are also crisply striated areas on this image of the standing *nāga* which contrast with smooth, plain surfaces of his exposed body. Such areas are seen, for example, on his girdle, which creates a strong horizontal division across the figure, on his lower garment with the vertically pleated swath and serrated edge clinging over his left thigh, and on the areas of his scarf-like upper garment that are visible to either side of the figure (Fig. 20). The remains of the snake hoods that fan out above his head also have a flatness similar to the style of sculptures dating to ca. 150 BCE.

It seems that this standing *nāga* held his left arm akimbo, while his right arm was held up in *abhaya-mudrā*. This probable posture, combined with the monumental stature of the sculpture, leads us to conclude that it served as a cult icon to be worshipped, like the *yakṣa*s discussed above. An inscription dating to the second century CE confirms the existence of shrines dedicated to 'the holy one, the lord of the nāgas' (*bhagavato nāgendra*) in Mathura.[72] We cannot be sure, however, whether the shrine housing this image stood independently or as an integral part of a Buddhist or Jaina sanctuary. Later texts refer

[71] Although the extensive damage to the stone makes it difficult to be certain, there is a possibility that this *nāga* wore only one earring, which can be an iconographic feature of Balarāma.

[72] This inscription is carved on a stone slab, and it records the dedication of the slab (*śilāpaṭṭa*) to the shrine of Dadhikarṇṇa, the holy one, the lord of the snakes, by the sons of actors of Mathura (George Bühler, "New Jaina Inscriptions from Mathura," p. 390, and Lüders, "A List of Brahmi Inscriptions," no. 85). The reference to actors as devotees of the lord of *nāgas* recalls the description of those who inhabited the shrine of the *yakṣa* Pūrṇabhadra in the Jaina *Aupapātika-sūtra* quoted by U. P. Shah above.

to the worship of *nāga*s in shrines (*nāgagṛha*s), and they were particularly propitiated by maidens for the attainment of a desirable husband. With respect to Mathura specifically, the *Vasudevahiṇḍi* relates that there was a *nāga* shrine in a garden or park (*udyāna*)—also the location of *yakṣa* shrines, as discussed above—which served as the rendezvous place for Piyaṅgusundarī to meet her lover Vasudeva. A passage from the *Vasudevahiṇḍi*, the Jaina version of the *Bṛhatkathā* dating to around the sixth century CE, reads: "In this way, apprehension in my mind, I went to the lovely garden. Then she (Piyaṅgusundarī) came there in order to offer oblations in the Nāga shrine."[73] U. P. Shah also cited a passage from the Jaina *Nāyādhammakahāo* (VIII, pp. 95ff.) which states that a *nāga* shrine could also be called a *devakula* and that the offering of incense "was regarded as specially sacred in Nāga worship."[74]

Major figures in Vaiṣṇavism and Jainism that take on the iconography of the serpent are of major significance in Mathura. Balarāma, the elder brother of Krishna, is frequently depicted in a form similar to a *nāga*, especially at Mathura, an epicenter of the Pancharatra cult focused around Krishna. The earliest identifiable form of Balarāma shown with the serpent canopy (Fig. 100) is from Mathura (see Chapter Three). In a Jaina context, the Jina Pārśvanātha, who is shown sheltered by the *nāga* Dharaṇendra, is closely associated with Mathura (e.g., Fig. 151). There is a tradition that an ancient *stūpa* was dedicated to Pārśvanātha at Mathura, and, furthermore, the earliest identifiable iconic image of Pārśvanātha with the serpent—or indeed of any Jina—is also from Mathura, and will be discussed in Chapter Three (Fig. 102). Hence, it is not surprising that an iconic statue of a monumental *nāga* has been recovered from Mathura dating to the very outset of stone sculptural production at that city.

The works of art discussed in this chapter represent examples of the earliest known stone sculptures from the general cultural region of Mathura, datable to a time contemporaneous with other monuments, most notably Bharhut, that share the similar distinctive stylistic traits of abstracted forms and sharp linearity. Though they are few in number, they attest to the early presence of carved *vedikās* and cults dedicated to nature divinities at Mathura around the mid-second century BCE, and other examples are sure to be located in the future. As a group, the freestanding, monumental images of the *yakṣa* Maṇibhadra from Parkham, the *yakṣa*s from Baroda and Palwal, and the standing *nāga* are unparalleled by finds from any other region of the same time period. Although most of the sculptures discussed in this chapter are to varying degrees broken or eroded, the high quality of workmanship is nevertheless discernible. Thus, the earliest known stone sculptures produced by the ateliers of Mathura are just as mysteriously fully matured at birth as the earliest known stone images from other regions during the Maurya Period, such as the Aśokan pillar capitals or the Didarganj Yakṣī. Furthermore, they are all infused with the characteristics of roundness and heavy mass that are distinctive traits of sculpture specifically from the Mathura region, which suggests that these early images were carved by local artists, rather than artists imported from other areas. Perhaps the early stone

[73] Jagdishchandra Jain, trans., *The Vasudevahiṇḍi*, Ahmedabad, 1977, p. 504.
[74] U. P. Shah, "Yakṣa Worship in Early Jaina Literature," *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, vol. III, 1953, p. 68.

sculptors of Mathura worked in perishable materials prior to this period, but their productions have not survived to the present day. The relatively high quality of terracotta sculptures recovered from Maurya strata at Mathura suggests some level of artistic activity prior to the second century BCE In his grammatical treatise, Pāṇini, who probably lived around the fourth century BCE, discusses images of deities to be worshipped; this indicates that sculptures were made in India before the time to which the earliest surviving stone sculptures are datable.[75] Once the artists at Mathura did begin to fashion architectural sculpture and iconic statues from stone, apparently during the mid-second century BCE, they did so in a style that conforms quite closely with the styles used by sculptors from other regions of the Indian subcontinent as well. This pan-Indian unity of sculptural styles with only minor regional variations is most prominent during the mid- to late second century BCE As the centuries progress, the regional idioms develop greater individuality.

In the next chapter, we shall see how the tradition of carving large-scale iconic images at Mathura continues to surpass that of other regions for many subsequent decades. Furthermore, the bas relief tradition also continues to develop, with more complex and iconographically diverse contents and a gradual change in artistic style.

[75] Heinrich von Stietencron, "Orthodox Attitudes Towards Temple Service and Image Worship in Ancient India," *Central Asiatic Journal*, vol. XXI, no. 2, 1977, p. 130. (He cites Pāṇini, V.3.99: *jīvikārthe cāpaṇye*, and IV.2.35.)

CHAPTER THREE

ICONOGRAPHIC DIVERSIFICATION AND NARRATIVE MATURATION (CA. 120–75 BCE)

Introduction

Most stone sculptures from the Mathura region attributable to the period discussed in this chapter are architectural fragments from numerous religious monuments, and several important iconic statues also survive. I define this period simply as the one in which sculpture postdates the Bharhut style, for there are no surviving dated sculptures that can fix an absolute date for the period during which the sculptures discussed in this chapter were made. Hence, if sculptures were carved in the Bharhut style around 150 BCE, then the works discussed in this chapter can be assigned to a date around 100 BCE, plus or minus about twenty or twenty-five years—i.e., ca. 120–75 BCE.

Almost all of the architectural elements can be identified as having formed parts of gateways (*toraṇa*s) or railings that would have surrounded sacred precincts. At the center of the precinct would have stood the main object of worship, such as a sacred tree, a *stūpa*, a shrine, or an iconic image. Since no intact early monuments or precincts survive at Mathura, we must look to bas relief depictions of sacred sites and to more complete monuments from other regions, such as Bharhut and Sanchi, for information on how the surviving pieces of stone architecture from early Mathura were used. In this way, we can begin to reconstruct the context in which the disparate Mathuran fragments originally functioned.

To get a sense of the types of monuments being constructed in Mathura in a particular time period, it is essential first to identify pieces that date to the same period. Though this is by no means necessarily an exhaustive survey, the pieces are particularly representative of different types of architectural elements. Unfortunately, none of the surviving fragments of this period has an inscription that explicitly states when it was made, nor has any been excavated in a context that provides reliable information concerning the time of production. Thus, we must rely on an analysis of the sculptural style of the objects to propose the most plausible date of their production. I maintain that this method, for the sculptures of this early period in India, is accurate within a scope as broad as twenty-five to fifty years, which is sufficient for our purposes.

The sculptures examined in this chapter retain aspects of the Bharhut style, but they have other elements that indicate their manufacture during a subsequent period. These features include a softening of forms, simplification of incised detailing, crowding together of elements, heightened sense of motion, some emotional interaction among figures, an introduction of three-dimensional perspective and foreshortening, firmer grounding of figures—in general, the beginnings of a move away from abstraction and stylization towards a more naturalistic presentation, a trend that will become increasingly more pronounced into the first century BCE. Different specific examples can display one or more of these traits in varying degrees. The sculptures described here differ minimally from those dis-

cussed in Chapter 2, for, although they exhibit such forward-looking features, they retain some characteristics that reveal their continuation of the earlier Bharhut style. Many of the sculptures conserve to some degree the flatness, jerky and angular gestures, and vacant expressions, among other traits, which show that this group does not represent a completely new phase of sculptural style. Rather, the carvings described here seem to have pulled only slightly away from the rigidly abstract and linear end of the spectrum; they indicate more of an interest in volumes and the unification of contours and overall forms, which are characteristic of carvings of the mid-first century BCE, datable as such notably by the reliefs on the Year Twenty-One Ayāgapaṭa from Mathura, dated to 37 BCE (Fig. 133). Hence, I consider all of the sculptures in this chapter to date about one generation later than the sculptures of Bharhut and their contemporaneous counterparts of Mathura, examined in Chapter Two. Where relevant, I point out some stylistic nuances that suggest the sculpture in question might date to a relatively earlier or later phase during this roughly twenty-five to fifty year period, but I choose to consider them all together, because I feel that it is unnecessary to split chronological hairs too finely in the absence of securely dated material.

It appears that all of the elements of the gateways through which devotees passed to enter sacred precincts and railings were embellished with relief carving on both a large and small scale at this time at Mathura. Sacred objects and scenes of worship are among the most popular subjects. Some of the Buddhist and Jaina narrative scenes, which have gone all but completely unnoticed in previous publications, are astonishing in their diversity and maturity at such an early date. Erotic scenes were emphasized, and large-scale images of *yakṣa*s and *yakṣī*s were common.

Architectural Sculpture: Gateways

Sculpted architectural pieces that formed parts of entranceways can be divided into three types. One type is that of the *toraṇa* formed by two upright pillars, square in section, that support one, two, or three horizontal architraves. This type is exemplified by the famous monumental gates of Stūpa I at Sanchi. The second type of entranceway is topped by an arched tympanum instead of horizontal architraves. The tympanum is supported by pillars and can be either freestanding or attached to a wall or arcade. Finally, there are sections of doorways that are built into walls, and the carved elements form the side jambs or the upper lintel.

Gateway Architraves

In this section I discuss the imagery carved on three large architraves from Mathura, each of which originally would have formed part of the superstructure of a gateway (*toraṇa*), although none of them appears to be from the same one. Two of the architraves, those depicting the worship of a *stūpa* by centaurs and the dance of Nīlāñjanā, are reportedly from the Jaina site of Kaṅkālī-Ṭīlā;[1] the one depicting Brahmins in a sacred precinct was

[1] However, the attribution of sculptures to the site of Kaṅkālī-Ṭīlā is uncertain, because of the unreliable

found at the site of Katrā Keśavadeva. When entering a sacred precinct in Mathura, devotees would have passed beneath the imagery carved on these architraves. As we shall see in the ensuing discussion, much of this imagery is unique, puzzling, and very telling about the distinctive choices made by patrons of public religious art at Mathura.

Architrave from Kaṅkālī-Ṭīlā: Centaurs Worship a Jaina Stūpa (Figs. 21–24)

The double-sided architrave (SML J.535) depicting the worship of a *stūpa* by centaurs on one side (Fig. 21) and a procession on the other (Fig. 22), would have formed part of a relatively large gateway; the architrave itself is about four feet (1.21 meters) long and eight and a half inches (21.59 cm) high, not counting the false capitals and curling ends that would have added length to both sides. This architrave is in good condition; it is only slightly broken at the ends, and fortunately it has not been much eroded. Because it is almost complete, we can get a sense of the impression a visitor would have had of the architraves when passing through the gateway upon entering and leaving a sacred space. This architrave was reportedly found at the Jaina *stūpa* site at Kaṅkālī-Ṭīlā in the western sector of the city of Mathura; thus, it is possible that it belonged to a Jaina monument, although no indication of sectarian affiliation is recognizable in the bas reliefs. If this architrave did belong to a Jaina site, as previous scholars agree,[2] then it is of interest to note the early focus on *stūpa* worship in the Jaina community by ca. 100 BCE (Fig. 21). Evidence for Jaina *stūpa*s is strong in the art of Mathura until the late Kuṣāṇa period, but Jaina *stūpa*s are rare if known at all in other regions. It seems that the *ardhaphālaka* sect of Jainism that was prevalent only in Mathura between the second century BCE and third century CE favored the *stūpa* as an object of veneration.[3] In the Jaina context, there is no evidence that the *stūpa* was associated with relics; the Jainas may have appropriated the form that had already been a cultic focus among the Buddhists of Mathura, as we saw in the probably Buddhist relief depicting veneration of a *stūpa* in Fig. 8.

Both sides of the Kaṅkālī-Ṭīlā architrave are carved in quite low relief, with little crowding and overlapping of elements, in contrast to the well-known and now intact gateways at *Stūpas* I and III at Sanchi, which are more deeply undercut and have closely crowded elements (Fig. 138). Since the carving is so flat, there would have been no deep shadows on the Kaṅkālī-Ṭīlā architrave; much of the plain background space would have remained visible. The sculptors of this architrave caused each element, be it a tree, a *stūpa*, a horse, a pedestrian, or an elephant, to fill the available height of the architrave, without any regard for its actual, realistic or relative size. On the side with the procession, for example, the men walking in front of the horses at the left of the composition are taller than the elephant at the far right (Fig. 22). This lack of interest in depicting natural scale, the retention of plain ground space, shallow relief, and simple, clear composition of elements

character of the reports made by A. Fuhrer, the excavator of the site. For a discussion of the falsified nature of the excavator's documentation, see H. Falk, *The Discovery of Lumbinī*, especially pp. 13–15.

[2] This architrave has previously been described by *inter alia*, L. Bachhofer, *Early Indian Sculpture*, Pl. 72; U. P. Shah, *Studies in Jaina Art*, Pl. II, Fig. 6; and Debala Mitra, "Mathura: Early History," pp. 54–55, Pl. 2A.

[3] See S. R. Quintanilla, "Closer to Heaven than the Gods: Jaina Monks in the Art of Pre-Kushan Mathura," For a discussion of the *ārdhaphālaka* monks of the Kuṣāṇa period (second and third centuries CE), see P. S. Jaini, "Jaina Monks from Mathura: Literary Evidence for their Identification on Kuṣāṇa Sculptures," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* LVIII, Pt. 3 (1995), 479–494.

lined up in a row are characteristics which, in combination, are basic features conserved from the Bharhut style (cf. the details from a Bharhut architrave in Fig. 124). The relatively large size of each sculpted element allows these early architraves to have been more readable from the ground than the more densely packed and complex scenes at Sanchi *Stūpas* I and III.

A closer look at the carvings of both sides further supports this dating and reveals more information concerning the meaning and types of imagery adorning the gateways of early Jaina sanctuaries. The side with the procession does not have a central focal element, and the presentation is by no means symmetrical, although the 'bullock bus' near the middle does somewhat stand out graphically (Fig. 22). At the broken far left edge of the architrave, the procession is led by a man on foot who carries an object over his left shoulder, at the end of which something like a garland or long tassel hangs down. Above his head are discernible the foot and tail feathers of a bird. Oddly, the scene does not stop with the end of the curved, central part of the architrave. It continues uninterrupted into the space that would have been directly in line with the supporting pillars, despite the square corner projection indicative of the place where a square false capital would normally be on other architraves. The right end of the architrave, however, is bounded by a plain vertical border, the counterpart of which is missing on the left end. The opposite side of the architrave reveals the same spilling over of the relief carvings outside of the boundaries of the architrave proper. It is uncertain how much farther to the left the imagery would have continued originally. The action on the curved central part of the architrave continues onto the area that is usually reserved for a false capital, identifiable by the square corner projecting above the level of the architrave itself, and presumably on to the projecting ends that are now missing. At the far left of Figs. 29 and 31 is an approximately contemporaneous bas relief depiction from Mathura of a gateway with such uninterrupted horizontal crossbars.

The procession on the Kaṅkālī-Ṭīlā architrave (Fig. 22) continues to the right with a cantering horse bearing a male rider; they are followed by another man on foot, and then by another rider on a steed apparently moving faster than the first, as both forelegs are shown airborne (Fig. 22). The horses' crests fly back in response to the rush of air created by their forward movements, and the sprightly postures of the animals' legs effectively convey lively motion, despite the overall stiffness of each figure and the expressionless character of the people's faces.

Behind a somewhat naturalistically rendered tree is a covered cart, the ancient equivalent of a bus, drawn by two humped bulls walking in perfect unison (Fig. 23). The faces of the bulls preserve the early stylized and linear qualities, with heavily outlined brows, horizontal incised lines on their noses, and staring eyes. However, their bodies evince some modeling and softening of the transitions between the planes of their hips and midsections. The heads of four passengers, both men and women, and the driver are visible through the open windows of the cart (Fig. 23). A later tympanum, ca. early first century CE, also from Kaṅkālī-Ṭīlā depicts part of a similar type of covered cart on one side, and in the spandrels are empty covered carts from which the passengers have disembarked and gone to worship the Jaina *stūpa* (Figs. 222, 223 spandrels, and 231). It is possible that, by analogy, the procession on this early architrave depicts devotees en route to worship a sacred site as well. The last two members of the procession at the right end

of this architrave are another spirited horse with a rider, followed by a striding elephant carrying two riders (Fig. 24).

The opposite side of this architrave depicts the worship of a *stūpa* by *kinnara*s and centaurs (Fig. 21). Unlike the side depicting the procession, this side has the central focal element of the *stūpa* in the middle of its composition. The *stūpa* itself has a rather low dome, surmounted by a *harmikā* and a single *chattra*, and it is surrounded by three railings. It is difficult to determine whether the lowest railing was intended to be square, for at the right it appears to have a corner while on the left it seems the sculptor wished to render a circular railing. Immediately flanking the *stūpa* is a pair of hovering *kinnara*s who bring offerings of garlands to the *stūpa*. They have human male heads and torsos, but the wings, claws and tail feathers of a bird. Three centaurs are visible at the right and two at the left of the architrave, and each brings offerings to the *stūpa*. A long, curved palm leaf disguises the transition from the human male torsos to the horse bodies. The presence of centaurs may indicate contact with artistic and mythological traditions of the Mediterranean world. However, the centaurs are completely incorporated into the indigenous Mathura style of representation, and, like the various Mediterranean types of ornament found in sculpture of the Maurya period, they assimilate well into the Indian repertoire of composite creatures.

The mix of flattened, stiff, and linear features with naturalistic elements is recognizable throughout the carvings on both sides of this architrave. The orderly arrangement of elements separated by a fair degree of flat, plain ground space recalls the reliefs of ca. 150 BCE, such as those from Bharhut. However, the insertion of gratuitous landscape elements—trees—to fill many of the gaps was used effectively here for the first time among the surviving reliefs from Mathura. Despite the containment of the foliage within bulbous geometric spaces, the leaves are arranged in a relatively irregular, organic manner. Moreover, the trunks, which are thicker at the bases, seem actually to grow from the ground. These features lend a degree of naturalism to the scenes on the architrave, and they contribute to the suggestion that the date of this relief is somewhat later than the time of Bharhut.

The figures still have stiffness and angularity in their gestures and postures (Fig. 24), and their expressions are blank and their facial features heavily outlined. Abstraction is detectable in the squared-off blocky shape of the tails of the *kinnara*s (Fig. 21), in the heavy shapes that form the bulls' features, for example (Fig. 23), and in the triangulated shape of the *dhoti*s worn by the striding men at the left of the procession (Fig. 22). However, the figures all seem to have a sense of weight, grounding, and, in particular, movement. Though stiff and a bit contrived, the forward motion of the animals in the procession is conveyed through the use of techniques such as the backward trailing of the horses' feathered caparisons, the varied placement of their tails, and the high positioning of the bent forelegs. Softness of forms is seen in the modeling of the centaurs' bodies and their gently bending leaf-like skirts (Fig. 21). A more unified appearance overall is achieved by a minimal use of incised linear detailing and patterning. The stylistic difference between ca. 150 BCE and ca. 100 BCE is evident when the medallion with elephant and riders discussed in Chapter Two (Fig. 14) is compared to the elephant with riders at the right end on the procession side of this Kaṅkālī-Ṭīlā architrave (Fig. 24). In the latter carving, there is more emphasis on the modeling of swelling forms and upon conveying a naturalistic sense of energetic motion across the ground rather than upon sharply wrought detail and

abstract pattern. Thus, these stylistic features combine to suggest a date in the generation following the Bharhut style—that is, ca. late second century BCE.

There is no way to know which side of this architrave originally faced the interior of the sacred precinct, when it formed part of the gateway. Perhaps the side with the procession of lay worshippers would have faced out, while the scene depicting the mythical, semi-divine creatures in the act of venerating a *stūpa* would have faced in towards the center of the precinct. If this were so, then a devotee arriving at the Jaina precinct, possibly via some conveyance such as a bullock cart, on horseback, or on foot, before entering the sacred site would have seen images of similar pilgrims on the lintel above. From the inside of the sanctuary, either during worship or upon leaving, devotees would then have seen fantastic beings venerating the *stūpa* with flowers and garlands in the same way that they would have honored the object of worship themselves.

Architrave from Kaṅkālī-Ṭīlā: Dance of Nīlañjanā and the Renunciation of Ṛṣabhanātha (Figs. 25–28)

Another architrave reportedly also from the Jaina site of Kaṅkālī-Ṭīlā apparently depicts the rarely encountered narrative cycle of the dance of Nīlañjanā and the renunciation of the first of the twenty-four Jinas of our *kalpa* (age), Ṛṣabhanātha (SML J.354/609).[4] It is in a poorer state of preservation than the centaur architrave discussed above, but its exceptional quality and subject matter are nonetheless unmistakable. The two seated images of the Jina Ṛṣabhanātha at the far left of the fragmentary architrave may be the earliest surviving in a long tradition of anthropomorphic representations of Jaina *tīrthaṅkara*s at Mathura. Thus, the carvings on this architrave provide invaluable evidence for the antiquity of Jaina icons and complex narrative scenes at Mathura.

This architrave is severely damaged, for it was reused as a railing upright at some later date. It probably was originally double-sided and arced, like the centaur architrave, but it has been sliced in half, so that only part of one side remains. Intrusive lens-shaped mortises were cut into the surviving carved face, and its top and bottom edges were shaved in order to straighten it for use as a rail post. The surviving part of the architrave is made up of two broken pieces, which came to the State Museum, Lucknow around the turn of the nineteenth century along with the abundant finds from the Jaina site of Kaṅkālī-Ṭīlā at Mathura. Only the part to the right of the break was noticed before the early 1970s, and it was described once by U. P. Shah in 1955, when he identified the scene as that of the Dance of Nīlāñjanā.[5] In 1972 V. N. Srivastava found the previously unnoticed fragment with the two seated Jinas among the piles of stone sculpture in the State Museum, Lucknow, and he matched it with the published fragment carrying the dance scene.[6]

[4] For a depiction of the dance of Nīlañjanā in an eighteenth century manuscript illustration, see Catherine Glynn, "Evidence of Royal Painting for the Amber Court," Fig. 25. Aside from such paintings that illustrate scenes from the life of Ṛṣabhanātha, the only other possible instance of this narrative scene of which I am aware is an abbreviated dance scene on a corner pillar from Kaṅkālī-Ṭīlā (discussed below) (Figs. 63 and 65).

[5] U. P. Shah, *Studies in Jaina Art*, p. 11, Pl. II, Fig. 5.

[6] V. N. Srivastava, "Some Interesting Jaina Sculptures in the State Museum, Lucknow," pp. 47–48. U. P. Shah then published both pieces together in his *Jaina-Rūpa-Maṇḍana*, Pl. X, Fig. 18.

The early narrative relief carvings of Mathura are generally overshadowed by the vast quantity of narrative reliefs from Bharhut, Sanchi, and Amaravati that are found primarily on the railings and gateways surrounding the *stūpa*s. Perhaps because of the lack of intact monuments of the second century BCE at Mathura, fewer narrative relief panels survive. However, those that remain testify to the fact that *vedikā*s and *toraṇa*s surrounding sacred sites at Mathura during the late second century BCE were embellished with narrative reliefs that are as compelling stylistically and iconographically as those from other South Asian sites. Despite the generally accepted idea that Mathura's narrative tradition, if it existed at all, was simple and primarily monoscenic or influenced by the art of Gandhara,[7] this architrave depicting the dance of Nīlāñjanā and the renunciation of Ṛṣabhanātha proves that Mathura had a complex narrative tradition as early as ca. 100 BCE. This architrave is a fine example of a narrative relief carving that is as intricate and iconographically significant as most of the carvings from Bharhut, Bodhgaya, Sanchi, or Amaravati.

The literary versions of the story of the dance of Nīlāñjanā and the renunciation of Ṛṣabhanātha survive only in texts of a much later date, most notably the *Ādi Purāṇa* (VIII, pp. 107ff.), which dates to the seventh or eighth century CE. The basic elements of the story, however, appear in our early relief. In accordance with the topos of the lives of Jinas and Buddhas, Ṛṣabhanātha, the first Jina of our *kalpa*, was a king before he retreated into a life of asceticism and attained liberation. Indra, realizing that it was time for Ṛṣabhanātha to renounce the princely and worldly life, sent Nīlāñjanā, a celestial nymph whose life was about to end, to dance before the royal assembly. Nīlāñjanā knew that her time to die was at hand, and so she performed the dance of her lifetime. In the middle of her wild, frenzied performance, Nīlāñjanā is said to have suddenly staggered, reeled back, and fallen dead. Upon witnessing the tragic and dramatic death of the nymph, Ṛṣabhanātha was struck by the fragility and cruelty of life and was thus impelled to renounce the world and take on the life of an ascetic.

Nīlāñjanā's wild last dance is portrayed beneath a pavilion on the surviving right part of the architrave (Figs. 25–26). She is shown dancing vigorously in front of a group of five musicians—all of whom play only percussion instruments, the sound of which would have added to the intensity of the scene. One member of the orchestra, the seated male figure playing the horizontal drum (the second figure to the right of the dancer), wears a Persianate cap rather than an Indian turban, which shows that foreign musicians were employed in early Indian courts. The energy of the dancer's movements is artfully conveyed by the positioning of her raised left arm, bent at the elbow, and her straightened right arm, both straining and aligned along the same diagonal. Her raised right foot and flexed toe, the angular hand gestures, and the exaggerated tilt of her head add convincingly to the sense of frantic intensity. In style, the earlier features of blank expressions, modes of dress, Nīlāñjanā's high-waisted figure type, and the overall stiffness and angularity of the figures combine with the later features of crowding and interest in rendering

[7] Vidya Dehejia, *Discourse in Early Buddhist Art: Visual Narratives of India*, pp. 141–142. Maurizio Taddei wrote: "Mathurā actually appears to have had no interest in narrative at all—the exceptions often bear the sign of Gandharan stylistic influence" (M. Taddei, "Oral Narrative, Visual Narrative, Literary Narrative in Ancient Buddhist India," p. 83).

some sense of space and perspective in the architecture. The crowding and interest in depicting some spatial depth and energetic movement suggest a date even slightly later than that of the centaur architrave for the architrave with the dance of Nīlāñjanā—that is, ca. 100 BCE.

To the viewer's immediate left of the pavilion has been carved the assembly of seven male onlookers, all of whom turn towards the dance scene in the pavilion (Figs. 25 and 28). They are arranged in two rows, and all of them are standing except for the two at the lower right of the group. The man with the prominent turban, seated next to the pavilion with his right hand in his lap, may be identified as Ṛṣabhanātha himself when he was king. His intentness upon the scene before him is subtly underscored by his clutching the pillar with his left hand. Behind him, to the viewer's left, is a holy man with large loop earrings, seated with his left leg drawn up and held to his body by a strap (*yogapaṭṭa*). Perhaps this figure can be identified as the Brahmin preceptor of the court, since religious practitioners use the strap to hold up their legs during long periods of meditation. Another male figure stands by him with his left hand resting on his shoulder. The row of four onlookers carved in the upper part of the architrave stand convincingly behind the three figures in the foreground. U. P. Shah identified these standing figures as Lokāntika gods present at the momentous event,[8] but they may also be members of the royal assembly (*sabhā*) present at the dance. Two of the standing onlookers hold their hands up in *abhaya-mudrā*, perhaps in response to the intensity of the dance, or perhaps because they are divinities present at the momentous occasion. Each is clothed in the usual *dhoti* fastened by a girdle, a scarf-like upper garment, and a turban. The pleat lines of the garments are slightly wavering, perhaps in an attempt to make them look more naturalistic; they are not as rigidly parallel as we would see in sculptures carved in the Bharhut style. Some softness is detectable in the articulation of their torsos and abdomens. These elements of softening and naturalism are further suggestive of a date later than that of the Bharhut style.

No visual device separates the assemblage watching the dance from the segment to the viewer's immediate left except for the positioning of the figures, who are turned away from the dance and towards the seated Jinas at the left end of this fragmentary architrave. At the lower part of the composition is a small nude ascetic, who carries an alms bowl or water pot in his left hand and a strip of cloth in his right hand; his head has disappeared because of the mortise later cut there (Fig. 28). Above the nude figure is the torso of another male figure with his hands pressed together in a gesture of reverence and supplication; he is not a nude monk, for traces of his upper garment are visible over his left shoulder. It is possible that this figure next to the two nude monks depicts Indra, who pleaded with Ṛṣabhanātha to allow one fistful of hair to remain in place at the time of his self-inflicted tonsure. The next male figure to the left is carved in hierarchically large scale, for he fills the entire height of the architrave. The mid-section of his body has been eradicated by the later cutting of the mortise, but from the surviving leg at the bottom and his bust at the top it is evident that he is another nude monk, for no

[8] U. P. Shah, *Studies in Jaina Art*., p. 11, fn. 4. 'Lokāntika' may refer to the gods who dwell between the worlds, like *lokāntarika*.

hemline or trace of garment is visible on his leg or shoulders, and, moreover, his head is shaven. This larger nude monk appears to clutch a broad pleated cloth in his left hand (visible behind his knee in Fig. 28), judging from the length to which the cloth falls; admittedly, the intrusive mortise makes it impossible to be absolutely certain how this cloth was held or worn. It could have been draped over his left forearm, in which case it could be identified as the *colapaṭṭa* of a Jaina monk of the *ardhaphālaka* sect. The cloth is likely to be a *colapaṭṭa* or a similar accouterment of Jaina monks rather than an article of clothing belonging to one of the other figures. Such a broad, straight-edged cloth is unlike the ends of *uttarīya*s or other garments, which are narrower and consistently depicted with rippling hems, like the broken piece seen at the extreme left of the architrave (Fig. 27). The identification of these ascetics is uncertain, but they could represent Ṛṣabhanātha after his renunciation of the royal life, subsequent to his witnessing the dance and death of Nīlāñjanā, and during his time as a wandering ascetic.

Could one or both of these nude ascetics be identified as *ardhaphālaka* monks? Members of this sect are discernible on many sculptures from Mathura dating to the first century BCE to third century CE, and they are distinguished from Jaina monks of other sects by the broad pleated cloth over their left forearms. Possibly at this early date (ca. 100 BCE), which is earlier than the other known depictions of *ardhaphālaka* monks, they may have held the *colapaṭṭa* clutched in the hand instead of draped over the forearm.[9] Perhaps only by the first century BCE did they begin to drape it over their arm (Fig. 112). In the second and third centuries CE, the *ardhaphālaka*s consistently carried the cloth draped over the left forearm and held before them, covering their nudity (Fig. 177). The wearing of the *colapaṭṭa* to cover their nudity during the Kuṣāṇa period is indicative of the gradual integration of the *ardhaphālaka*s into the canonical *śvetāmbara* order of clothed Jaina monks. Thus we can identify a progression in the mode of carrying the *colapaṭṭa*. If these monks are actually members of the *ardhaphālaka* sect, then it is possible that on this architrave the ascetic Ṛṣabhanātha, prior to his attainment of enlightenment, was depicted in the guise of an *ardhaphālaka* monk. Furthermore, their presence on this architrave would indicate that the monument as a whole was an *ardhaphālaka* foundation. This would accord with archaeological evidence from the subsequent centuries, for in the known sculptures attributable to the first century BCE and first century CE, every Jaina monk depicted is of the *ardhaphālaka* sect. Hence, this architrave may serve as evidence for the antiquity of this unique sect of Jaina monks.

The carvings on the segment at the far left of the architrave (Figs. 25 and 27) are of extreme importance, as they depict two clearly identifiable images of the Jina Ṛṣabhanātha, seated in meditation with crossed ankles upon high cubical platforms. Both figures are nude; they wear no jewelry, and their *dhyāna-mudrā* is characteristic of Jinas in their portrayals throughout the subsequent history of Indian art. Both seated figures are positively

[9] In sculptures from Gandhāra depicting the *parinirvāṇa* of the Buddha, an *ājīvika* (name of a heterodox religious group) monk named Upagupta is depicted as being nude and grasping a small cloth in his hand. (See Dieter Schlingloff, "Jainas and Other 'Heretics' in Buddhist Art." From this later evidence, this small nude figure grasping a cloth and a bowl may be an *ājīvika* monk. However, until some textual evidence is found that could explain the existence of an *ājīvika* monk along with Ṛṣabhanātha, it seems more sensible to postulate that this figure is an *ardhaphālaka* Jaina monk. *Ardhaphālaka* monks are often shown together with images of Jinas in later sculptures, as seen, for example, in Fig. 151.

identifiable as Ṛṣabhanātha, for they have his specific salient iconographic feature of the single remaining lock of hair, here visible on both figures like a kind of pigtail projecting from the top of his head (Fig. 27).

Because of Indra's intercessions, Ṛṣabhanātha is the only one among all the Jinas to have been allowed one lock of hair after his renunciation, when the Jina-to-be is to pull all his hair from his head in five fistfuls. To my knowledge, these two depictions are unique in their literal presentation of the single lock of hair. In the sculptures of later centuries, Ṛṣabhanātha is depicted with long hair flowing over his shoulders. It is in this way that he is distinguished from other Jinas. These two early representations are more literal and in accordance with the textual accounts, since they depict only the single fistful of hair. They are also unique because of their current status as the earliest surviving images of a Jina in anthropomorphic form that are positively identifiable by their placement within a recognizable narrative context and by their distinctive iconography. The early stylistic features of the images are detectable in the flatness of the forms, masklike features, and crossed legs, which are tilted up and flattened out. The sanctity of each of the images of Ṛṣabhanātha is visually denoted by the presence of a single flanking *cauri* bearer to the left of each figure. Despite their small size and eroded condition, the fly whisks somewhat approximate the natural appearance of yak hairs, in their gently rippling and swaying appearance, which contrasts to the stylized rendition of the *cauri* carved in the earlier, more abstract style, seen in Fig. 7.

The two repeated figures of the Jinas and *cauri* bearers may represent two different scenes in a continuous narrative sequence. Pairs of seated Jinas are common in illustrated medieval and Rajput Jaina manuscripts or painted cloth *paṭṭa*s of the *Pañca-Kalyanaka*, depicting the five auspicious events in the life of Ṛṣabhanātha.[10] One painting in the collection of Edwin Binney 3rd at the San Diego Museum of Art may offer a clue about the identification of the two seated images of Ṛṣabhanātha in this architrave (Fig. 105).[11] It depicts two Jinas seated in meditation side by side, with labels, written in Prakrit, that identify one of the seated figures as being in *dhaana* (Sanskrit *dhyāna*, meditation) and the other as being in *kevala samaya* (*kevala samadhi*), referring to the highest blissful meditative state. This painting belongs to a manuscript attributed to the Amber court of Rajasthan, and the series to which it belonged also includes a painting of the dance of Nīlāñjanā.[12] Similarly, in the frieze from Kaṅkālī-Ṭīlā, the two seated images may depict Ṛṣabhanātha in two different stages of meditation leading to his enlightenment. The first image on the right would depict him in an early stage of meditation (*dhyāna*), and the second would represent the Jina in the ultimate, enlightened meditative state of *kevala samādhi*. The remnant of a piece of cloth at the broken left edge of the architrave suggests that the relief continued to the left when the architrave was complete (Fig. 27).

---

[10] See the illustrations of the renunciation and *samavasaraṇa* of Ṛṣabhanātha dating to ca. 1700 CE in Saryu Doshi, "The Pancha-Kalyanaka Pata," *Mārg*, vol. 31, no. 4, Sept. 1978, Pls. 7 and 8. I thank Dr. Robert J. Del Bonta for drawing my attention to this article.

[11] I am very grateful to Dr. Robert J. Del Bonta for informing me about this painting and its labels.

[12] Catherine Glynn, "Evidence of Royal Painting for the Amber Court," p. 92, Fig. 25. Though the paintings of this manuscript date to ca. 1670 CE, the basic elements of the story seem to have been preserved since the late second century BCE.

In its original context as an architrave of a gateway leading into a Jaina monument, this piece with the narrative scenes of the dance of Nīlāñjanā and the renunciation of Ṛṣabhanātha are analogous to the type of carvings on the gateways of *Stūpa* I at Sanchi, many of which have scenes from the life and previous lives of the Buddha. This is the only surviving architrave from this earlier period that depicts such a complex narrative, and its very existence argues in favor of there having been others. Such richly carved narrative friezes are also in the caves at Udayagiri and Khandagiri in Orissa, which, notably, are Jaina caves as well. Hence, the artists who produced the familiar narratives on the gateways of Sanchi *Stūpa* I were not the first to carve in this mode; the Jains of Mathura and Orissa already had the tradition of carving complex narrative friezes at least fifty to one hundred years prior.

Because the architrave with the dance of Nīlāñjanā is so fragmentary, it is difficult to be sure whether there was a clear central focal element to the composition; all we know is that the frieze continued to both the right and the left of the surviving pieces. We can postulate that possibly the original scene to the right of Nīlāñjanā's dance would have depicted the birth of Ṛṣabhanātha, while the scene at the left end could have depicted his *samavasaraṇa*, and thus the architrave could have encapsulated the five great events in the life of a Jina (*pañca-kalyanaka*) known in later literature. To a devotee passing under this architrave, the details of this complex narrative composition would have been barely discernible, besides possibly the dance in the pavilion, the seated nude iconic images, and the large nude monk.[13] Nevertheless, like scenes from the life or past lives of the Buddha, these events in the life of Ṛṣabhanatha were evidently considered appropriate adornment for the exterior of a sacred site, and much care was given to portrayals of them.

This narrative relief is of momentous importance in that it reveals the antiquity of sculptural representations of Jinas in anthropomorphic form at Mathura, the complexity of the narrative tradition in the early art of Mathura, and possible evidence for the existence of Jaina monks belonging to the *ardhaphālaka* sect as early as ca. 100 BCE. In no other region has there been discovery of a positively identifiable representation of a Jina in anthropomorphic form of such an early date. The nude male torsos from Harappa and Lohanipur[14] have been cited as examples of early Jaina *tīrthaṅkara*s that illustrate the antiquity of Jainism and the sculptural renditions of Jinas. The former, however, is usually dated to the early second millennium BCE, and there is no way that we can be certain of the figure's association with Jainism, since it is so far removed from anything else we recognize as Jaina. The case of the nude male torso from Lohanipur in Bihar is also puzzling. It is generally considered to date to around the third century BCE, during the Maurya period, which may very well be the case, but its date is by no means beyond dispute. Moreover, iconographically, there is no distinguishing feature that definitively identifies the torso as that of a Jaina *tīrthaṅkara*, aside from its frontal pose and its nudity. It is not impossible that such an image could represent a nude ascetic, rather than a Jina specifically. If the Lohanipur torso does represent a Jina and dates to the third century BCE, then it would

[13] See Robert L. Brown's discussion of narratives not visible to visitors in "Narrative as Icon: The Jātaka Stories in Ancient Indian and Southeast Asian Architecture," in *Sacred Biographies in the Buddhist Traditions of South and Southeast Asia*, ed. Juliane Schober, (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1997), pp. 64–109.

[14] U. P. Shah, *Jaina-Rūpa-Maṇḍana*, Pls. II.1 and II.2.

be earlier than the Ṛṣabhanātha figures on the architrave with the dance of Nīlāñjanā. However, we cannot be as certain about its identity; moreover, it is still an isolated example from eastern India of a Jina in anthropomorphic form, until the Kushan period, ca. second century CE, from which there are several bronzes from Chausa in Bihar.[15] So, unlike at Mathura, there does not seem to have been a continuous tradition of iconic representations of Jinas in human form during the first centuries BCE and CE in eastern India, or any other region of the subcontinent. The rock-cut Jaina sites of Udayagiri and Khandagiri in Orissa have extensive bas relief carvings, the early phase of which ranges in date from ca. late second century BCE to around the turn of the common era, but none of them includes an image of a Jina in human form. The famous Hathi Gumphā inscription of King Kharavela seems to refer to his recovery of the 'Kaliṅga Jina' from Magadha, whence it had been removed by the Nandas.[16] The bas reliefs, however, show the worship of only non-figural icons, such as the scene from the Mañcapuri Gumphā at Udayagiri in Fig. 106. This relief depicts a king, a queen, and other figures venerating an object upon a pedestal. Unfortunately, the object of veneration has been damaged, and its exact form is unclear. We can only say that it is not anthropomorphic. Hence, the possibility must remain open that the so-called 'Kaliṅga Jina' could refer to a non-figural icon. Other scenes of veneration at Udayagiri and Khandagiri also depict the worship of non-figural objects, such as the *caitya-vṛkṣa*.[17] In Mathura, however, representations of Jinas in human form were created through the centuries following the time when the architrave from Kaṅkālī-Ṭīlā with the dance of Nīlāñjanā was carved (e.g., Figs. 102, 141, 146, 151, and 156). Such consistency despite relatively scant remains from pre-Kuṣāṇa Mathura is indicative of a strong tradition of anthropomorphic iconism among the Jains of Mathura, a tradition that contributed significantly to the distinctive and influential quality of early Mathuran sculpture.

Architrave from Katrā: Brahmins with Pots in a Sacred Precinct (Figs. 29–34)

A double-sided *toraṇa* architrave was discovered at the site of Katrā in Mathura (GMM M.1). The sectarian affiliation of the monument to which it belonged remains unclear, and the precise subject matter of the carvings is unidentified. It is possible that the *toraṇa* belonged to a Hindu site, for one side seems to depict Brahmins in a precinct with shrines, a sacred pillar, and a *caitya-vṛkṣa*. Nevertheless, it also could represent scenes involving Brahmins in a Buddhist or Jaina context. This architrave is more than three feet (one meter) long, and thus would have formed part of the superstructure of a gateway of impressive proportions. Like the aforementioned centaur architrave (SML J.535; Figs. 21 and 22), the Katrā architrave is slightly curved, in accordance with the relief representation of a *toraṇa* at the end of one of its sides (Fig. 31) and like the architraves of the gateways from Bharhut.[18] Later architraves dating to the first century CE were straight, such as the

---

[15] M. N. Deshpande, "Kushan Bronzes from Chausa and Satavahana Bronzes."

[16] For a reliable and representative interpretation of the heavily damaged Hathi Gumphā inscription at Udayagiri in Orissa, see D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions Bearing on Indian History and Civilization*, vol. I, p. 217, line 12.

[17] E.g., Debala Mitra, *Udayagiri and Khandagiri* (New Delhi: Director General, Archaeological Survey of India, 1975), Pl. XIV, b.

[18] A. K. Coomaraswamy, *La Sculpture de Bharhut*, Pl. II, Fig. 3.

one in Fig. 295. The bottom of this architrave has a *vedikā* and an alternating row of bells and tassels on both sides. The bottom edge seems to have been straightened out at some later date, indicating that it was reused.

At the far left end of the architrave, at the broken edge, we see a gateway with its two curved architraves separated from each other by small vertical balusters (Fig. 31). A male figure passes through the *toraṇa* and into a kind of sacred precinct; only his head and arms remain at this broken end. A square, hut-like shrine with a quadrapartite pointed roof surrounded by a *vedikā*, indicating its sanctity, stands immediately inside the gateway. A line of four male figures moves towards the center of the composition, each carrying a bowl in his right hand and raising his left arm with the hand held horizontally, in a gesture with the palm facing outwards and pointing towards the activity in the center.[19] Each figure fills the entire height of the architrave. Another male figure bends down on his right knee and pours the contents of a large pot into his bowl, which is placed on the ground before him (Fig. 32). To the right is a squat, broad-mouthed pot with what appears to be the handle of a pestle standing upright from its center. Four men are seated cross-legged next to the pots; the leftmost man gestures towards the center like the other men at the left of the architrave, while the remaining three seated figures hold their hands in their laps in a relaxed position (Fig. 33). The sculpture is quite worn, so it is difficult to discern whether they have bowls on their laps or on the ground in front of them. At the far right of the architrave stands a pillar without capital, and, remarkably, a *chattra* has been set up next to it, its pole placed flush next to the pillar itself, evidently indicating its sanctity. This may be the sole example of a sacred pillar shaded by a *chattra*. It does not appear to be a *yūpa*, for it is not curved at the top, nor does it seem to be a Śaiva *liṅga*, although this is not impossible. To the right of the pillar and *chattra* ensemble is another square-roofed (with a point) shrine surrounded by a *vedikā*, just like the one next to the *toraṇa* at the left end of the frieze. At the far right end, next to the shrine, is a sacred tree with three horizontal rings around the base of its trunk and garlands hanging from its branches. The presence of the *caitya-vṛkṣa*, the shrines with *vedikā*s, and the sacred pillar suggest that the space occupied by the ten male figures is a kind of holy sanctuary.

The two small shrines, which are square in plan and with a four-cornered roof that comes to a point at the apex, may be the earliest surviving representations of small Hindu temple structures. They are probably similar in form and function to the Buddhist shrines seen as loci of worship in a *toraṇa* panel from *Stūpa* I at Sanchi.[20] They may represent single-story precursors to the multistoried tower-like shrines that are carved in later reliefs, such as those in Figs. 285 and 301 and reliefs of the Kuṣāṇa period.[21]

This enigmatic scene on the Katrā architrave has not been satisfactorily identified. Previous scholars have assumed that it is a Buddhist scene, but, as mentioned above, it may be Brahmanical. The ten male figures may be Brahmins, since they all appear to

[19] Cf. the similar gesture of the foremost rider of the elephant on one side of the centaur architrave in Fig. 24.

[20] See A. K. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, Fig. 56.

[21] See Marylin Martin Rhie, *Early Buddhist Art of China and Central Asia*, Figs. I.35a–e. Previous scholars have identified these structures in the Katrā architrave as *stūpa*s, but they are unlike any known *stūpa* in form, as they lack the characteristic *aṇḍa*.

have tufts of hair atop their heads. The worn condition of the surface of the stone makes it difficult to determine with certainty, but faint traces of a *yajñopavita*, the sacred thread worn by initiated Brahmins, may be discerned on some of the figures. Moreover, they wear *dhoti*s and even possibly earrings rather than the robes of Buddhist monks. All of them have exaggerated, portly stomachs. The presence of the sacred pillar, which may be identified with an unusual type of Śiva *liṅga*, might further relate this scene to a Hindu sect. The particular ritual or other activity taking place in this scene is as yet undetermined. The grammarian Patañjali, probably writing near Mathura around the middle of the second century BCE, near the time at which this architrave was carved, referred obliquely to inefficacious rituals involving a circle of pots, so perhaps this Katrā architrave depicts a ritual of this nature.[22]

The other side of the Katrā architrave depicts a two-story arcaded gallery with a barrel-vaulted structure in the center (Fig. 30). This structure may be identified as a large *gopuram*, or gatehouse, with a heavy roll entablature and windows in the shape of concave squares flanking the central entranceway. The ogee arches are decorated with abstract ornament that seems to mimic a floral motif (Fig. 34); the arches are complete with two-tiered lattice-work tympana that may have been like the one pictured in Fig. 11. All openings and balconies are peopled with men and women looking out, some in *añjalī-mudrā* (Figs. 30 and 34). They all seem to be lay people wearing turbans and ornaments.

Despite its worn condition, we can nevertheless ascertain key features for determining that this architrave should date to around 100 BCE. The repetitive and angular quality of the gestures of the Brahmins in Fig. 29 is akin to the Bharhut style, as is their regimental arrangement with intervening plain ground space. The *dhoti*s worn by the Brahmins have the triangulated segment falling between their legs, and the eyes and other facial features of the lay people in the arcaded gallery have a vacant and abstracted quality (Fig. 34). Aspects indicating a more advanced date, however, can be seen in the bulging fleshiness of the bellies of the Brahmins over their girdles (Figs. 31 and 32) and in the increased interest in revealing more of the female form (Fig. 34 left). The composition on the side with the arcaded gallery reveals the beginning of an interest in crowding. The left edge of this side of the Katrā architrave has a vertical bead-and-reel border, not noticeable on the other side with the Brahmins with pots in a sacred precinct.

The occasional glimmers of commonality with the early styles of other sites such as Bhaja in western India are visible in the Katrā architrave. The complex turbans with multiple puffy lobes and striated detailing (Fig. 34) are closely related to the style of turbans

---

[22] Patañjali referred to a strange Brahmanical ritual that possibly took place in the environs of Mathura during the mid-second century BCE, in the context of remarking on the apparent meaninglessness of ritual:

> *yadudumbaravarṇānaṃ ghaṭīnāṃ maṇḍalaṃ mahat*
> *pītaṃ na gamayetsvargaṃkiṃ tatkratugataṃ nayeditii*

Translation:

> "If a large circle of *udumbura* [copper or terra-cotta?]-colored pots [filled with liquor?], having been drunk, does not lead to heaven, likewise, how would this [circle of pots], having been used in a ritual, lead to heaven?"

(*The Vyākaraṇa-Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali*, ed. F. Kielhorn, Vol. I, p. 3). Cf. Shingo Einoo, "Studien zum Śrautarritual, I," p. 11.

worn by figures in the reliefs at Bhaja (Fig. 120). The undulating quality of the parallel pleat lines, which makes them look as if they were made with a wire implement in clay, as seen in the rendition of the upper garment of the third figure from the left in Fig. 34, seems related to the method of depicting fabric at Bhaja.

The three architraves presented in this section—the architrave with the procession and centaurs worshipping a *stūpa* (Figs. 21–24), the one with the dance of Nīlañjanā and the Jina Ṛṣabhanātha (Figs. 25–28), and the one with the Brahmins in a sacred precinct and the assembly in an arcaded gallery (Figs. 29–34)—are highly instructive. These three surviving examples from this period are astounding in the diversity and uniqueness of their carvings; each of the five friezes depicts a different theme, and each is unlike other architraves known from other sites of any time period. They alone provide a glimpse into the richness and complexity of the sculpture that adorned early Mathuran monuments, that either have been destroyed or remain undiscovered, and they convey a great deal of information about the religious culture of the period. The two architraves probably from the Jaina site of Kaṅkālī-Ṭīlā indicate that by the late second century BCE the Jainas at Mathura had major monuments, which included *stūpa*s. Furthermore, the relief depicting the dance of Nīlāñjanā proves that the Jainas at Mathura had a sophisticated narrative tradition surrounding the life of the Jina Ṛṣabhanātha, the antiquity of which is otherwise unknowable from surviving texts. The architrave from Katrā provides us with valuable information regarding the architecture of the period, including the large barrel-vaulted gatehouse, elaborate open structures with arches and balconies, a miniature *toraṇa* like the ones to which these three architraves would have originally belonged, and small square shrines that may be the basic unit of the more elaborate roofed towers seen in later periods. A multiplicity of sacred objects that were venerated in Mathura during the late second century BCE, some of which are surprising and unseen in any other examples of early Indian sculpture, are notable on these three architraves: a sacred pillar, *caitya-vṛkṣa*, enclosed shrines, iconic Jina images, and a Jaina *stūpa*. A study of these three architraves shows that there apparently was no single prescription for the type of imagery that was to adorn the superstructure of gateways, which mark the boundary between the mundane and sacred spaces. Brahmins engaged in an unknown ritual or just a daily activity, devotees in an architectural setting, mythical composite creatures worshipping a *stūpa*, a procession, narrative scenes from the life of the first Jina—all of these themes were appropriate, and although they are individually unique, their basic subjects accord with those represented on intact gateways at other, better preserved, sites.

Gateway Balusters

Lending supplementary support between the architraves that form the superstructure of *toraṇa*s are small, rectangular struts or balusters. Such balusters are seen on the reconstructed *toraṇa*s of Bharhut and Sanchi as well as in miniature bas relief representations of *toraṇa*s of this period, such as at one end of the architrave from Katrā (Fig. 31). These balusters are usually carved with simple representations of worshippers or sacred objects. We discussed in Chapter One an example of a baluster from Mathura, carved with female votaries in the Bharhut style of ca. 150 BCE (Figs. 12a and 12b), in the collection of the Los Angeles County Museum of Art. In this section we will consider those I attribute to the subsequent phase.

Baluster from Bayana: Male Worshippers (Figs. 35 and 36)

A double-sided piece from the site of Bayana (also Bājnā) in Mathura (GMM 18.1448) measures nine and three quarters inches (twenty-five centimeters) in height and is less than five inches (thirteen centermeters) wide. It has a tenon on both the top and bottom, which indicates that it was inserted into mortises between two architraves. The male figures carved on each side are worshippers bearing clusters of flowers, and it is not possible to ascertain a sectarian affiliation for the site to which it originally belonged.

The two very similar male votaries have been carved in low relief on this baluster, one on each side, and they both exhibit the softening of forms combined with stiffness that characterize images of ca. 100 BCE. Both figures stand with their left hands at hip level; in their raised right hands they grasp a cluster of bud-shaped flowers.[23] Thus, they stand in the usual posture of a *yakṣa* or lay votary who bears flower offerings to a sacred site (cf. Fig. 138, from Sanchi). Like a *yakṣa* or lay votary, they both wear jewelry, a *dhoti* secured by a sash, heavy earrings, and a turban with large knots. Their upper garments are abbreviated and rendered as narrow strips, the ends of which hang down to either side in a stiffly fluttering manner. Much empty ground space remains around each figure.

Balusters from Ranipur: Male Worshippers (Figs. 37 and 38)

A small stone fragment (GMM 19.1562) from Ranipur in Mathura may also be an example of a baluster that would have separated two architraves at Mathura, but the tenons have broken off. Its dimensions are almost identical to those of the baluster from Bayana just discussed, and its carvings are also of the same type. The baluster from Ranipur is also double sided; each face is carved with a male figure bearing an offering, which appears to be a basket made of leaves and filled with flowers for the performance of *pūjā*. The figures stand less frontally than those on the baluster from Bayana; they are in more of a three-quarter angle to the viewer, but their limbs are bent sharply, and what remains of their faces and turbans suggests a date of ca. 100 BCE. The upper garments of the figures appear flat, are draped over both shoulders, and fall in a U over the chest, and the ends hang down to both sides. These two double-sided balusters from Bayana and Ranipur with the simple depiction of pious male figures are examples of the kind of architectural piece that would have stood between two architraves in its original context on a gateway at Mathura.

Gateway Brackets

Like the famous *yakṣī*s gracing the sides of the *toraṇa*s at Sanchi (Fig. 117), brackets in the form of *yakṣī*s have also been recovered dating to this period at Mathura. Such architectonic brackets ostensibly function to support and stabilize the ends of the architraves. Beginning in the second century BCE and continuing throughout the history of Indian

[23] R. C. Sharma has identified the figure on one unspecified side of the Bayana die with Kāmadeva, saying that the figure holds the flowers used for arrows by the god of love (*The Splendour of Mathura, Art and Museum*, p. 69). However, devotees grasping a bunch of flowers to bring to a sacred site are commonly represented (see the second centaur from the right in Fig. 21, obverse), and since these are double-sided figures on a baluster that probably would have separated *toraṇa* architraves, the Bayana male figures are best identified as generic devotees. Without the presence of a *makara*, there is no reason to identify these figures as Kāmadeva.

architecture, such brackets have been carved in the form of seductive female figures. The curved form of a bracket lends itself particularly well to the dehanche pose of a woman or *yakṣī* grasping the bough of a tree—a favorite motif for Indian artists.

Brackets from Kaṅkālī-Ṭīlā: Yakṣī *on Gaṇā and* Yakṣī *on Elephant Protome (Figs. 39–41)*
Two curved brackets were reportedly recovered from Kaṅkālī-Ṭīlā, the same Jaina site where the architraves with the centaurs worshipping a *stūpa* and the dance of Nīlāñjanā were found (Figs. 21, 22, and 25). It is possible that these brackets came from the same gateway as the centaur architrave (Figs. 21 and 22), given their stylistic congruence, but this is by no means certain. Each of the brackets measures about three feet (almost one meter) in height and depicts a *yakṣī* or, alternatively, *śālabhañjikā*, clutching the branches of a tree. In subject matter they represent the same theme as the Mehrauli *yakṣī* discussed in Chapter Two (Fig. 2), and the figures themselves are of comparable size. Whereas the Mehrauli *yakṣī* was carved upon the post of a railing, these two *śālabhañjikā* figures originally would have formed part of a large *toraṇa*, connecting the underside of an architrave to the supporting pillar for added strength. The tenon visible at the base of each of the curved brackets would have fit into a socket in the side of one of the gateway's two main pillars, which are now lost. The famous, but later, counterparts of these *śālabhañjikā*s from Kaṅkālī-Ṭīlā are those on the gateways of *Stūpa* I at Sanchi (e.g., the one pictured in Fig. 117). A contemporaneous example of the mode in which such brackets would have been used, although not carved with images of *śālabhañjkikā*s, is seen in the small, fragmentary bas relief representation of a *toraṇa* with three architraves on the side of the Kāmaloka pillar, discussed below (Fig. 47). Although only the curling ends of the architrave survive, we can detect a curved bracket supporting the lowermost architrave.

The two brackets from Kaṅkalī-Ṭīlā are carved in the familiar pink sandstone of the Mathura region, and they are so similar to each other that we can posit production from the same workshop, if not the same artist or group of artists. The *yakṣī* in Fig. 39 stands upon the back and head of a bending *yakṣa* or *gaṇā*, and the one pictured in Fig. 40 is supported by the protome of an elephant. Since these two figures are apparently from Kaṅkālī-Ṭīlā, they may have adorned a *toraṇa* of a *stūpa* or other *caitya* at a Jaina sanctuary (*ayatana*), for the findings from that site are predominantly, if not exclusively, Jaina. Otherwise, there is no feature inherent in the carvings of these bracket figures that admits of an affiliation with a particular religious group.

The stylistic features of these bracket figures suggest a date of ca. 100 BCE; in other words, they are probably attributable to a slightly later phase than that of the Mehrauli *yakṣī*. They do, however, retain many of the early Bharhut-type characteristics. Angularity is pronounced in these two bracket figures, especially in the sharp bending of their legs, which are flattened out to the side, and in the exaggerated jutting of their hips (Figs. 39–41). The slightly disjointed body adds to the sense of segmentation; each figure does not cohere into an organic, smooth form. Their sashes, coifs (Fig. 41), jewelry, and the lily beneath the elephant protome (Figs. 40 and 41) evince the characteristic early flatness and two-dimensionality that link these sculptures to the mid–second century BCE. Furthermore, incised lines carved under their breasts and running down their abdomens contribute to a sense of abstraction. As with the Mehrauli *yakṣī*, their girdles cut straight across each of their figures, as is particularly evident in the rear view (Fig. 41). Their

lower garments hang stiffly between their legs, creating a geometric shape, and the pleats are rendered with parallel incised lines, while the hemlines are enhanced by rippling incisions. The calm, blank expression found on the faces of both bracket figures is another common feature shared with other sculptures carved in the pan-Indian style of the mid-second century BCE. However, there is less interest in refined detailing than was noted on the Mehrauli *yakṣī* (Fig. 2). The bracket figures' sashes, for example, were left plain. Their ornaments are reduced in complexity, revealing more of their bodies. The beginnings of a trend towards softening are noticeable overall in their figures, when they are compared to the Mehrauli *yakṣī*. These are seen especially in their chubby legs and the slightly softer swelling of their abdomens, as well as in the carving of the elephant protome in Figs. 40 and 41, although abstraction still dominates in the fanciful spiral created by the trunk.

Just as these bracket *yakṣī*s from Kaṅkālī-Ṭīlā represent examples of the female form from Mathura at this period, they also provide depictions of trees on the obverse and reverse of both brackets, neither of which has survived on the damaged Mehrauli *yakṣī*. The foliage is portrayed as a compact and somewhat chaotic mass of leaves and flowers, which is not as clearly readable as are the sharply carved trees of Bharhut sculpture (Fig. 5). The vegetation has a puffiness that recalls the 'froth and foam' appearance characteristic of the carvings at Bhaja in Maharashtra (Fig. 120). The coincidence of this particular style not only supports the argument for an early date for the Kaṅkālī-Ṭīlā bracket *yakṣī*s, but also suggests that there may have been a cultural connection between Mathura and the western coastal region near modern Bombay during this period.

The comparison between the Mehrauli *yakṣī* and the *śālabhañjikā* figures on the two brackets from Kaṅkālī-Ṭīlā indicates the trajectory of stylistic development in the art of Mathura from the mid-second to mid-first century BCE. The hardness of surfaces as seen on the Mehrauli *yakṣī* and the contemporaneous sculptures discussed in Chapter Two became softer over time, and the meticulous incised detailing became simplified, resulting in more unified organic forms. We can detect the beginnings of these trends in the carvings of the Kaṅkālī-Ṭīlā bracket figures and the other works of art examined in this chapter. The figures also reveal that major sites in Mathura were being embellished with large gateways during the mid- to late second century BCE, from which we may infer that the Jaina community at Mathura was already prospering at this early date.

Gateway Pillars

The kind of architectural piece that I consider to be a *toraṇa* pillar, instead of a railing upright, is a vertical pillar that is almost square in cross section. *Toraṇa* pillars are much thicker than most rail posts, since they support the weight of the architraves, balusters and brackets. Corner rail posts can also be as thick, but they differ in that corner rail posts are carved only on two adjacent sides. *Toraṇa* pillars, such as those at Sanchi *Stūpas* I and III, are square and carved with reliefs of *yakṣa*s, floral and animal ornament, amorous couples, worshippers, or narrative panels on at least three sides. Devotees would pass between two large *toraṇa* pillars when entering the sacred precinct.

Toraṇa *Pillars from Amin*: Mithuna *and* Yakṣa *(Figs. 42–45)*

The site of Amin in the Karnal District of Haryana has yielded the lower part of two *toraṇa* pillars, carved in red sandstone with buff-colored streaks.[24] One of these railing pillars depicts a *mithuna*, wherein the woman stands to the right of a male figure whose arm is placed around her shoulders (Fig. 42). He holds a bowl or a cup in his left hand. The segmented quality of her figure is emphasized by the curved lines beneath her breasts and the vertical incised line down her abdomen, similar to the carvings on the bracket figures from Kaṅkālī-Ṭīlā (Figs. 39 and 40) and the Mehrauli *yakṣī* (Fig. 2). The ornaments, coif, and mode of dress, with a plain flat sash and incised pleats on the lower garment of the female figure on the sculpture from Amin, also are similar to those of the bracket figures. Although the woman and man are turned towards each other, their expressions are unseeing, and their heavily outlined eyes recall those of the male *cauri* bearer discussed in Chapter Two (Fig. 7). The squared-off necklace, consisting of parallel rows with two rectangular ornamental clasps, worn by the woman's male companion on the Amin post, also closely resembles that of the *cauri* bearer.

The figures, however, evince some softening, which indicates that they date to a slightly later phase than the *cauri* bearer and the Mehrauli *yakṣī*. This softening is noticeable especially in the articulation of their abdomens and in the fact that their girdles do not cut so horizontally across their bodies. Moreover, they stand with some sense of weight, in contrast to the figures from the railings at Bharhut, which seem to hover. They also appear less flattened, as they are carved in fairly high relief. Thus, the Amin *mithuna* shows the beginnings of a change from the strict two-dimensionality that pervades sculptures dating to ca. 150 BCE, such as those from Bharhut, in particular. The flat, incised *vedikā*s, overlapping rosette borders, and upper row of stepped merlons (which are stylized and abbreviated parapets) with interspersed trefoil ornament are common motifs in the sculpture of this period. The sides of the pillar are carved with full-blown lotus medallions attached to a rhizome issuing from the mouth of a *gaṇa*, rows of floral and geometric ornament, and a donative inscription (Appendix I.7).

The lower part of another gatepost was found at Amin at the same time, and in the long, rectangular inset panel stands a male figure instead of a *mithuna*. He seems to represent a larger version of the male figures on either side of the balusters from Bayana (Figs. 35 and 36). He is analogous to the *yakṣa*s at the lower inner faces of the Sanchi *toraṇa*s (Fig. 138), and like these Bayana and Sanchi figures, he stands with his left hand at his hip, and he holds a lotus flower in his upraised right hand. He wears the typical necklace, heavy earrings, turban, and lower garment tied at the waist. His upper garment is cursorily rendered with incised pleat lines, and they fall like stiff narrow strips, in a manner not dissimilar to that depicted on the smaller versions on the Bayana baluster.

[24] Cf. R. C. Agrawala, "Śuṅga Pillars from Amin, Near Kurukshetra," and "Early History and Archaeology of Kurukshetra Region" (*Indian Historical Quarterly* XXXI, no. 4, 1955, pp. 204–206). Since Amin is about one hundred and fifty miles (241.4 kilometers) north of Mathura, these pillars may represent examples of early export objects from Mathura. The tradition of exporting sculptures from Mathura continued throughout the first century BCE, as evidenced by the Faizabad *yakṣī*, to at least the fourth century CE, as evidenced by the seated Buddha of the Year 64 from Bodhgaya, which I interpret to be a sculpture carved in Mathura and exported to Bihar, although this is not beyond dispute. In any event, Amin may be considered to be in the outer reaches of the Śūrasena cultural region, which is technically in the neighboring Kurukṣetra territory.

This sculpture seems to have been rendered with less care than that of the *mithuna* from the same site; nonetheless, it is probably not too different in date, if at all. Some softening and loosening of forms are seen in the Amin *yakṣa*, which suggests that it postdates the Bharhut style, yet it is still significantly more archaistic than the *yakṣa*s of *Stūpa* I at Sanchi. Above the *yakṣa* are two square panels with rather hastily carved rosettes. A border of semicircles and a version of the honeysuckle motif surrounds three sides of the sculpture. The two sides of this pillar are carved with floral rhizomes, issuing on one side from a pot and on the other from the mouth of a *makara* (Figs. 44 and 45). Geometric designs and rosettes in squares make up the border of one side (Fig. 44). The sharpness of the carvings and the flat quality that is particularly discernible in the *makara* at the bottom of Fig. 45 are characteristics that further serve to indicate an early date for this *toraṇa* pillar.

The Amin pillars would have formed the lower part of a *toraṇa* of relatively impressive size, since the surviving parts measure more than a foot (one-third meter) wide and deep. If they are from a Buddhist monument, as the name 'Bhikhunikā' (*bhikshuṇi* means Buddhist nun) in the inscription on the post with the *mithuna* might imply, then this architectural fragment is one of the earliest pieces of evidence for a major Buddhist site in the region. The other early evidence includes the Dhanabhuti inscription (Appendix I.1), possibly the inscribed pillar with the *stūpa* (Fig. 8), the Hathīn and Bhādas *yakṣa* pillars (Figs. 56 and 61), the Bodhighara medallion (Fig. 71) and the *Vaṇṇupatha Jātaka* fragment (Fig. 81) discussed below.

Kāmaloka *Pillar (Figs. 46a–50)*

Despite the worn condition of the *kāmaloka* pillar (GMM I.11), its relief carvings are among the most intriguing and complex of this period at Mathura. The scenes on this pillar were identified by J. P. Vogel as scenes from the idyllic *kāmaloka* ('pleasure world'), since it depicts scenes of pleasure and cavorting.[25] Alternatively, the panels on the *kāmaloka* pillar might simply represent auspicious amorous scenes, similar to those on the gateposts at Sanchi and on other rail posts and doorjambs at Mathura itself (cf. Figs. 51 and 66).

The *kāmaloka* pillar is large; the surviving part measures more than five feet (1.6 meters) in height. The pillar was sliced down the middle at some later date; what is left is a tall, thin rectangular slab. Judging from the curling ends of the architraves carved in relief on one of the sides (Fig. 47), the pillar was probably square, and less than half has survived; given the size of the curling ends, the sides of the *kāmaloka* pillar originally would have had to have been about the same width as the extant front face. Since it was carved on at least three sides, and since it appears to have been square, this pillar was evidently a post of a gateway that would have supported architraves of its own.

The *kāmaloka* pillar is divided into eight panels, each demarcated by a horizontal *vedikā*; some of the panels on the front face wrap around to the sides of the pillar as well. The lowermost panel, broken and almost completely defaced, depicts the remains of four atlantean *yakṣa*s (Fig. 47). The two central *yakṣa*s hold their left arms akimbo, and seem to effortlessly support their weighty load with only one hand. The flanking *yakṣa*s on the

[25] J. P. Vogel, *Catalogue of the Archaeological Museum at Mathura*, p. 136.

corners face outward, and they use two hands, one hand supporting the next level on the side and one on the front. The remains of these load-bearing *yakṣa*s show that they are similar in type to the large-scale *yakṣa* from Pitalkhora in Maharashtra and the ones from Dumduma in Orissa, which also are datable to around the same time.[26]

The next two panels on the front side, above the four atlantes, depict renditions of early architectural structures (Fig. 46a). The larger lower panel contains an imposing city gate and fortification wall with no visible means of entrance. The gate has two projecting pylons, and its stories are demarcated by *vedikā*s. The central part of the top story is barrel vaulted with finials, while the tops of the flanking pylons have ogival arches filled with latticework tympana, much like those of the arcaded structure on one side of the Katrā architrave (Fig. 30). One small tree has been carved in front of the wall at the right, while two tall, impressive palm trees flank the gate behind the wall. A three-story tower, now almost completely defaced on the front, originally was carved on each edge of the front panel. Two *dvarapāla*s are shown standing guard behind the wall, one on each side of the gate. They appear to be foreigners, since they wear a pointed cap that may be an interpretation of the Phrygian type of hat (Fig. 46a). The foreign dress is more clearly visible on the guard carved on the narrow left side of the pillar, adjacent to the scene with the city gate and palm trees. He wears a 'Phrygian cap' and sewn tunic with a belt, and, like the *dvarapāla*s on the front side, he carries a spear and a shield. The depiction of door guardians in foreign dress is common at early Indian sites, including Sanchi *Stūpa* I, Pitalkhora, and the Rāṇī Gumphā at Udayagiri, Orissa. He stands in front of another large tree, whose stylized leaves are rendered with flat, sharply incised plaited patterns in vertical strips. This interest in depicting gratuitous landscape elements was noted in connection with the centaur architrave above (Figs. 21 and 22), and I consider it to be a feature of the art of this period.

On the opposite side of the pillar, to the right, adjacent to the large panel with the city gate, is a male figure in native Indian dress holding a spear or a staff in his right hand and an indistinct object up in his left hand (Fig. 47). He is sitting, his left leg crossed and his right leg pulled up in front of him. Whether he is also a guardian is uncertain, although likely. Above him, still on the narrow right side of the *kāmaloka* pillar, has been carved one half of a two-story tower, the other half being effaced, but originally on the front panel, so the structure wraps around the corner of the pillar. Next to the tower are the curling ends of three *toraṇa* architraves, each of which has a blossom dangling from the end (Fig. 47). This kind of curling architrave end is also at the far right of the Katrā architrave (Figs. 29 and 31).

On the front face of the *kāmaloka* pillar, in the narrow register above the large city gate panel, (Fig. 46a) is a carved covered staircase with a vaulted roof leading diagonally up from the right side of the panel. The base of the staircase has a latticework tympanum, and the balustrades are articulated as *vedikā*s. At the top of the staircase is a small square enclosure with a pointed roof and a tiny square window with concave sides. Behind the staircase is the figure of a pot-bellied, bejeweled male who faces away from the staircase,

---

[26] The *yakṣa* from Pitalkhora is in the National Museum, New Delhi, and the Dumduma *yakṣas* are in the Orissa State Museum (Ay 8). For a photograph of the former, see Pramod Chandra, *The Sculpture of India*, Cat. no. 6, pp. 11 and 51, and for the latter, see K. C. Panigrahi, *Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneswar*, Fig. 4.

while directly in front of the entrance at the bottom of the stairs is another small male figure with sword and turban, apparently about to ascend. Two more atlantean *yakṣa*s flank this panel, squatting under the heavy load, their bulbous midsections burgeoning out over their wide girdles (Figs. 46a and 47). Only half of the atlantean *yakṣa* on the left has been carved on the adjacent side of the pillar; he does not wrap around the corner as does the *yakṣa* on the right. The turban, lower garment and girdle of the *yakṣa* are all articulated with incised parallel lines, which represent a continuation of the abstraction characteristic of the second century BCE. He also has the wide torque and the blank expression with mask-like features that betoken the styles of this period.

The staircase leads up into the next panel on the front face of the *kāmaloka* pillar (Fig. 46b); the pointed roof of the chamber at the top of the stairs overlaps the *vedikā* that divides one panel from the next. Evidently, at the top of the stairs is a room crowded with figures engaged in festivities; however, unfortunately, the heavily eroded condition of the panel precludes a clear description of the goings-on. From what remains of the relief, we can detect a man and a woman seated in the lower left corner, the woman's right hand resting on the right thigh of the male figure; she is turned and looking towards him.[27] His right hand and her left are raised, perhaps indicating response to the music being played before them. Behind the seated couple stand two female figures, who may be attendants. A dance scene is portrayed in the right half of the panel. The female dancer is shown with both feet planted on the ground, her legs bent, and her left arm bent and upraised. She wears heavy roll anklets, a girdle that is slung low on her hips, and a sash tied loosely around her waist. To her right are musicians; two drummers are seen at the lower right, and a woman playing a harp is at the upper right. The density with which the figures are packed together, the energy of the dancer, and the twisting and interaction between the seated couple all point to a date later than that of sculptures carved in the stiff Bharhut style. No artificial boundaries divide the musicians from the dancer or from the onlookers; the scene is envisioned as an organic, disorderly whole. This is among the more advanced works of art from this period.

In the surmounting panel, beneath two ogee arches separated by a pillar, are two scenes seemingly depicting groups of lovers (Fig. 46b). The niche on the right, which is badly effaced, depicts a tall male figure apparently with his arms around the shoulders of two flanking female figures; another female figure at the right seems to look on (cf. Fig. 66). On the left are three figures, one apparently seated at the far left, a woman reclining on a couch, and a man bending over the figure on the couch. The bas relief depictions of pillars that flank and divide the archways are of a slightly different type than we have seen so far on the sculptures of this period. They have no base and are topped by a tripartite capital; the lowest segment is a campaniform lotus capital, which is topped by addorsed couchant lions and an inverse stepped pyramid with a line of beads between each row. In later capitals, the inverse stepped pyramid had evolved into a voluted capital, whereas the campaniform lotus section was simplified into an *āmalaka* or grooved disk (cf. Fig. 235).

---

[27] This gesture is reminiscent of the seated couple in a relief from Pitalkhora in Maharashtra, of approximately the same time period, now housed in the National Museum, Delhi. See Vidya Dehejia, *Early Buddhist Rock Temples*, Fig. 28.

Above the narrow register is a broader level that is a bit clearer than those carved below (Fig. 46c). A portly dwarf gazes up at a woman who coquettishly holds both her hands above her head and stands with her weight primarily on her left leg. V. S. Agrawala made a particularly apt comment on this stance:

> In later literature these females are sometimes styled as *Alasā Kanyā* or simply *Alasā* whose special feature was the stretching of youthful limbs specially by throwing the arms above the head in a languid manner. This was an amorous pose of an indolent woman filled with intoxication of love and we find these poses on a couple of pillars in Mathura art.[28]

The *kāmaloka* pillar contains one such example. A tall male figure next to the woman is in the act of removing the sash from around her waist. The square medallion hanging below her breasts recalls the ornament of the Mehrauli *yakṣī* (Fig. 2), but, in comparison to the Mehrauli *yakṣī*, her overall figure displays greater unification in the representation of the body, which is a later trait. Another male figure interacts with a kneeling woman at the right. Surprisingly, she wears a conical headdress with a long tassel dangling from the end; this may be a foreign type of cap. She also wears a *channavīra*, or ornamental crossed straps with a floral clasp in the middle, between her breasts. With her right hand she reaches to the top of the man's head. This gesture recalls an instance of turban-grasping in a roughly contemporaneous, although slightly earlier, carving (Fig. 66) discussed below; hence, it could have been recognized behavior between lovers. Behind them is a curtain with an embroidered border, draped in swags from the ceiling. A figure peers out from behind the curtain, voyeuristically gazing upon the scene; this is a common motif in early Indian sculpture (see the fragmentary *mithuna* scene in Fig. 68 and in *mithuna* scenes from Bodhgaya such as that in Fig. 107a). This panel on the *kāmaloka* pillar can be considered a morphological precursor to the drunken courtesan or bacchanalian scenes from the Kuṣāṇa period.[29]

The two surmounting panels are almost completely effaced. Only some traces of similarly crowded figural relief sculpture are visible in the upper left corner of the topmost panel. The remains of three male figures, one brandishing a sword in his left hand, can be discerned in front of an elephant, whose trunk is held high. The bellicose male figure in association with an elephant recalls the story of King Māndhātā and his conquest of *kāmaloka*. Could this top scene have once depicted the mythical king's destruction of the pleasure world, couched as a Buddhist story, as in the *Divyāvadāna* and *Mandhātujātaka*?[30]

> The story relates the exploits of an ideal king, Māndhāta, who destroys the realms of desire, but ultimately in . . . one of the most famous and most meaningful stories of a world ruler, . . . who finally is destroyed because he yields to the temptation of absolute power. . . . Greed and the desire for power can never lead to contentment and the right way of life is to be found inside a monastery.[31]

---

[28] V. S. Agrawala, *Studies in Indian Art*, Varanasi, p. 229.

[29] The drunken courtesan scene on the sculpture in the National Museum, Delhi is thought to be from the *Mṛcchakaṭikā*, and a dwarf is present by the courtesan. See Stanislaw Czuma and Rekha Morris, *Kushan Sculpture: Images from Early India*, cat. no. 41, pp. 108–109. For the drunken courtesan sculptures in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, see Ramaprasad Chanda, "The Mathura School of Sculpture," Pl. XXXVIII, b.

[30] *Divyāvadāna* XVII, ed. E. B. Cowell and R. A. Neill, (Cambridge: University Press, 1886), p. 210; *Mandhātujātaka*, no. 258, and *Dhammapada* 186–187 cited in Monika Zin, "The Identification of the Bagh Painting."

[31] Monika Zin, "The Identification of the Bagh Painting," p. 321.

If this pillar can be understood as a depiction of the Buddhist version of the story of King Māndhāta, then perhaps we can infer that the *kāmaloka* pillar was a gatepost at the entrance to a Buddhist site. Viewing these scenes can function as a reminder to practitioners to overcome desires for wordly and erotic pleasure, and, further, it also would call to mind the moral of the story, which extolls the virtues of the monastic life. At the same time, the carvings on the *kāmaloka* pillar fulfill the Indian propensity for depicting dance scenes and amorous encounters celebrating life and abundance on the exterior of sacred monuments. Unfortunately, the damage to the pillar makes it impossible to confirm this identification.

Male and female figures, both standing and seated, have been carved on the narrow sides of the *kāmaloka* pillar above the guardians and atlantes already discussed, and they are better preserved than those on the front. Figs. 48 and 49 show two women, each carrying an object, probably a pot, in their lowered right hands. They wear the familiar mode of dress, not unlike that worn by the Mehrauli *yakṣī*, with the cap-like coif settled to one side over puffed, curled rows of hair and heavy neck ornaments with large medallions. Their facial features are somewhat mask-like, but the woman in Fig. 49 seems to have the faintest traces of a smile and life in her eyes. Their figures are both more unified in appearance, and the depiction of pleat lines is less rigid than one would find in sculpture of the Bharhut style. The *dhoti*s on the male figures, however, are depicted with the triangulated abstract shape hanging between their legs (Fig. 50a) that is so common in such reliefs as the Katrā architrave (Fig. 31). The male figure grasps the handle of a broad sword and makes a curious pointing gesture with this upraised right hand; he points his index finger up in the air (Fig. 50a). Another figure, that of a woman, has a kind of conical headdress with looped tassel dangling from the top (Fig. 50b); she holds a square object by a handle in her right hand. Perhaps it is a birdcage, like the one carried by one of the Kuṣāṇa *yakṣī*s from Bhutesvar.[32] This woman, like several others carved on the *kāmaloka* pillar, wears heavy roll anklets, like those that became popular during the Kuṣāṇa period and like those worn by the Didarganj *yakṣī*, which I consider to be earlier, ca. mid-third century BCE. The presence on the *kāmaloka* pillar of this item of jewelry, which has been considered by some scholars to have come into fashion no earlier than the Kuṣāṇa period,[33] shows that it was in fact worn considerably earlier, and the mere occurrence of this type of anklet is therefore not a reliable chronological indicator.

Doorjambs

Besides freestanding *toraṇa*s, evidence for doorways that would have been built into the wall of a building also survive from Mathura. A doorjamb differs from a *toraṇa* pillar in that it tends to be narrower, both in width and depth, and has a recessed slat in one side into which the stones of a wall would have been inserted.

[32] For the Bhutesvar *yakṣī* holding a birdcage, see H. Zimmer, *The Art of Indian Asia*, vol. 2, Fig. 75d.
[33] See, for example, Philippe Stern, "Les Ivoires et Os Découverts à Begram: Leur Place dans l'Evolution de l'Art de l'Inde," pp. 23 and 41.

Doorjamb with Mithuna*s (Fig. 51)*

The doorjamb in Fig. 51 from an unknown site at Mathura (GMM 17.1295) is one such example. Despite its fragmentary condition, we can still discern the basic structure of this architectural fragment. The left part of the doorjamb is divided into rectangular panels, each demarcated by a row of joist ends below a *vedikā*, and a *mithuna* is carved in each panel. Like the aquatic creatures found in the medallions, *mithuna*s are auspicious indicators of life and propagation, and as personifications of life-giving waters, they can serve a purifying function when carved upon doorjambs. The gestures of the couple in the mostly intact lower panel underscore the message of fecundity. The male figure wearing the turban with a knob-like knot on the right has his arm around the shoulders of his consort and grasps her left forearm with his left hand. Her gestures are particularly suggestive: her right hand cups her left breast, and her left hand is over his genitals. The figures can be described as having angular posturing, segmentation, and squaring-off of garments and ornaments, and there is plain ground space in the scene. Although their gestures are tender, the figures display little emotional interaction, particularly in their lack of facial expressiveness. A *mithuna* in a recessed panel is also found on a doorjamb dating about one hundred years later, from Gāyatrī-Ṭīlā in Mathura (GMM 17.1343; Fig. 191), and *mithuna*s on doorjambs are commonly found in later Indian art. Hence, because of this small fragment, we can ascertain that the tradition of *mithuna*s adorning doorjambs began as early as ca. 100 BCE.

At the right of the doorjamb fragment is a vertical bead-and-reel motif abutting a wider band that is crisscrossed by decorative strips. Both the bead-and-reel motif and the crisscrossing of the doorjamb *śākhā* with ornamental bands represent motifs that are perpetuated in the doorjambs of the first century CE at Mathura, such as those seen in Figs. 193, 264, 265, and 266.[34] These motifs of the bead and reel and the section wrapped by crisscrossing flat strips are also preserved and elaborated in later sculpture, such as the doorjambs dating to the early first century CE during the time of Mahākṣatrapa Śoḍāsa.

Summary

Despite the lack of any intact gateways and doorways from early Mathura, we can nevertheless get a sense of the kind of gateways that would have stood in Mathura ca. 100 BCE. The freestanding gates had thick square posts, which could be embellished with bas relief sculptures of amorous scenes such as those on the *kāmaloka* pillar (Figs. 46–50), vegetal ornament, and large, inset rectangular panels on the bottom, with either a *mithuna* or a *yakṣa* holding a flower, as exemplified by the gateposts from Amin (Figs. 42–45). These massive posts would have supported two or three horizontal architraves that were gently arched in the center. The architraves under which visitors to the site would have passed could have depicted scenes of worship, processions, devotion, rituals, or narratives (Figs. 21–34). The frieze carved on the architrave could have extended from one end to the other without interruption by a false capital or die that would otherwise simulate the con-

[34] The bead-and-reel motif at the edge of the architrave is also present Katrā on the arcaded gallery from Katrā (Fig. 30) and on the crossbar with the head of a *yakṣa* (Fig. 74).

tinuation of the supporting vertical posts; this arrangement lends a heavier appearance to the superstructure on the early Mathura gateways, with emphasis on the horizontal bars. The space between the architraves was filled by small rectangular balusters that could depict figures bearing offerings, as seen on the balusters from Bayana and Rānipur (Figs. 35–38). Curved brackets carved into the form of *yakṣī*s grasping the bough of a tree would have supported the ends of the lowermost architrave (Figs. 39 and 40). From the bas reliefs of this period we learn that there were covered gatehouses complete with windows and archways with curved tympana (Fig. 30). Doorways leading into structures had carved jambs embellished with inset panels sculpted with loving couples and bead-and-reel and floral ornamentation (Fig. 51). Having examined the kinds of architectural sculpture composing the entranceways into sacred precincts that existed in Mathura during the late second century BCE, we now turn to the other major category from Mathura—sculptures that formed the components of stone railings that demarcated and surrounded sacred sites, such as upright posts, crossbars, and coping stones.

Architectural Sculpture: Railings

Railings are the common component of almost all ancient Indian precincts. They served to demarcate the sacred space, and they could be embellished with some of the most elaborate and important imagery.

Rail Posts

Rail Post with a Yakṣī *Tying Her Sash and a Narrative Roundel (Figs. 52–55)*
A monumental railing pillar (GMM J.2) more than six feet (1.8 meters) tall attests to the remarkable size and high quality of monuments from Mathura dating to this period. The pillar itself is faceted, as are many of the Bharhut rail posts, and the tenon at the top would have been inserted into the base of a coping stone that would have unified the *vedikā*. A three-quarter roundel with a bas relief scene hung with festooned lotus flowers has been carved at the top of the post, and a grotesque dwarf (*gaṇa*) crouches at the bottom. The pillar is dominated by an almost life size figure of a *yakṣī*, who stands on the dwarf. The fact that she is supported by a dwarf indicates her status as a divinity rather than a human woman. There must have existed many such pillars from Mathura of this date, belonging to the same monument as this sculpture and to other sites, but this example in the Mathura Museum is the only one that survives. Nonetheless, it is sufficient testimony to the existence of a railing as monumental as the surviving ones from Bharhut and Bodhgaya. The large figure of the *yakṣī* suggests that the Mathuran type of railing to which this post originally belonged would have conveyed an impression similar to that of the Bharhut or Bodhgaya *vedikā*s rather than the railings of Sanchi, which were either plain, as at *Stūpas* I and III, or carved with smaller scale imagery, as at *Stūpa* II. As far as I am aware, no plain upright rail posts have been recovered from Mathura; the large *vedikā*s of early Mathura were probably covered with sculpted imagery.

The *yakṣī* on the rail post is shown grasping two ends of a sash at her waist, apparently in the act of tying them and thereby completing her toilette (Figs. 52–54). I understand

her to be in the act of tying her sash, but others have interpreted her to be either removing her girdle or dancing.[35] During the second and first centuries BCE, however, dancing figures were consistently depicted with dramatic gestures and postures (see Figs. 13, 26, and 65) that are not seen here. Thus, I contend that this *yakṣī* does not specifically represent a dancing girl (*naṭī*). As to whether she is removing or fastening her sash, I feel that the latter is more plausible in the context of other Indian sculpture, for images of women performing their toilettes and adorning themselves are common from this early period and especially throughout the Kuṣāṇa period. She stands upon a thin round platform, which is is somewhat reminiscent of the round pads or cushions upon which several figures stand in sculptures dating to ca. 150 BCE from sites including Jaggayyapeta and Sanchi *Stūpa* II. The platform also supports the foot of the woman in a panel on the Kaṅkālī-Ṭīlā corner post (Fig. 66). However, here it seems to be attached to a trunk or stem that curves up to the right of the crouching *gaṇa*. Perhaps this round platform can be interpreted as part of a vegetal form. The platform is supported by a crouching dwarf who has the *śaṅkukarṇa* or "rodent ears" that are characteristic of *yakṣa*s, so this figure is actually a type of dwarfish *yakṣa*. *Gaṇā*, or dwarf, is used to distinguish this dwarfish, grotesque type of atlantean *yakṣa* from the more monumental divinities such as the Parkham or Barodā *yakṣa*.

The *yakṣī* stands with her weight on her left leg and her right foot crossed behind; otherwise she stands frontally, her head almost imperceptibly turned to her left. This beautifully executed sculpture has many traits of the style of ca. 150 BCE while simultaneously exhibiting innovative features that suggest the beginnings of a trend towards naturalism. Like the Mehrauli *yakṣī* discussed above (Fig. 2), the *yakṣī* tying her sash is laden with heavy jewelry, which obscures much of her form. The series of five necklaces includes a choker with a single rosette around her neck, a flat torque decorated with overlapping rosettes, a pendant lotus medallion like the one worn by the Mehrauli *yakṣī*, a longer string of beads with one rectangular spacer, and an even longer necklace decorated with threaded oblong beads (Fig. 53). Besides all of these necklaces, she wears a cord with a pendant nosegay and threaded beads diagonally across her torso, a plain narrow band around her waist, and a string of flat discs. Her remarkably heavy girdle, bracelets, armlets, anklets, and earrings complete her complement of ornaments. The fringed sash she holds is probably to be worn much like the one tied around the hips of the Mehrauli *yakṣī* or the *śālabhañjikā* from Bharhut (Figs. 2 and 5); but its patterning, with evenly spaced, simple, incised trefoil designs alternating with dots, is less complex and richly detailed (Fig. 54). Such simplification of incised detailing is an attribute of the sculpture of this post-Bharhut phase. Her hair is pulled in puffy rows back from her face and coiled with a broad strip of embroidered cloth into a large knot that rests languidly upon her right shoulder (Fig. 53). The thick, gently rippling locks of hair that frame her face indicate an interest on the part of the sculptors in depicting a sense of some softness and naturalism. Atop this whole coiffure is worn what appears to be an embroidered cap, similar in type to the one worn by the Mehrauli *yakṣī*, but it droops more heavily, as if in response to

[35] E.g., *inter alia*, J. P. Vogel, *Catalogue of the Archaeological Museum at Mathura*, p. 141; and R. C. Sharma, *The Splendour of Mathura: Art and Museum*, p. 71, respectively.

gravity, in accordance with her more advanced style. Her round face, short neck, and broad thighs contribute to her being an exemplar of the Mathura regional figure type.

Her overall posture is less mannered than that of her predecessors; her hips do not jut so dramatically to the side. There is a greater sense of organic unity from one section of the body to another, as seen, for example, in the slight turn of her head and in the smoother integration of her breasts into her torso as a whole. Her joints appear less angular when her bent right knee (Figs. 52 and 54) is compared to the almost ninety-degree angle formed by the bent left knee of the *yakṣī* from Bharhut in Fig. 5. The flatness and cubicality of the Bharhut style is here mitigated, and her legs in particular have been rendered with a new rounded fleshiness (Fig. 54). This is perhaps the most striking development in the style of the *yakṣī* tying her sash. Similarly, her legs are carved in such a way that they impart the impression of being living forms. Her feet and toes (Fig. 54) indicate much more of the underlying bone structure and softness of flesh. Her thighs swell softly under her diaphanous lower garment (Fig. 54); they are not obscured by rigid, abstract pleats like those of the Mehrauli *yakṣī* (Fig. 4). Indeed, there is less emphasis on the dramatic parallel patterns created by the pleats, and the scalloped edges of her hemlines are subtly variegated in a more natural way, which consequently allows the rounded forms of her body to have a greater visual impact than do the patterns of her garment. Thus, given the juxtaposition of Bharhut style traits with the softening and unification of forms, we can adjudge the sculpture of the *yakṣī* tying her sash to have been made ca. 100 BCE.

Above the figure of the *yakṣī* is a roundel, which tops the post on which she is carved (Fig. 55). What remains of this roundel is about three-quarters of a full circle, which is filled with figural bas relief sculpture. The right half of the roundel is dominated by a male figure who stands with bent knees, holding an umbrella and raising his right hand in *abhaya-mudrā*. He is evidently addressing the assembled congregation of ten men who sit with knees bound up to their bodies with a broad cloth, *viz.* a *yogapaṭṭa* used by ascetics (see also the seated preceptor in Fig. 25).[36] One member of the assembly, the second man in the front row facing the large figure, points to his own face, as though he is the particular one with whom the larger main figure discourses. V. S. Agrawala identified the scene as the visit of the sixteen disciples of the Brāhman ascetic Bāvāri to the Buddha, a story found in the *Sutta Nipāta* (976–1148) dating from ca. third century CE:

> I would take the scene to represent the visit of the 16 disciples of the Brahmin ascetic Bāvāri who lived on the banks of the Godāvarī. To him came another Brahmin demanding 500 pieces of money. Not obtaining these he cursed Bāvāri saying "May thy head on the seventh day hence split into seven". Bāvāri was greatly distressed, but a benevolent deity, seeing his trouble, reassured him by saying that the Brahmin knew neither the meaning of the "head" nor of the "splitting of head" and directed him to the Buddha. At his suggestion Bāvāri sent his 16 disciples to the Buddha. Each one of the pupils asked the Buddha a question, to which he replied.[37]

[36] According to V. S. Agrawala, A. K. Coomaraswamy identified this scene as the *Mahābodhi Jātaka* in which five councilors disputed with the Buddha. Agrawala objected to this interpretation because of the presence of eleven figures rather than five assembled in this roundel (V. S. Agrawala, "Catalogue of the Mathura Museum: Architectural Pieces," pp. 4–5).

[37] Ibid. Cf. G. P. Malalasekera, *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names*, vol. II, p. 279.

If this roundel depicts the scene of the Brahmanical disciples' visit to the Buddha, then the large male figure would be the earliest known representation of the Buddha in anthropomorphic form. However, other than the *chattra* and his *abhaya-mudrā*, which can be features of almost any divinity, Brahmin, or other reverential figure, no iconographic feature identifies him as the Buddha. In particular, he wears a turban and earrings, which are never included among the accouterments of the enlightened Buddha. Furthermore, he wears the usual *dhoti* and *uttarīya* of a lay person or a Brahmin. Even the *chattra*, rounded and having drooping corners, is not of the usual type associated with images of the Buddha, *cakravartin*s, or other sacred objects or divinities (cf. Figs. 8 and 146). Instead, it may be more appropriately designated a parasol or sunshade held by a non-divinity to shield himself from the sun. Coomaraswamy noted the distinction between the symbolic *chattra*s for kings, divinities, or liberated souls, which actually function as a kind of nimbus, and the ordinary sunshades used by people to shield themselves from the sun.[38] As this personage holds the parasol himself, it seems that he should be identified as an ordinary person. Alex Wayman discussed the existence of two types of *chattra*s, the royal and the ascetical. The sunshade in this roundel may be an example of the latter type.[39] Hence, the identification of the scene in this roundel remains uncertain. The visual evidence leans more towards the identification of this personage not as the Buddha, but as a teacher or speaker to whom the assembled are listening, perhaps Bāvāri himself, if V. S. Agrawala's identification is correct. It is also important to note that the sectarian orientation of this pillar is unknown, and there is no reason to assume that it is Buddhist.

Although the carving of this roundel is heavily eroded, enough of the imagery is visible that it can exemplify the type of small-scale bas relief carving produced during this period of the late second to early first century BCE. The awkwardly bending knees of the main, hierarchically scaled figure retain a stiffness and angularity, as do the gestures of the assembled figures (Fig. 55). Moreover, the shallowness of the relief carving and the flat, empty background space are other characteristics of bas reliefs of ca. 150 BCE. However, the beginnings of naturalistic representation are discernible here as well, in the variegated postures of the congregation, their crowding together, reminiscent of the rows of figures on the architrave with the dance of Nīlāñjanā (Fig. 25), the roundness of the preacher's face and belly, and the fairly successful attempt at foreshortening seen in the positioning of his arms. His softly drooping garments and turban are rather naturalistically draped, like those of the figures on the architrave from Katrā (Fig. 34), although the abstracted zigzags of the triangulated hem impart a stylized impression that will have disappeared by the mid-first century BCE. Another early feature is the dividing of the space into two halves; this compartmentalization of space is also pronounced in the dance scene on the Kaṅkālī-Ṭīlā corner post panel discussed below (Fig. 65). These combined qualities indicate that the bas relief in this roundel should postdate the Bharhut style, but not by more than twenty-five to fifty years.

[38] A. K. Coomaraswamy, "Uṣṇīṣa and Chatra," pp. 5–6.

[39] Alex Wayman, "The Mathurā Set of Aṣṭamaṅgala (Eight Auspicious Symbols) in Early and Later Times," p. 240.

Rail post from Hathīn: Yakṣa *and Roundel with the Dream of Māyā (Figs. 56–60)*
Another large upright rail post carved with the image of a standing *yakṣa* was recovered from an area north of the city of Mathura, yet still within what I consider to be the Mathuran cultural sphere. This pillar was found built into a brick wall in the village of Hathīn, south of Delhi, in the Faridabad District of Haryana, not far from Amin and Mehrauli, where the Amin gateposts (Figs. 42–45) and Mehrauli *yakṣī* (Fig. 2) were found. It is unknown how far away the find spot of Hathīn is from the original Buddhist site to which the rail post with the *yakṣa* belonged. However, since another rail post (Fig. 61) that in all likelihood belonged to the same monument (for it shares with the Hathin pillar almost exactly the same measurements and size of mortise holes) was found in the nearby village of Bhādas in Haryana as well, the site of the original monument was probably not too far away. Upon its discovery in the 1970s, it was removed to the Haryana Archaeological Survey Museum in Chandigarh (Acc. no. 1/331). The region of modern Haryana seems to have been quite active during this early period, since five major architectural pieces plus the Dhanabhūti inscription recording the royal donation of an entire *vedikā* and gateway to a Buddhist establishment were found in this area. The continuity of the importance of the area and its close link with the city of Mathura into the Kuṣāṇa period of the second century CE is attested to by the discovery of the Buddhist *vedikā* of Sanghol, in the southern Punjab, located a bit farther to the north. The Sanghol *vedikā* was sculpted from the spotted red sandstone of Mathura and probably exported from that city.[40]

According to Prem Goswamy, the Hathīn rail post is carved from the spotted red sandstone characteristic of products from Mathuran workshops, and the entire piece measures about six feet (almost two meters) in height, much like the rail post with the *yakṣī* tying her sash.[41] An upright of such impressive dimensions indicates that the *vedikā* to which it originally belonged probably surrounded a monument of major proportions, perhaps a *stūpa* as large as those constructed at Bharhut or Sanchi. Since the pillar was apparently made of the spotted red sandstone from the local vicinity of the city of Mathura, it is possible that major architectural pieces like this one were carved at Mathura and sent out to surrounding areas. The exportation of sculptures from Mathura to other areas, such as Sarnath, Kauśāmbī, Ahichhatra, and Sanchi, is well documented for the Kuṣāṇa period, and the tradition of sending sculptures made in the workshops of the city of Mathura to outlying areas could well have begun as early as the mid-second century BCE. We can be certain that the rail post from Hathīn was made for a Buddhist site, because the roundel above the *yakṣa* is carved with Māyā's dream of the white elephant which augured the birth of Śakyamuni Buddha (Fig. 57). Thus, this large rail post and the Dhanabhūti inscription combine to form solid evidence for the early existence of prominent Buddhist foundations in the northern Śūrasena region.

The *yakṣa* on the Hathīn rail post is in a fair state of preservation, major damage to the sculpture being relegated primarily to the head (Fig. 56). He stands axially on a

[40] See S. P. Gupta, ed., *Kushāṇa Sculptures from Sanghol (1st–2nd Century CE): A Recent Discovery* (New Delhi: National Museum,1985).
[41] Prem Goswamy, "Two Early Kuṣāṇa (?) Railing Pillars from Haryāna," p. 2.

platform being supported by an atlantean *yakṣa*, and his figure is rigidly confined within the rectilinear bounds of the post. Both arms are held down by his sides, and in his left hand he grasps a cluster of leaves and fruits.[42] Despite the stiffness, his figure is rather well grounded, like the figures from Amin in Fig. 42. On the one hand, the articulation of his dress is conservative in maintaining the sharp linear incising (as seen in the fabric of his turban [Fig. 58] and the beaded borders of his sash), of the hard, stylized repetition of pleats over his thigh, and the geometric zigzag hem between his legs (Fig. 59). On the other hand, his long necklace curves gently and his belt bends slightly, in contrast to the completely straight and square treatment of these same elements in sculptures attributed to the earlier phase, such as the male *cauri* bearer and the Parkham *yakṣa* (Figs. 7 and 15). The turban worn by the Hathīn *yakṣa* (Fig. 58) has a distinctive broad band carved with rows of fillets, and it would have had a prominent knob-like knot on the front, much like the type of turban worn by the man in Fig. 51. The four thick beaded bracelets and necklaces (Fig. 60) are also characteristic of the large male figures of this period, as noted below (see Fig. 85). Hence, I consider the Hathīn *yakṣa* to postdate slightly the Bharhut style at Mathura and to join the other sculptures discussed in this chapter as another example of an architectural sculpture dating to ca. 100 BCE.

The roundel depicting the dream of Māyā is of special interest in the corpus of early sculptures from the Mathura region (Fig. 57). It is a subject that was infrequently depicted in early Buddhist sculpture of northern India. At Bharhut the famous scene is felicitously rendered in only one roundel among many sculpted vignettes on the whole railing. Among the many bas reliefs at Sanchi, the single occurrence is relegated to an inconspicuous corner of one of the *toraṇa* pillars of the east gate of *Stūpa* I.[43] In the roundel on the Hathīn pillar, Māyā, the future mother of the Buddha Śakyamuni, is shown sleeping on her left side, upon a raised bed. The white elephant of whom she dreams dominates the upper left of the composition, diving towards her through the air, hind legs flexed behind him as he is about to enter her womb. Unconscious of the apparition, her handmaid slumbers in the background in front of a barrel-vaulted gateway. By the bed are vessels of food and water and a lamp on a high stand. Stylistically, this narrative relief is similar to the image of the large *yakṣa* below it on the same post in that it exhibits traits that link it closely with the style of Bharhut, while evincing elements that suggest a somewhat more advanced date. The former include the shallowness of the relief, the high proportion of empty ground space, the angularity of the gestures, and the awkward tilting of the bed. In contrast to the depiction of the same scene from Bharhut itself, however, the posture of the elephant is less static, and there is more interest in depicting a spatial setting, with the building placed in the background. Thus, I would judge that the Hathīn roundel, like the *yakṣa* below it, was carved about twenty to fifty years later than the sculptures produced in the more rigid and two-dimensional Bharhut style.

[42] Ibid., Pl. 1, Fig. 4.

[43] The scene of Māyā's dream from Bharhut is described in many publications. See, for example, A. K. Coomaraswamy, *La Sculpture de Bharhut*, Pl. XXIV, Fig. 61. The version of the scene depicted at Sanchi can be found in, *inter alia* Vidya Dehejia, ed., *Unseen Presence: The Buddha and Sanchi* (Bombay: Marg Publications, 1996), p. 102, at the top of the composition.

On the side of the pillar on which the *yakṣa* and roundel with Māyā's dream were carved are five or six incised Brāhmī *akṣara*s: *pa da yi ki ni* (*ma*? or *u*?).[44] The meaning of these syllables is uncertain; they do not seem to constitute a donative inscription. Instead, they may be information intended for masons or for constructors of the *vedikā*. Such syllables are commonly found on the sides of architectural elements; they commonly are overlooked by scholars, and their meaning escapes modern epigraphers.

Rail post from Bhādas: Yakṣa *and Non-Narrative Roundel (Fig. 61)*
Another large *vedikā* upright was recovered from a dry well in a village called Bhādas, in the Gurgaon District of Haryana, not far from Hathīn, and it was also brought to the Museum of the Haryana Archaeological Survey in Chandigarh (Acc. no. 1/332).[45] As mentioned above, the Bhādas pillar could have originally belonged to the same monument as that of the Hathīn pillar (Fig. 56), since the lens-shaped mortises cut into the sides of the Bhādas pillar are reportedly of the same size as those of the Hathīn pillar. P. Goswamy wrote:

> Both the sides [of the Bhādas pillar] have three mortices on each side having the same measurement as that of the Hathin pillar. The length, width and the spacing between the mortices as also the subject of the carvings, the colour and the nature of the stone raise the presumption that both the pillars though found at a distance of nearly 90 Km. from each other, were part of the same railing.[46]

They also share nearly the same impressive dimensions. However, the Bhādas pillar has been more intrusively broken, and the subject matter of the carvings is less provocative. The *yakṣa* on the Bhādas pillar stands frontally upon the protome of a cloven-hoofed animal. In his raised right hand (now broken) he once held what appear to be flowers, while his left hand, held down at his hip, seems to grasp his drapery. In the roundel above is not depicted a narrative scene, but a composite animal with the protome of a deer and the hind quarters of a *makara* superimposed over a full-blown lotus. The carving is relatively cursory and flat. Even if the Bhādas pillar is from the same monument as the Hathīn pillar, it is likely that they were carved by different hands, though probably at around the same time.

Rail post from Kuwanwaligali: Cauri *Bearer (Fig. 62)*
A second example of a male *cauri*-bearing attendant figure was recovered from the site of Kuanwaligali in Mathura District (GMM 48.3423), and it seems to have originally formed part of a railing post. In a manner similar to the sword-bearing *yakṣa* discussed below (Fig. 85), the Kuanwaligali *cauri* bearer displays a softening of forms indicative of a slightly later date than the bust of the male *cauri* bearer discussed in Chapter Two (Fig. 7). The Kuwanwaligali *cauri*-bearer's pose is less stiff and flat; the tilt of his head is more natural, and the fly whisk is held in a more relaxed manner. However, the conservative linear

---

[44] See P. Goswamy, "Two Early Kuṣāṇa (?) Railing Pillars from Haryān," Pl. I, Fig. 5 (printed upside down).
[45] Ibid., pp. 1 and 3–6. See also *Indian Archaeology—A Review*, 1970–1980, pp. 95–96.
[46] P. Goswamy, "Two Early Kuṣāṇa (?) Railing Pillars from Haryānā," p. 3.

articulation of the fly whisk itself is closely related to the remains of the fly whisk on the male *cauri* bearer of ca. 150 BCE. His expression bears a slight smile, reminiscent of a trend notable in the sculptures of Pitalkhora in Maharashtra which may date to around the late second century BCE.[47] Less emphasis is placed on sharply detailed ornamentation, as is particularly evident in the plainer type of turban. Although the long, broad necklace of the Kuwanwaligali *cauri* bearer continues to be articulated with strict, parallel incised lines, it, like the same ornament worn by the Hathīn *yakṣa* (Fig. 56), hangs with a softer sense of rounded weight than does that of the *cauri* bearer in Fig. 7.

The Mehrauli *yakṣī*, the pillar with the *yakṣī* tying her sash, the *yakṣa*s on the posts found at Hathīn, and the Kuwanwaligali *cauri* bearer are examples of full-scale figural imagery that embellished the upright rail posts of *vedikā*s. Their impressive presence would have made for a rich and vital appearance of the stone fences that bounded sanctuaries in early Mathura.

Corner Post from Kaṅkālī-Ṭīlā: Veneration of a Lion Pillar, Musicians and Dancer, Amorous Scenes (Figs. 63–67)

The many sculpted architectural fragments that survive from ca. 100 BCE, and they all indicate that the railings and gateways that surrounded sacred sites at Mathura were apparently fully embellished with carvings; examples are like the well-known *vedikā* that encircled the Bharhut *stūpa* and the one that adorned the site of the Buddha's enlightenment at Bodhgaya. They were not all plain like the railing of *Stūpa* I at Sanchi. A corner post of a railing from Mathura, wrought of the familiar spotted red sandstone, can be added to this group of architectural sculpture, for it is carved with four surviving panels filled with intriguing bas relief sculptures on two adjacent faces. Its find spot is listed as Kaṅkālī-Ṭīlā in the museum records, so it is possible that this corner pillar originally belonged to a railing that surrounded a Jaina *stūpa* or other *caitya*. Its carvings exhibit some stylistic traits of the mid-second century BCE, but with the added softness and reduction of sharp detailing seen in the other sculptures discussed in this chapter, characteristics that indicate a slightly later date. Hence, this post might have come from the same site as the *śālabhañjikā* brackets (Figs. 39 and 40), the centaur architrave (Figs. 21 and 22) and the architrave with the dance of Nīlāñjanā (Fig. 25), which were also reportedly recovered from Kaṅkālī-Ṭīlā.

The four surviving panels of the corner post are presented as though they are superimposed stories of a building, as is commonly seen in early Indian monuments. The panels on this corner post are all of the same size, which imparts a particularly orderly impression to the arrangement of scenes, in contrast to most of the bas relief panels on the *toraṇa* posts of *Stūpa* I at Sanchi, many of which are irregular in size (Fig. 138). This uniformity in the presentation of scenes arranged vertically within clear architectural niches seems to be a characteristic of architectural sculpture at Mathura, for it is seen in sculptures dated to this time on through the Kuṣāṇa period.

[47] For extensive illustrations from Pitalkhora, see M. N. Deshpande, "The Rock-cut Caves of Pitalkhora in the Deccan," *Ancient India*, no. 15, 1959, especially the detail of the doorkeeper in Pl. LVII, A.

The base of each panel is demarcated by a row of joist ends, which look like little grooved rectangles, and they indicate the actual floor level. Above the row of joist ends is a *vedikā* with flat and rigidly straight vertical and horizontal elements, like those separating scenes on the pillars at Bharhut. The surmounting pilasters and the human figures would in reality be standing behind the railing on the floor, but for the action of each scene to be fully visible, all elements were simply carved above the level of the *vedikā*, so they appear to stand upon it rather than behind it. The pilasters framing the sides of each niche support a heavy roll cornice, which signifies the roof level, and if there were a subsequent story above, then the row of joist ends would appear immediately above this cornice.

The pilasters on this corner post are typical for this period at Mathura, although by no means are they necessarily the sole type. Their shafts are octagonal, and they are supported by bulbous pots on square, two-level stepped bases with lips in the form of a twisted rope. In pilasters of a later date, namely late first century BCE to third century CE, the pots can be replaced by an abbreviated semicircle near the bottom of the pilaster (e.g., Fig. 235); the early examples, such as those on the corner post from Kaṅkālī-Ṭīlā, reveal the origins of the semicircular element in the pot base. Each composite capital on the Kaṅkālī-Ṭīlā corner post consists of a campaniform element, articulated with wide, drooping lotus petals, surmounted by a twisted rope and inverted stepped pyramid. These capitals explicitly show that such campaniform capitals, like those on Aśokan columns, were meant to depict lotus imagery, and the *āmalaka*s that replace them on later capitals are probably derivative, abbreviated versions of the inverted lotus (e.g., Fig. 185). Such broad lotus petals on the pilasters of this corner post recall those at the top of the roughly contemporaneous Heliodoros pillar at Besnagar, which is a bit more conservative in its preservation of the more Aśokan type of stylized drooping petals below the broad petals (Fig. 108).

The top panel on one side depicts a man and a woman in the act of venerating a freestanding lion pillar by circumambulating clockwise while touching it with their right hands (Fig. 64). Interestingly, if this corner post is from a Jaina site, then this relief shows how Jainas venerated a sacred pillar ca. 100 BCE. This pillar, as mentioned in Chapter One, could be a representation of an Aśokan or Aśokan-type pillar, especially like the one still in situ at Vaiśālī (Fig. 109). In form, the lion pillar in the bas relief is distinct from the pilasters that frame the panel; instead of being faceted, it is smooth, apparently has no base, and tapers slightly, like the Aśokan versions. The circular *vedikā* at the bottom of the pillar indicates its sanctity. The form of the pillar in this relief from Mathura might argue in favor of the relatively late (rather than early) date of the Vaiśālī lion pillar, in comparison to the other extant Aśokan pillars and capitals, such as those from Sarnath, Lauriya-Nandangarh, or Rampurva, each of which has a round abacus and more elongate campaniform capital.

The style of the carvings in this panel coheres well with the post-Bharhut sculptures included in this chapter. The early features are dominant, and they include jerkiness and stiffness of the gestures and postures of the two devotees and the lion, the plainness of the empty ground space, and the geometric shape of the man's *dhoti*, which is like that of the lower garment of the small worshipper in the contemporaneous relief in Fig. 85, and, on a larger scale, like that of the *dhoti* worn by the Hathīn *yakṣa* (Fig. 56). In addition,

sharply incised linear articulation of elements such as coifs, zigzagging hems, pleat lines, and the squared-off necklace are features that further indicate a date not far removed from the Bharhut style date of ca. 150 BCE. These early features are tempered, however, by an overall simplification and aspects of softness and suppleness, seen especially in the sagging turban of the male votary.

On the same side of this corner post, the lower panel depicts a dance scene in an elevated pavilion approached by a short flight of stairs, shown in profile (Fig. 65). The pavilion has a sloping, shingled roof supported by visible slender, faceted, pillars with no base and with simple single-slab capitals. Compared with the pavilion on the architrave with the dance of Nīlāñjanā (Fig. 26) discussed above, it is of the same morphological type, although stylistically the one on the corner post seems a bit earlier, since there was no attempt to show any recession into space. The pillars of the dance pavilion on this corner post contrast markedly with those that frame the scene and support a much heavier entablature.

Crowded into the left half of the pavilion is the percussion orchestra, consisting of four musicians, two male and two female (Fig. 65). The seated male drummer in the foreground plays the horizontally held drum, while the woman next to him plays a vertical drum. Behind the seated male drummer is another man holding, beneath his left arm, a smaller drum which he beats with a stick. The musicians are relegated only to the left segment of the pavilion; not a single element of the orchestra crosses into the space of the dancer. The dancer is shown at the right of the scene, visually completely separated from the orchestra by the pillar in the middle of the composition and thus emphasized by her isolation and by her size. Although her gestures and pose are angular and stiff and although she seems to float, unaffected by gravity, the figure of the dancer conveys a surprising degree of energy and intensity—much more than do the dancers from Bharhut, who seem frozen in comparison (Fig. 13). In the Mathura relief of the dancer, we note a breaking free from a strictly two-dimensional plane in the successful foreshortening of her bent left arm and flexed hand and in the crowded overlapping of the musicians. These elements suggests a date later than that of the Bharhut work, and they foreshadow trends to come.

By analogy with the relief on the architrave depicting the dance of Nīlāñjanā in a fuller and clearer narrative context (Fig. 26), this small vignette on the corner post could represent the same scene—a dramatic event during the life of the first Jina, Ṛṣabhanātha, which propelled his renunciation of the royal life. The components of the relief, albeit abbreviated, on the corner post (Fig. 65) are remarkably close to those of the carved architrave depicting the dance of Nīlāñjanā, discussed above (SML J.354/609; Figs. 25 and 26). Both scenes have the distinctive pavilion with slender pillars and shingled roof as well as male and female musicians who play the same types of percussion instruments. That this corner pillar probably came from the same Jaina site of Kāṅkālī-Ṭīlā further supports the identification of the scene in this panel as the dance of Nīlāñjanā, a story from the Jaina literary tradition.[48] This scene is rare in early Indian sculpture, but it could have

---

[48] Chapter VII of the *Ādi Purāṇa* contains the story of the renunciation of Ṛṣabhanātha and the dance of Nīlañjanā. See Champat Rai Jain, *Riṣabha Deva: The Founder of Jainism*, p. 108. I might even go so far as to

had a short-lived popularity at the Jaina site of Kaṅkālī-Ṭīlā at Mathura in the late second century BCE.

The two panels of the adjacent carved side of this corner pillar from Kaṅkālī-Ṭīlā both contain amorous scenes (Fig. 66). The top one depicts a male figure with his arms around the shoulders of two flanking women, and the lower panel shows a rather fervent erotic encounter between a man and a woman. The mode of the women's dress is like that of the Kaṅkālī-Ṭīlā bracket *yakṣī*s, with the widely spaced, incised, curved horizontal pleats (Fig. 39), as is the jewelry, which provides ample but not complete coverage of their bodies. Both depictions of the male figures in the upper and lower panels of this side reveal a similar softening in the necklace and turban that was noted with regard to the carving of the Hathīn *yakṣa* (Fig. 56). This softening is also carried through into the articulation of the lower garment and girdle; the girdle and ties are not as rigid as those seen on the Parkham *yakṣa* (Fig. 15), but the parallel incised pleats and zigzag hemline are there (Fig. 66). As we shall see below, this manner of representing the standing male figure and his dress is closely analogous to the large-scale sculptures of the *yakṣa* and the figure of Agni from Bharana Kalan (Figs. 86–89). Despite their amorous postures, their facial features are characteristically devoid of expression.

The kind of movement and energy already noted with respect to the dance panel is also evident in the lower *mithuna* relief (Fig. 66). The woman, whose back is towards her lover, bends her head back so that her face meets his, lifts her right foot and touches his turban with one hand and his thigh with the other. Her lover leans convincingly at an angle towards her, his right leg slightly bent while his left leg is held straight; with his right hand he grasps her right breast, and in his left hand he grasps the stem of a large flower that hangs down by his side. The emotion and expressivity conveyed by the carving in the small panels on this corner post attest to the high quality of the relief sculpture and to a date that is later than the Bharhut style of ca. 150 BCE, when there was apparently little interest in conveying emotional interaction. This trait draws the corner pillar closer in date to the early railing reliefs from Bodhgaya (Fig. 107). The amorous content of these panels accords well with the erotic scenes we have encountered already on the *mithuna* doorjamb and the *kāmaloka* pillar (Figs. 46b, 46c, and 51), and it is again repeated on the *vedikā* upright discussed next. These scenes evoke the auspiciousness and abundance of life, which is a constant and dominant theme in the imagery on the exterior of early Indian sacred sites.

Upright with Mithuna *and Female Onlooker (Fig. 68)*

A small fragmentary relief from Mathura depicting two female figures (GMM 60.4985) has been recut into a brick-like shape and was possibly reused as building material at some later date. The surviving fragment is about eight and a half inches (22 centimeters) in height, and less than six inches (eighteen centimeters) wide. It appears to have originally been one of several panels arranged vertically on a rail post, like the corner post

postulate that the dance scene under the pavilion in the lower level of Cave 1 at the Jaina site of Udayagiri in Orissa could also depict the dance of Nīlāñjanā, although the reliefs themselves offer no confirmation of this identification. For a photograph of the early Orissan dance scene, see H. Zimmer, *The Art of Indian Asia*, vol. II, Fig. 55.

from Kaṅkālī-Ṭīlā just discussed (Fig. 66). The right side of this fragment retains its architectural frame—a faceted pilaster topped by an inverted pot-shaped capital, with traces of broad lotus petals at the bulging top, and surmounted by a tri-level capital composed of horizontal slabs. This is similar to the other early types of pilasters on panels from this period at Mathura, such as those on the Kaṅkālī-Ṭīlā corner post and the *caityavṛkṣa* panel discussed below (Figs. 63–67 and 69). Despite its small and fragmentary condition, this relief is worth mentioning, since it further testifies to the many instances of erotic scenes adorning the exteriors of some of the earliest sacred sites at Mathura that were surrounded by stone railings.

Only the upper part of the woman at the viewer's left has survived, but evidently she was standing next to her lover, who is now missing from the panel. Her head is turned slightly towards where he would have stood, and the remains of his left arm and hand are visible over her left shoulder. At the right side of the panel and behind the woman is a large curtain, draped from the ceiling and carved with simple, broad pleat lines. The head and hand of a woman are visible over the edge of the curtain at the right; she is peering over it at the *mithuna*. This motif of voyeurism is quite common in the *mithuna* bas relief panels from Bodhgaya (Fig. 107), and we also noted it in our discussion of the *kāmaloka* pillar (Fig. 46c); it continued to be extremely common into the Kuṣāṇa period. It underscores the importance of seeing something auspicious, such as amorous couples or beautiful voluptous women, so as to reap the benefits of success that such auspicious sights confer.

Some salient stylistic features can be gleaned from this small sculpture. As in the female figures from the arcaded side of the Katrā architrave (Fig. 34), this sculpture indicates increased interest in revealing the female form. The type of cap-like headdress above softly puffing rows of hair recalls the larger scale version on the rail post with the *yakṣī* tying her sash, and the small versions on the Katrā architrave, the architrave with the dance of Nīlāñjanā, and the *kāmaloka* pillar, among others (Figs. 26, 34, 48, 49, and 53). The female torso in this fragment appears less segmented; it lacks the horizontal and vertical incised lines over the abdomen, and it shares the high-waisted form with depictions of female figures from the early railing at Bodhgaya and others of this period (Figs. 107, 50a, 52, 67, and 73).

Fragmentary Post with Caityavṛkṣa *(Fig. 69)*

A small fragment (GMM 18.1576) from a rail post recovered from Mahādevghāt in Mathura shows that, besides *mithuna*s, narrative scenes, worship scenes, and processions, sacred enclosures were also depicted. In the middle of the sanctuary, demarcated by a square *vedikā*, stands a tree; and three *chattra*s hung with garlands are visible at its base. Another umbrella could be understood to be behind the trunk of the tree. This arrangement of *chattra*s may indicate an early representation of the four-directional nature of divinity surrounding the tree or pillar, as was exploited later in four-directional images.

In style, the reliefs on this fragment concur with the traits of sculptures made about fifty years later than those carved in the style of Bharhut. The beginnings of naturalistic, perspectival rendering are seen in the depiction of the *vedikā* surrounding the tree. A progressive interest in natural perspective is also apparent in the depiction of the pavilion on the architrave with the dance of Nīlāñjanā (Fig. 26). The bulbous tree with leaves carved

fairly densely and schematically, with simple incised lines, in the spaces between large plain branches is not unlike the small trees on the centaur architrave (Figs. 21 and 22). In the broken panel below the *caityavīrkṣa*, the Bharhut-like mode of depicting the heads of the two male figures, with their large, knobbed turbans and vacant expressions (Fig. 69), confirm that the date of the piece cannot be too much later than 150 BCE. These features therefore suggest a date past the time of Bharhut, but not significantly into the early first century BCE.

Rail post with a Horse and Rider in a Medallion (Fig. 70)

Part of a faceted upright rail post from Mathura, reportedly from the site of Kaṅkālī-Ṭīlā, was carved with a roundel in which is pictured a horse ridden by a male figure, preceded by a man on foot (SML J.339). The surviving part of the post measures about two and a half feet (77 centimeters) high and more than seven and a half inches (nineteen centimeters) wide. It has been suggested that the scene depicts the renunciation of Siddhārtha,[49] but I feel that this is unlikely; no other example of Prince Siddhartha in human form survives from any site in India earlier than ca. first century CE. Moreover, there are no elements in this relief that relate to the Buddhist story at all, such as the presence of *deva*s or *yakṣa*s holding up the feet of the horse. I prefer to interpret the scene as depicting votaries on their way to a sacred site, perhaps as members of a procession, as we saw horse riders and men on foot traveling in procession on the centaur architrave (Fig. 22). The use of the stirrup by the rider is interesting.[50]

The slightly drooping, knobbed turban, the geometric articulation of the horse's head and the stiffness of its tail, for example, suggest a relatively close link with the styles of ca. 150 BCE. At the same time, the figures are well grounded, in contrast to the animals with riders carved during the mid-second century BCE (cf. Fig. 14), and the sculptor has added a small block to support the foot of the pedestrian in front of the horse. The fluttering ends of the scarf-like garment behind the rider imply forward motion.

Summary

The range of upright rail posts we have discussed is quite varied, both in size and in the subject matter of their carvings, and they show that there were many types of railings at Mathura produced ca. 100 BCE. Some upright posts are about six feet (two meters) high and carved with almost life size images of *yakṣa*s and *yakṣī*s, (Figs. 52, 56, and 61). Others are small and have diminutive vignettes either in roundels or in square architectural panels with various types of scenes, including erotic and devotional.

Railing Crossbars

Railing crossbars from Mathura are lenticular and adorned with medallions in which various types of imagery are carved. It appears that there was a good deal of space

[49] R. C. Sharma, *Buddhist Art, Mathura School*, fig. 58.

[50] Stirrups were first noted in Indian art in the reliefs in the *vihāra* at Bhaja in Maharashtra datable to ca. 150 BCE. The first use of stirrups is attributed to India.

between each upright post of the *vedikā*s, for there is a significant amount of plain, uncarved surface on either side of the medallions, even allowing for the amount that would have been inserted into mortises.

Crossbar with Bodhighara *(Fig. 71)*

In the collection of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts (Acc. no. 26.29) is a fragment of a lens-shaped crossbar, each side of which has a medallion about nine and a half inches (24 centimeters) in diameter. In the medallion on one side is a running griffin, and on the other side is a fine example of a hypostyle *bodhighara*, a wooden gallery built around the tree under which the Buddha gained enlightenment (Fig. 71).[51] The depiction of a *bodhighara* indicates that this crossbar once belonged to the railing of a Buddhist site. The *bodhighara* has an arched entranceway with a tympanum, like those seen on the Katrā architrave (Figs. 30 and 34). Its superstructure is in the form of a large, inverted stepped pyramid, which consists of four levels of increasing width, recalling the structure of Mt. Meru as the axis of the cosmos. Each level has prominent joist ends, and the top level has stepped merlons that are representations of parapets. The structure, shown here two-dimensionally, would have surrounded the tree, which is seen at the top of the composition. The tree is much like the *caityavṛkṣa* in the panel on the upright post in Fig. 69, discussed earlier. Within a geometric globular shape, the foliage fills the spaces between plain curving branches. A *chattra* indicating the sacred nature of the location has been carved in front of the tree, and garlands hang from its sides. It is interesting to note that, like the *caityavṛkṣa* in Fig. 19 with *chattra*s placed around the base of the tree, the *chattra* in the *bodhighara* relief is not placed over the tree itself, but over the spot in front of the tree, where the Buddha gained enlightenment. Thus, the tree marks the sacred location rather than being the object of worship itself.

Four large banners, two diagonally placed at the sides of the structure and two on posts affixed to the top story, further adorn the site and fill the otherwise empty ground space. The two lower banners appear to twist in space, convincingly providing a sense of movement, while the upper banners are slightly flatter and more conservative. Their incised geometric patterns are similar to those found on the sides of the Amin pillars (Fig. 44). Along the bottom edge of the roundel are three handprints. Such palm impressions, as well as flags, are included among descriptions of adornments of *yakṣa* shrines, and the prints would have been red and presumably made by devotees who visited the site.[52]

Crossbar with Naramakara *and Duck (Fig. 72)*

The carving in the medallion in Fig. 72, a sculpture in the Philadelphia Museum of Art (Acc. no. 68.1641), depicts a type of composite creature that originally adorned the railing crossbars of a *vedikā* surrounding a sacred site at Mathura. A figure with a male torso and bifurcate serpentine, fish-tail legs looks nonchalantly at a duck that peers over his left shoulder. The softness of his turban, the fleshy pudginess of his torso, and the rounded

[51] This unique architectural representation of the gallery built around the *bodhi* tree was insightfully discussed by A. K. Coomaraswamy in "Early Indian Architecture II: *Bodhi-Ghara*."

[52] See the description of the Pūrṇabhadra *yakṣa caitya* in Chapter Two. Palm impressions are also found in the sculpture at Bharhut. See A. K. Coomaraswamy, *La Sculpture de Bharhut*, Figs. 65 and 87.

quality of his necklace suggest a move away from the rigidly stiff and hard style of the mid-second century BCE. Nevertheless the blocky ties of his girdle and geometrized facial features betray that the move had not gone very far. The composite figure and, of course, the duck are related to the waters, and according to the water cosmology as propounded by A. K. Coomaraswamy, they support the idea that the *vedikā* refers to waters that purify the devotee when passing from the mundane world into sacred precincts. The waters as indicated by the animals can also serve as auspicious references to the waters of birth and propagation, thereby further emphasizing the auspicious aspects of life and abundance conveyed by the figures of *yakṣa*s, *yakṣī*s and amorous couples.

Crossbar with Horse and Female Rider (Fig. 73)

In a medallion carved on a crossbar in the Government Museum, Mathura (L.2) is depicted a female figure astride a horse and holding a lotus flower up in her left hand (Fig. 73). The figures are superimposed over a lotus medallion, much like the elephant and riders in Fig. 14. The woman possibly can be interpreted as a devotee journeying to a sacred site, like those in the procession on the centaur architrave and the horse and rider in an upright medallion (Figs. 22 and 70). Instead of floating across the medallion as the elephant does, however, the horse stands firmly planted upon the ground, like the other figures discussed in this section (cf. Fig. 70). There is almost no interest in depicting linear patterning; instead, the figures of both horse and rider are smooth and relatively unified in their representation. The beginnings of an interest in depicting interaction between figures and twisting in space is also seen in Fig. 73, for the horse turns back to gaze at its rider, and one of its hind legs is raised, which imparts some degree of life and energy to the vignette. The high-waisted figure type and ornaments of the female rider are similar to those seen on the fragment in Fig. 68, for example. However, her angular gestures and blank expression reveal that the date of this carving should remain ca. 100 BCE.

Crossbar with the Head of a Yakṣa *(Fig. 74)*

The male head pictured in the center of the lotus medallion carved on another crossbar in the Government Museum, Mathura (L.22) is a particularly fine and well-preserved example of small-scale relief sculpture of this period. The head emerges from the center of the lotus calyx as though it were identified with the very seed pod itself. The familiar, early style of knobbed turban with embroidered bands is clearly discernible in this sculpture. Under the turban the hair is arranged in soft, puffy rows pulled back from the face, much like the type of hairstyle prevalent in the early carvings at Bodhgaya.[53] The *yakṣa* retains the heavily outlined eyes, which stare blankly, and his features are not fluidly integrated into the planes of his face. The surrounding lotus and bead-and-reel carvings are flat, but not as sharply incised as the lotuses of ca. 150 BCE.

Summary

This selection of crossbars is just a tiny sampling of the diverse types of imagery that were carved on crossbar roundels. They include *bodhighara*s, mythical aquatic creatures,

[53] See, for example the figure from the railing at Bodhgaya in K. Chakravarty, *Early Buddhist Art of Bodhgaya*, Pls. 7 and 25.

worshippers, and *yakṣa*s. It is also possible that narrative scenes, such as those in the roundels at the tops of the rail post with the *yakṣī* tying her sash and the Hathīn *yakṣa*, were also included in the repertoire of *vedikā* crossbar medallions (Figs. 55 and 57).

Coping Stones (Figs. 75–80)

Copings (*uṣṇīṣa*) are long heavy stones with rounded tops that tie together the tops of the upright posts of a *vedikā*; the tenons on top of the posts fit into mortises in the underside of the coping. The coping stones that survive from ca. 100 BCE at Mathura all seem to be fairly consistent in form and style; they depict a row of bells and tassels under which striding animals alternate with vegetal ornament. The Mathura copings of this date thus appear to be simpler than those of Bharhut, with its diverse narrative vignettes and relic processions. However, they are not plain either, like those at Sanchi.

One section of such a coping stone has a donative inscription that indicates it was a gift from a goldsmith named Ūtara, son of Gotī (SML J.475; Fig. 75).[54] A row of bells alternating with decorative tassels carved in low relief hang below the plain, curved top of the coping. In the recessed frieze below strides a water buffalo next to a lotus flower and a palmette-like vegetal ornament. In Fig. 76 a water buffalo lopes along with his nose to the ground, while a more energetic griffin runs ahead of him, separated by a composite leafy ornament with rosettes. Another variation depicts a griffin with a serpentine body and a fish tail, and a more simplified vegetal motif (Fig. 77). A remarkable little rhinoceros strides along with stocky stiff legs in Fig. 79. Rhinoceroses are not common in early Indian sculpture, but one of the few examples is a rhinoceros on an *āyāgapaṭa* of approximately the same date, namely ca. 100 BCE (Fig. 125). Fig. 80 depicts a similar fragment of a coping stone with the image of a bull sniffing the ground. Many more such fragments are scattered throughout private collections and museums, such as the Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Rietberg Museum in Zürich, and the Linden Museum in Stuttgart.[55]

Unidentified Architectural Fragments

The reliefs presented in this section are so fragmentary that they give no clue to their original context. I have selected them because their interesting subjects lend insight into the nature of early Mathura sculpture.

Bas Relief Depicting the Vaṇṇupatha Jātaka *(Fig. 81)*

A bas relief on a small stone fragment from Mathura in the State Museum, Lucknow (SML B.122) may, together with the roundel above the Hathīn *yakṣa* depicting the dream of Māyā (Fig. 57), be one of the few early depictions of an identifiably Buddhist narrative scene from this time and region (Fig. 81). It appears to have been reused at a later date and cut into a roughly rectangular shape measuring six inches (15.24 centimeters) in height and about twelve inches (30.5 cemtimeters) in length; consequently, only part of

[54] Lüders and Janert read the inscription as *gotiputrasa ūtarasa sova[ṇ](ikasa)* in *Mathura Inscriptions*, 1961, p. 198.
[55] See P. Pal, *Indian Sculpture*, pp. 175–176 and H. Härtel, "Eine Mathura-Inschrift der vor-Kusana-zeit," *Beiträge zur Indienforschung* (Berlin: Museum für Indische Kunst, 1977).

one scene has survived. It probably was included in the sculpted embellishment of a railing, but because of its fragmentary condition, we cannot accurately determine whether its original location was on an upright post, a crossbar, or a coping stone. Nevertheless, its subject matter is of interest, and it provides evidence for the early Buddhist narrative tradition on monuments at Mathura of ca. 100 BCE, of which there is only one other identifiable example of which I am aware.

Two bulls are at the left of the fragment; the one in the foreground has the back of his head to the viewer, and the other, behind the first, is seen in profile. The front part of an unyoked bullock cart is at the right of the composition. A man, standing behind the bulls, grasping the reins and gesturing towards the empty yoke, has unhitched them. Some care was given to rendering the structure of the cart, with the ponderous yoke lashed to the front and two rods crisscrossing one behind the other over the three beams that are attached to the front sections of the cart itself. Part of the cart—the fraction of a rimmed semi-circular segment—remains at the broken right edge, carved with shallow incised squares; this segment compares well with the same part of the front of a cart in an unbroken roundel from Bharhut (Fig. 82). At the lower right of the Mathura fragment, another man is shown seated with his knees drawn up, leaning heavily on his left arm and turning his face away to the side.

The motif of the unyoked bullock cart is rare, but it is seen in a roundel from the Bharhut railing (Fig. 82). The Bharhut roundel depicts the *Vaṇṇupatha Jātaka*, with two bulls facing opposite directions and a male figure sitting despondently by an unyoked cart, his knees drawn up and his chin resting on his fist. Given the similarity of these elements in the Bharhut roundel with those surviving on the fragment from Mathura, I believe the latter should be identified as a scene from the *Vaṇṇupatha Jātaka* as well. In this story Śakyamuni Buddha, in his former birth as a merchant, was part of a caravan crossing a desert for purposes of trade. A series of mishaps led the caravan to become lost in the desert without water.

> "All our wood and water is gone, and we are lost." So saying, they unyoked their carts and made a laager and spread the awning overhead; then each man flung himself down in despair beneath his own cart. Thought the Bodhisatta to himself, "If I give in, every single one will perish." So he ranged to and fro while it was still early and cool, until he came on a clump of kusa-grass. "This grass," thought he, "can only have grown up here thanks to the presence of water underneath." So he ordered a spade to be brought and a hole to be dug at that spot. Sixty cubits down they dug, till at that depth the spade struck on a rock and everybody lost heart. But the Bodhisatta, feeling sure there must be water under that rock, descended into the hole and took his stand upon the rock. . . . Catching the sound of water flowing beneath, he came out and said to a serving-lad, "My boy, if *you* give in, we shall all perish. So take heart and courage. Go down into the hole with this iron sledge-hammer, and strike the rock."
>
> Obedient to his master's bidding, [109] the lad, resolute where all others had lost heart, went down and struck the rock. . . . The rock which had dammed the stream split asunder and fell in. Up rose the water in the hole till it was as high as a palm-tree; and everybody drank and bathed. . . . And as soon as the sun set, they hoisted a flag by the side of the well and travelled on to their destination.[56]

[56] See E. B. Cowell, ed., *The Jātaka*, Vol. I (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, reprinted in 1994; first published by Cambridge University Press, 1895), p. 11.

The scenes from the Bharhut roundel and the Mathura fragment both seem to depict the time of crisis in the story, when the merchants realize that they are lost in the desert without water, and they unyoke their carts and sit in despair. Coomaraswamy interpreted the concentric circle and four-stepped square at the top of the Bharhut roundel to depict the well and the socle on which the merchants elevated a flag to mark the site.[57] Similar objects may have been included in the original composition of the Mathura version.

Stylistically, the fragment of the *Vaṇṇupatha Jātaka* from Mathura seems to be slightly advanced from that of Bharhut. Indication of an interest in integrating objects in a more natural spatial setting sets the Mathura fragment apart from the Bharhut roundel. The bulls on the Mathura relief (Fig. 81) are not presented in identical postures; one of the bulls is turned and faces back into the picture plane. Their humps are softly rounded, not flat and angular as are those of the Bharhut bulls, and the one visible eye of the rear bull on the Mathura piece is subtly integrated into his face, in contrast to the stylized, geometric shape of the bulls' eyes on the Bharhut roundel. The rendition of the bullock cart too, with its overlapping rods, is not as two-dimensional as its counterpart in the Bharhut roundel. Nevertheless, the extensive empty ground space, the flat surfaces of the bulls' and men's bodies, the stylized incised lines articulating the muzzle of the rear bull, the sharp angularity of the standing man's gesture, and the type of knotted turban indicate that the date of the *Vaṇṇupatha Jātaka* fragment from Mathura is probably only about twenty to fifty years later than the style of Bharhut, and thus can be reasonably considered to date to around 100 BCE.

The existence of an identifiably Buddhist fragment from Mathura dating to around the late second century BCE is significant. It, together with the crossbar with a *bodhighara* relief (Fig. 71) forms the evidence for the existence of Buddhist art at Mathura in the second century BCE. The other evidence includes the pillar from Hathīn with the roundel depicting the dream of Māyā (Fig. 56) and, by association, the pillar from Bhādas (Fig. 61); although they were probably made at Mathura, they were found at some distance from the city itself, near modern Gurgaon. The pillars from Amin (Figs. 42–45 and the fragment of a rail post with *stūpa* worship (Figs. 8 and 9) are also probably Buddhist. The Dhanabhūti inscription discussed in Chapter Two is epigraphic evidence for the existence of a Buddhist site in the Mathura region, for it refers to the setting up of a Buddhist railing and gateway, but its provenance and date are not beyond question. Although this little fragment in the collection of the State Museum, Lucknow has not previously been published, as far as I am aware, its relatively reliable date, Mathuran provenance, and rare Buddhist theme make it worthy of attention.

Man Driving a Bull (Fig. 83)

A very fragmentary relief from Mathura (SML J.628) was cut into a rectangular brick shape, much like the stone with the *Vaṇṇupatha Jātaka* (Fig. 81). What remains is part of a bull drawing a conveyance in which a man stands holding the reins and driving the bull with a stick. In the upper right corner is some foliage, which suggests that the carver had an interest in depicting landscape elements. It is tempting to see in this simple, frag-

[57] A. K. Coomaraswamy, *La Sculpture de Bharhut*, p. 76.

mentary scene an allusion to the first meditation of Prince Siddhartha under the *jambu* tree, for during his first meditation, the Buddha-to-be saw a farmer and bull ploughing a field. In a Kuṣāṇa rendition from Sanchi, and in versions from Gandhāra, the meditating prince Siddhartha is depicted seated under the *jambu* tree, and the ploughing scene is carved on the pedestal. However, all of these known representations were made much later; also, the man is walking behind the bull, not being drawn in a conveyance. An allusion to the first meditation is at Sanchi *Stūpa* I, embedded in the middle of the Great Departure scene in the form of the roseapple (*jambu*) tree surrounded by a *vedikā*, but the ploughing scene is not incorporated therein.[58] Too little remains of this fragment, however, to make such an identification at all tenable. It is more likely that the figure driving the bull is part of a procession.

The driver has the sharp angular gesture, blank facial expression, and flat plain surfaces that are archaistic and that associate the relief with the Bharhut style. On the other hand, his bulbous turban droops heavily, and the contours of the bull—particularly the hump—exhibit the softness and roundness that indicate a date later than that of the Bharhut style. This combination of traits leads me to confidently date this fragment to around 100 BCE.

Relief of a Kinnara *Bearing Offerings (Fig. 84)*

A fragmentary relief depicting a flying *kinnara* bringing offerings to a sacred site, indicated by the remains of a *chattra*, may also be attributed to the late second century BCE (Fig. 84). Conservative traits are recognizable in his angular gesture, the geometric, cut-out forms of his wings and tail, and the sharply incised detailing, somewhat similar to the mode of representing *kinnara*s venerating a *stūpa* in the centaur architrave (Fig. 21). Also, there is a high proportion of empty ground space, and the *chattra* is stiff and stylized, like the representations from ca. 150 BCE, as seen, for example, in Fig. 8. However, this *kinnara* may be included among sculptures of the late second century BCE because of the increased softness of his form, the looped sash, the turban type, and the glimmer of expression in his face.

Flying Ardhaphālaka *Monk and* Kinnara *(Fig. 112)*

A fragment (SML J.105) of what originally would have been a fairly large relief panel, measuring 22 × 23 inches (55.88 × 58.42 centimeters) even in its severely broken condition, depicts a flying Jaina *ardhaphālaka* monk (*cāraṇamuni*) above a *kinnara*. The latter brings a garland to a sacred place, possibly a *stūpa*, like the *kinnara*s in the centaur architrave (Fig. 21). The sacred site is identifiable only by part of a *chattra* visible at the broken right edge of the stone. This fragment may originally have formed part of an early *āyāgapaṭa*, of the type shown in Fig. 168.

The flying monk is nude except for the small cloth (*colapaṭṭa*) draped over his left forearm, the emblem of the heterodox *ardhaphālaka* sect of Jainism localized in Mathura between the second century BCE and the third century CE.[59] His right hand is held up

[58] Vidya Dehejia, *Unseen Presence*, pp. 40–41.
[59] See Padmanabh S. Jaini, "Jaina Monks from Mathura: Literary Evidence for their Identification on

in *abhaya-mudrā*. That he is shown flying through the air suggests that the Jaina monks of the *ardhaphālaka* sect were actively pursuing high levels of meditation in Mathura by ca. 100–75 BCE, because once a monk (*siddha*) achieved a high level of meditational practice, he was thought to be able to fly through the air at will. In this fragment of a relief panel, he is depicted as being of higher status than the *kinnara*, as he is shown above him and in *abhaya mudrā*, thereby indicating his position among the five highest beings (*pañcaparameṣṭhin*s), who are more exalted than celestial beings.[60]

At least thirty-eight documented sculptures from Mathura depict *ardhaphālaka* monks.[61] That these monks are found in such great numbers in sculptures ranging in date from the late second century BCE to the third century CE attests to their prominence in Mathura. They are found in a variety of postures, either as worshippers on the pedestals of Jina images, as *cāraṇamuni*s possessing magical powers of flight, as objects of veneration themselves, or simply interacting in a temple setting.

The form of the nude monk is rather soft and unified, and his movements are not as jerky as those seen in the other sculptures discussed in this chapter. Even his *colapaṭṭa* is draped gently over his forearm. The wings and tail of the *kinnara* indicate a break from the geometric mold that still confined those of the *kinnara* from the late second century BC shown in Fig. 84. The ends of his *dhoti*, like the monk's *colapaṭṭa*, drape and undulate softly, and the garland indicates a sense of swelling voluminousness. However, the large proportion of empty ground space, the fairly stiff stylized patterning of the *kinnara*'s tail and wings, and the segmentation of the monk's lower abdomen and upper thigh are all features that in combination suggest that this sculpture was made ca. 100–75 BCE, at the later end of the period under discussion.

Summary

All of the stone architectural pieces recovered from the Mathura region and attributable on the basis of style to ca. 120–75 BCE seem to have formed either part of a gateway or part of a *vedikā* that would have been set up at the perimeter of a sacred enclosure. This might suggest that carved stone was not used in the construction of the actual shrines or *stūpa*s or even in secular architecture. Judging from the bas relief depictions, brick and wood were the materials of choice for actual buildings.

The gateways and railings, however, were richly embellished with scenes and figures displaying a wide range of iconography and rare but sophisticated narrative presentations.

Kuṣāṇa Sculptures," p. 479. Adalbert J. Gail has suggested that the *ardhaphālaka*s may have been present in Gandhāra as well as at Mathura, for he identified the nude monk clutching a cloth in his hand, seen in Gandhāra reliefs depicting the *parinirvāṇa* of the Buddha, as a member of the *ardhaphālaka* sect. However, this monk should instead be identified as an *ājīvika* monk, in accordance with literary sources, for the cloth clutched in the hand is probably not the same as the larger, pleated *colapaṭṭa*, but akin to a *mukhapaṭika*. The textual reference to a Jaina monk at the time of the *parinirvāṇa* instead probably refers to the last convert shown seated beneath the death bed of the Buddha. See Adalbert J. Gail, "Ein Jaina-Mönch beim Parinirvāṇa des Buddha."

[60] The self-presentation of *ardhaphālaka* monks as superior to celestial beings is discussed in S. R. Quintanilla, "Closer to Heaven than the Gods: Jain Monks in the Art of Pre-Kushan Mathura."

[61] BMA 87.188.5 (Fig. 221); GMM B.67, Q.2 (Figs. 168–170); NMD J.555 (Fig. 230); SML B.207 (Fig. 233), J.3, J.5, J.6, J.8, J.9, J.10, J.14, J.16, J.17, J.18, J.20, J.24, J.25, J.26, J.27, J.29, J.30, J.30A, J.34, J.35, J.42, J.47, J.53, J.59, J.66, J.67, J.69, J.105 (Fig. 112), J.108, J.233, J.253 (Fig. 151), J.334/609 (possibly Figs. 25 and 28), J.623 (Fig. 177), and J.686.

Every element of the *toraṇa*s and *vedikā*s was embellished. Whenever it is possible to identify a sectarian affiliation for these figures and scenes, they appear to be either Jaina or Buddhist, with a possible Hindu scene depicting Brahmins on the Katrā architrave (Fig. 29). Stylistically, there is no difference between a Jaina or a Buddhist or a Brahmanical sculpture; the same guilds of artists were probably commissioned by different religious groups.

In general, the imagery on the *toraṇa*s and *vedikā*s accords well with the imagery found on *toraṇa*s and *vedikā*s from other early Indian sites, with emphasis on *yakṣas, yakṣīs, mithuna*s, and sacred objects. At Mathura there seems to have been less interest in depicting *jātaka*s and scenes from the life of the Buddha; only one example of each has been identified, but perhaps many more have yet to be discovered. Distinctive to Mathura at this period is the prevalence of Jaina art, with unparalleled examples of devotional processions, *stūpa* worship, pillar worship, narrative scenes, and *śālabhañjikā*s. As we continue our survey of the early sculpture of Mathura, the importance of the Jainas in propelling its early artistic tradition will become increasingly evident.

Iconic Statues

The sculptures discussed in this section are treated separately because, as far as we can tell, they served as objects of worship rather than integral parts of architectural elements that surrounded a sacred site. They are primarily carved in the round and are frontal, monumental statues. There are some exceptions, however, that are either relatively small or are iconic images carved in relief. They are included in this section because they do not appear to have been carved on segments of railings or gateways, but seem to have been set up in small shrines of their own. I acknowledge that the distinction between some of the images discussed in this section and the *yakṣa*s and *yakṣī*s on *vedikā* rail posts is sometimes quite fine. The divinities on the rail posts probably received some veneration from visitors to the site, but their status as subsidiary and ornamental[62] is undeniable because of their placement on exterior railings surrounding a sanctuary. In contrast, each image discussed in this section seems to have been intended to be a cultic focus, even if it had been set up in a subsidiary shrine within a larger temple or monastic complex. Thus, the statues presented below are examples of the types of iconic images that would have been objects of worship during the late second to early first century BCE, along with all the numerous non-figural objects of worship, such as the *caityavṛkṣa* or the *stūpa*.

We have seen in the preceding discussion of sculpted architectural pieces that after the geometric, angular, and abstract style of Indian sculpture peaked at circa 150 BCE, a gradual softening and a movement towards more naturalistic modes of representation became evident in the next generation of works. As the images discussed in the remainder of this chapter reveal, the same changes in sculptural style are noted in iconic images

[62] I use the term "ornamental" not with any pejorative connotations, but in the manner that Coomaraswamy discussed in his essay in which ornament (Sanskrit *alaṃkāra* or *bhuṣati*) is viewed in the traditional sense of being essential to completing the meaning of the whole monument. See A. K. Coomaraswamy, "Ornament," pp. 85–99.

that were the focus of worship. Sculptures from other regions in India, such as those from Pitalkhora in Maharashtra, the large *yakṣa* (Fig. 111) and *yakṣī* images from Vidiśā,[63] the Pratapgarh *yakṣa*, and the bas relief *yakṣa*s from Kauśāmbi[64] are typical examples of this style, in which the stiff and cubical figures of ca. 150 BCE began to metamorphose into more supple, life-like forms. The statues from the Mathura region that evince some characteristics of the Bharhut style in combination with softened forms that respond to gravity can be dated to ca. 100 BCE and are discussed in this section. Stylistically, they are the successors of the *nāga* and the Parkham, Baroda, and Palwal *yakṣas* (Figs. 20, 15, 18 and 19) that we studied in Chapter Two.

Iconographic diversification is noted in the iconic images I have attributed to this period, just as with the architectural bas reliefs discussed in the section above. *Yakṣa*s continue to predominate in this period, but other deities are identifiable as well. There is at least one example, if not two, of the Hindu deity Balarāma, and one extraordinary sculpture of the Vedic god of fire, Agni. A seated *yakṣī* and an image of the Jaina *tīrthaṅkara* Pārśvanātha were also produced at this time, according to my analysis of their styles and inscriptions.

Bas Relief of a Yakṣa *Holding a Sword and a Worshipper (Fig. 85)*

A fragmentary bas relief panel (GMM I.18) depicting a *yakṣa* evinces a slight move away from the stark geometricity and angularity of the objects datable to around 150 BCE, towards a suppler rendition of the human form. Only the head and torso of the *yakṣa* survive, but we can discern that he probably stood frontally, grasping the remains of a sword in his right hand and a diminutive male worshipper in his upraised left hand. This image could have been installed in a subsidiary shrine or a niche at a Buddhist or Jaina site, much like the *yakṣa* and *yakṣī* images in niches flanking the stairway at the base of the *stūpa* in Fig. 168. Alternatively, nothing precludes the possibility that, although carved in relief, this image of a *yakṣa* was the central focus of a shrine of his own. It is unlikely that this image was a door guardian, because of the presence of the small worshipper in his left hand, which lends an iconic status to the main figure, who is worthy of worship. The image was carved on a broad panel, remains of the upper border of which are visible at the top of the stone. The panel is too wide to have been part of a gate or rail post, unlike the male *cauri* bearer discussed in Chapter Two (Fig. 7).

This particular *yakṣa* who holds a sword in his right hand and a small worshipper in his left hand was evidently popular in Mathura during the second century BCE, since four early examples of *yakṣa*s with this specific iconography have been discovered. Two of them, the Bharaṇa Kalan *yakṣa* (Fig. 88) and the Palwal *yakṣa* (Fig. 19) are larger than life-size figures, probably central cult icons for worship, while the third, from Hariparvat-Ṭīlā (Fig. 90), is small and may have been derivative from one of the large icons. Although V. S. Agrawala suggested that the *yakṣa* holding a sword and worshipper represents the *yakṣa* from the Buddhist *Sutasoma Jātaka* who feeds on children, no surviving evidence

[63] Pramod Chandra, "Yakṣa and Yakṣī Images from Vidiśā," Figs. 4–6.

[64] Pramod Chandra, *Stone Sculpture in the Allahabad Museum*, Pls. XXXIV and XXXV, Figs. 80a and 80b for the Pratapgarh *yakṣa*, and Pl. XXVI and Figs. 70 and 71 for the rail posts with *yakṣas* from Kauśāmbi.

attests to the association of this type of *yakṣa* with a specifically Buddhist context.[65] The identification of this *yakṣa* with the one featured in the *Sutasoma Jātaka* is also unclear. Narrative reliefs depicting the *Sutasoma Jātaka* show the *yakṣa* in the act of carrying off lifeless children,[66] whereas the small figure held by these *yakṣa*s is alive and standing in a posture of veneration. Furthermore, it is not entirely certain that the small worshipper is a child, although it is not impossible. In the relief in Fig. 85, the diminutive male figure stands on a small platform with his arms held in *añjalīmudrā*. Alhough his face has broken off, the remains of a coiled topknot of hair are visible at the top of his head. He wears a short lower garment, the ends of which hang between his legs, and it is belted with a simple rope beneath a chubby potbelly. These are not necessarily features indicative of the figure being a child. However, the analogous small worshipper held in the hand of the Hariparvat-Tila *yakṣa* stands on an even larger pedestal and appears to be nude (Fig. 90). The nudity of the figure on the Hariparvat-Tila version of this *yakṣa* suggests that the worshipper may indeed be a child, although it is difficult to ascertain with certainty. Thus, it seems best at this stage in our knowledge to view this *yakṣa* who holds a sword and a diminutive male worshipper more generally as a divinity who was propitiated for the protection or granting of children (sons); this interpretation does not necessarily exclude V. S. Agrawala's identification.

When this *yakṣa* is compared to the bas relief of the *cauri* bearer of ca. 150 BCE (Fig. 7), certain stylistic shifts are discernible. These shifts are analogous to those noted between the style of the Mehrauli *yakṣī* (Fig. 2) and the *śālabhañjika*s on the brackets from Kaṅkālī-Ṭīlā (Figs. 39 and 40) discussed above. Perhaps the most striking difference is the reduction of sharp linear detailing in the relief of the *yakṣa* with sword and worshipper (Fig. 85). In areas such as the turban and armbands, the latter sculpture is smoother and plainer, with less detailed ornamentation. The parallel pleats of the *uttarīya*, so sharply incised on the *cauri* bearer, are more softly rounded and slightly raised (discernible despite the greater degree of erosion) in the sword-bearing *yakṣa* relief, whereon the garment drapes over each arm and behind the back. Some response of elements to the force of gravity is noticeable in the relief in Fig. 85, as was also noted with reference to the Amin *mithuna* (Fig. 42). The heavy earrings worn by the sword-bearing *yakṣa* drag the earlobes down over his shoulders, in contrast to the similar looped earrings that are simply carved in place on the *cauri* bearer. Furthermore, the long, broad necklace that lies over the chest on both male figures turns and falls in the *yakṣa* relief, whereas it is sharply squared and more stylized in the earlier carving of the *cauri* bearer. The waistband of the diminutive worshipper standing in the *yakṣa*'s hand is curved in response to the outward pressure of his abdomen, and the lower garment, which hangs between his legs, forms a geometric shape like that appearing in the bracket *yakṣī*s from Kaṅkālī-Ṭīlā (Figs. 39 and 40). These traits combine to suggest a later date than the sculptures carved in the Bharhut style.

Nevertheless, the bas relief panel of the *yakṣa* bearing the sword and worshipper has many features that link it to sculptures of the early phase of around 150 BCE, thereby

[65] V. S. Agrawala, *Mathura Museum Catalogue*, Part III: Jaina Tirthankaras and Other Miscellaneous Figures, pp. 98–99.

[66] See R. C. Sharma, *The Splendour of Mathura*, Pl. VII.

suggesting a relatively close temporal proximity to the type of carving seen on the relief of the *cauri* bearer. Though slightly eroded, the mask-like quality of the *yakṣa*'s face, with distinctly segregated, geometrically shaped features and vacant expression, shows retention of the earlier style. Other features, including the angularity of the gestures, the flattening of the posture within the confines of two dimensions, and the axial frontal position, suggest that this *yakṣa* only minimally postdates the *cauri* bearer.

Agni and Yakṣa *Holding a Sword, from Bharaṇa Kalan (Figs. 86–89)*

Two majestic male images from the site of Bharaṇa Kalan, about twenty miles (32 kilometers) northwest of the city of Mathura, were discovered in 1987. They are both larger than life size, measuring about six and a half feet (over two meters) in height. In contrast to most of the other large-scale statues of this early period from Mathura, the two figures recovered from Bharaṇa Kalan are in remarkably good condition; there are only a few broken areas and minimal abrasion. One of the figures is a *yakṣa* (GMM 87.145; Fig. 88) holding a sword in his right hand; in his left hand is a small pedestal that in all likelihood supported the figure of a diminutive male worshipper, similar to the one held by the *yakṣa* in the relief just discussed (Fig. 85). There is a round break in the stone of the *yakṣa*'s left shoulder at exactly the height where one would expect the head of such a small figure to have been. The other figure is identifiable as Agni, the Vedic god of fire (GMM 87.146; Figs. 86 and 87). The iconographic features of the sculpture that identify him as Agni are unmistakable. Behind his head is a flame-shaped aureole incised with tongues of flame (Fig. 87), and in his left hand are the remains of a water bottle. Judging from the manner in which his right arm is broken and from other parallel examples of early images of Agni (e.g., Fig. 280), his right hand would have been held up in *abhaya mudrā*, with the palm facing forward in a gesture enjoining freedom from fear.

The images of both the *yakṣa* and Agni have donative inscriptions on the tops of their pedestals, both of which are heavily eroded (Appendix I.8 and I.9). The inscriptions seem to indicate that the same individual, named Jayaghoṣa, donated both images. The epigraph on the base of the image of Agni is the better preserved of the two, and it confirms the identity of the figure as Agni; unfortunately, the portion of the inscription on the pedestal of the *yakṣa* that would have provided the name of this popular divinity holding the sword and worshipper is now illegible.

These two statues probably were individual iconic images set up to be worshipped in their own right, each probably in its own shrine. Doris Meth Srinivasan suggested, in contrast, that these two figures served as doorkeepers (*dvārapāla*s), which would have flanked the entrance to a Hindu temple. This interpretation of their original function as doorkeepers is primarily based on the fact that there are two of them, of almost identical size, given by the same donor, whose occupation was interpreted by Lore Sander as a minister who guards the city gates (*amātya pratihāra*).[67] However, the occupation of the donor need not inform the function of the image. These life-size images were carved fully in the round, like the Parkham *yakṣa*, and no other early door guardian in India, of which

[67] Doris Srinivasan, "Newly Discovered Inscribed Mathura Sculptures of Probable Doorkeepers, Dating to the Kṣatrapa Period," p. 65.

there are many, is similarly carved in the round. Also, there is parallel evidence that images of both this particular *yakṣa* and Agni were considered icons for worship in early Mathura. As already noted, there exist two other free-standing examples of this *yakṣa*, from Palwal and Hariparvat-Ṭīlā (Figs. 19 and 90), one of which was colossal and the other miniature; consequently, they would not be considered guardians. There are also two other known examples of free-standing sculptures of Agni, from Mathura, one from the first century CE (Fig. 280) and the other dating to the second century CE.[68] Both stand frontally and iconically in *abhayamudrā*, which is not a gesture used by door guardians, but rather by divinities to be worshipped. These four images provide parallels that lead us to recognize the status of the Bharaṇa Kalan sculptures as individual deities. Furthermore, if Lore Sander's interpretation of line 3 of the right side of the inscription on the base of the image of Agni is correct, then it reads *bhagavato āgnisa pratimā*, 'image of the lord Agni.' This would not have been an appropriate epithet for a doorkeeper; the title of *bhagavan* is reserved for major deities or the Buddha or a Jina.

Doris Srinivasan dated these two sculptures from Bharaṇa Kalan to the late first century CE on the basis of a paleographical and epigraphical analysis by Lore Sander that ultimately only shows that they were created earlier than the Kuṣāṇa period; however, her analysis does not necessarily rule out a date of ca. 100 BCE. Many of the epigraphical characteristics that Srinivasan and Sander consider to be specific to the so-called Kṣatrapa period of the first century CE can also hold true for inscriptions of the second century BCE. For example, the word *kārita* (caused to be made), which Srinivasan and Sander used to attribute the Bharaṇa Kalan images to the first century CE,[69] also is found in epigraphs dating to the second century BCE, such as that of the Parkham *yakṣa* (Appendix I.3), the Jhingki Nagara *yakṣī* (Appendix I.4), and the Śimitrā *āyāgapaṭa* and Bhikhu Phagula *śilā* (Appendix II.1 and II.6). Thus, it indicates a pre-Kuṣāṇa date, but in no way hinders an attribution to ca. 100 BCE. Furthermore, the paleography of the Bharaṇa Kalan inscriptions is not necessarily coincident with the forms of letters carved during the time of the *mahākṣatrapa* Śoḍāsa (early first century CE). It must also be emphasized that the inscriptions on the bases of the Bharaṇa Kalan figures are relatively short and are in rough and almost illegible condition. Therefore, a paleographic analysis can provide results that are tenuous at best, and difficult to use as the primary grounds for the dating of the sculptures. In the case of the Bharaṇa Kalan images, greater accuracy in dating would be achieved from an analysis of the style of the two sculptures, which are large and in excellent condition.

The images of both the Agni (Figs. 86 and 87) and the *yakṣa* with sword (Figs. 88 and 89) exhibit so much of a cubical, block-like character, with sharp, stylized linear detailing, that they should not be considered to be far removed in date from the Parkham *yakṣa* and its contemporaries.[70] In Figs. 88 and 89, geometric cubical form is evident in the

[68] Vincent Smith, *The Jain Stūpa and Other Antiquities of Mathurā*, Pl. LXXXVIII.

[69] Doris Srinivasan, "Newly Discovered Inscribed Mathura Sculptures of Probable Doorkeepers, Dating to the Kṣatrapa Period," p. 65.

[70] I generally agree with the assessment of R. C. Sharma, who also considers the Bharana Kalan images to be of great importance and to date to around the time of the Parkham *yakṣa*. (R. C. Sharma, *Buddhist Art, Mathura School*, p. 123).

hands and the tassels; the bending of the knuckles is rendered at a ninety-degree angle, and the fingers and backs of the hands are formed by straight, flat planes. Similarly, the sash tassels that hang between his legs are stiff and squared at the bottoms and corners. On both figures, the hems of the lower garments gathered between their legs are depicted as rigid, stylized zigzags that add to the overall impression of hardness and abstraction that characterizes sculpture of the Bharhut and post-Bharhut periods. The pleat lines of their lower garments are rendered by straight incised parallel lines with sawtooth edges, much like those seen on the Parkham *yakṣa* (Fig. 16), which do not respond to the contours of their bodies. Jewelry and sashes seem flatly pasted onto the surface of the stone. The heavily outlined eyes, as seen in Fig. 86, for example, have the same geometric shape as is seen on the relief of the *yakṣa* with sword and worshipper (Fig. 85), and they stare with equally blank expressions. The other facial features, such as the abstracted nose and lips, the sharp brow ridge, and the incised parallel creases of the neck further support a date for the Bharaṇa Kalan images in the second century BCE. The turban with ornamented band and large oblong knot worn by both the *yakṣa* and Agni is similar to turbans on other early male figures, such as the *yakṣa* with sword and worshipper (Fig. 85) and the male figure in the doorjamb *Mithuna* (Fig. 51). The overall mien of the Bharaṇa Kalan figures closely mirrors that of other figures of this period, such as the bas relief depicting the *yakṣa* with sword and worshipper (Fig. 85) and the smaller male figure on the Kaṅkālī-Ṭīlā corner post (Fig. 67). Even the slightly puffy horizontal locks of hair shown beneath the turban are also seen on the male figures of the corner post (Fig. 67), and the turbans and hairstyles are similar to those that appear in the early sculptures from Bodhgaya[71] and in a railing medallion from Mathura datable to around the early first century BCE (Fig. 74). The sculptures from Bharaṇa Kalan also display the heavy, massive quality that we have already noted to be a regional characteristic of the Mathura school.

The *yakṣa* and Agni from Bharaṇa Kalan are of such high quality and in such good condition, unprecedented for large-scale images from Mathura dating to the second or first centuries BCE, that we might be tempted to assign them a later date. However, when we examine the sculptures themselves, it is clear that they do not progress far beyond the Bharhut style, although certain elements appear to be a bit less stylized and more voluminous than the image from Parkham, for example (Figs. 15–17). The abdomen is more smoothly integrated into the body as a whole, and the bending of the left knee is more natural and not articulated by semicircular incised lines. Overall, these figures compare best with sculptures discussed in this chapter that date to a period subsequent to the sculptures that were carved in the Bharhut style.

These two dignified and impressive figures from Bharaṇa Kalan, along with the slightly earlier Mehrauli *yakṣi* (Fig. 2) in particular, represent the pinnacle of quality among the stone sculptural productions at Mathura during the second half of the second century BCE. Iconographically they are also intriguing. Such a large iconic statue of the Vedic

[71] See the *mithuna* bust from Bodhgaya, in the Bodhgaya Archaeological Museum, and other male figures in medallions from the *vedikā* at Bodhgaya. See, *inter alia*, A. K. Coomaraswamy, *La Sculpture de Bodhgaya*, Pl. L, Fig. 2.

god Agni is particularly puzzling, and the evidence provided by this sculpture suggests that there was an unusual cult of Agni in Mathura, unparalleled in the rest of the subcontinent, as far as we know. The reason for the very depiction of Agni in human form at such an early date is in itself confounding, as there are no early textual references to such images. According to Heinrich von Stietencron, the gods Śiva, Skanda, Vaiśrāvaṇa, Saṃkarṣaṇa, and Vāsudeva are connected with images in temples in the grammatical treatises of Pāṇini and his successors, but there is no mention of Indra, Agni, Varuṇa, or the Ādityas in connection with images in human form or with temples at this period. Von Stietencron wrote:

> It is obvious that the change had not affected essentially the worship of Vedic gods. The petrified rules of their ritual, anxiously guarded by the Brahman priests, rendered them inflexible and unresponsive to new needs of the people. The new mode of worship, therefore, was introduced together with new gods.[72]

The existence of the Bharaṇa Kalan Agni, the Agni in the Bharat Kala Bhavan (Fig. 280), and the Agni of the Kuṣāṇa period in the Lucknow Museum[73]—all of which are from Mathura—defy the conclusions one would draw simply from the textual evidence. Agni is here depicted in a form very similar to that of a *yakṣa*, and he seems to have been viewed as a high divinity, given his epithet as *bhagavan* (holy one or lord). Many Vedic gods became identified with *yakṣa*s in epic, Buddhist, and Puranic literature, such as Varuṇa, Viṣṇu, Aryama, Indra, Soma, and Prajāpati. References specifically to Agni's association with *yakṣa*s are found as early as the *Ṛg Veda*, but none of them clearly calls Agni a *yakṣa*.[74] Perhaps in Mathura the divide between certain Vedic gods and *yakṣa*s was almost indistinguishable, or at least not particularly observed in practice. This depiction of a *yakṣa*-like Agni also might be seen as a conceptual precursor to the early, large-scale standing depictions of the Buddha or Bodhisattvas at Mathura, wherein Buddhist icons draw a great deal from the *yakṣa* tradition. The grand image of the Bharana Kalan *yakṣa* holding the sword and worshipper is crucial evidence for the existence of a popular and important cult focused around this *yakṣa* with very specific iconography.

Yakṣa *from Hariparvat-Ṭīlā (Fig. 90)*

The diminutive image of a *yakṣa* from Hariparvat-Ṭīlā (GMM 44.3130) is only fourteen inches (35.56 centimeters) tall. His head, feet, and right hand are missing, and overall the stone is somewhat worn. In contrast to the magnificent sculptures from Bharaṇa Kalan discussed above, the craftsmanship of this small image is relatively simple and crude. This *yakṣa* stands frontally, and axially, with weight distributed equally on both legs. He wears a torque and a longer, rounded V-shaped necklace with little or no discernible trace of ornament surviving on them. His lower garment is fastened by a thick belt tied in a symmetrical knot below his navel, and the ends of the belt hang between his legs. Judging from what survives of the hem of the garment, it curved over his left knee and hung in

---

[72] Heinrich von Stietencron, "Orthodox Attitudes Towards Temple Service and Image Worship in Ancient India," p. 130.

[73] V. Smith, *The Jain Stupa*, Pl. LXXXVIII.

[74] See V. S. Agrawala, "Yakshas and Nagas in Indian Folk-Art Tradition," pp. 7 and 8.

a triangular segment between his legs. Both arms are bent outwards at his hips; in his outstretched left hand he holds an image of a male worshipper in *añjalīmudrā*.

Curiously, the little image in the *yakṣa*'s hand appears to be nude, and he stands upon a large block or pedestal, as though he himself is actually a representation of an image. Alternatively, it is possible that the block or pedestal on which he stands is part of the convention of this early period, when artists placed pads or blocks under the feet of figures, so that they are had a ground to stand upon. This pedestal is present under the feet of the worshipper in both the relief of the *yakṣa* holding a sword and worshipper (Fig. 85) and in the outstretched left hand of the Bharaṇa Kalan Yakṣa (Fig. 88). The fact that the *yakṣa* from Hariparvat-Ṭīlā holds a small figure of a worshipper in his left hand strongly suggests that he would have held a sword in his right hand, judging from the examples of other such *yakṣa*s. Thus, we can deduce that iconographically, the Hariparvat-Ṭīlā *yakṣa* is probably the same divinity as the Palwal *yakṣa*, the *yakṣa* holding the sword and worshipper, and the Bharaṇa Kalan *yakṣa*.

Since the Hariparvat-Ṭīlā *yakṣa* is so much smaller than the other three versions of the same divinity, and since the jewelry, stance, and pose are almost identical, but abbreviated and of poorer workmanship, we might infer that it is in some way a derivative work. Perhaps it was either a replica of a larger cult icon intended for sale as a memento for worshippers to the site, or it was intentionally made to be a movable icon. Pāṇini's grammatical treatise of ca. fifth century BCE refers to both types of images. Heinrich von Stietencron discussed the passages where Paṇini referred to both:

> The *sūtra* (V.3.99: *Jīvikārthe cāpaṇye*) is intended to regulate the formation of the names of divine images. To some of them the suffix *-ka* is added, to others not; and with the latter deals this *sūtra*. From the commentators we know that *Pāṇini's* rule is based on a distinction between images which were meant for sale and others which were worshipped and cared for by custodians called *devalaka*. The rule applies to the latter. These images can be either fixed in a shrine (*acala*) or carried from place to place (*cala*). In both cases they are meant for worship (*pūjārtha*) and are a source of livelihood (*jīvikā*) to their custodians who receive the gifts of the devotees. The *devalakas* show the images and act as *pūjarīs*, but they do not sell them: their images are not for sale (*apaṇya*). Such images, according to *Pāṇini*, would be named as *Śiva* or *Skanda*, without the suffix *-ka*. Opposed to these are images which were displayed for sale. They too were a means of livelihood for their owners, but these owners kept them only for trade and not for the sake of worship (*pūjārtha*). Such images would be called *Śivaka* or *Skandaka*.[75]

Perhaps this small image of the *yakṣa* from Hariparvat-Ṭīlā is an example of a *yakṣaka*, a movable or sellable version of a large image of the same iconography, which was also meant for worship.

Two Yakṣas *from Noh (Figs. 91–93)*

One of the most imposing images belonging to this group is the seven-and-a-half-foot (2.3 meter) tall image of a *yakṣa* currently standing in the village of Noh (Figs. 91 and 92), where it was discovered in 1945 by V. S. Agrawala and Rawat Pandit Chaturbhuj Das

[75] H. von Stietencron, "Orthodox Attitudes Towards Temple Service and Image Worship in Ancient India," p. 130.

Chaturvedi.[76] Noh is located near Bharatpur, just over the border of Rajasthan on the Agra road, and it falls within the parameters of the Mathura cultural region. Like the Barodā *yakṣa* and possibly also the Parkham *yakṣa*, it was worshipped by the villagers, who called it by the name Jakheya.[77] Another standing *yakṣa* has been recovered from Noh (Fig. 93) and is smaller and more heavily damaged. In its present condition, without the head and lower legs, the sculpture is three feet four inches (one meter) high, and sufficient carvings survive on the sculpture to allow us to ascertain its close proximity in date with the large *yakṣa* from Noh and the other images datable to ca. 100 BCE.

The larger *yakṣa* from Noh is heavily eroded, and his left arm and right hand are broken off completely (Fig. 91). Nonetheless, many revealing features are discernible. His right arm is bent up at the elbow, perhaps originally held up in an *abhaya-mudrā* (no traces of a *cauri* are visible on his shoulder), while his left hand was held at his hip, in much the same posture as in the Parkham *yakṣa* (Fig. 15). As is also clearly seen on the Vidiśā *yakṣa* (Fig. 111), a topknot of hair has been wound loosely at the left side of the crown of his head, and the remains of pointed ears (*śankukarṇa*) are barely perceptible. His jewelry and other adornments are all familiar elements, in common with almost every other male sculpture of the second century BCE, including the heavy spiral earrings (*sarpakuṇḍala*), striated chest band complete with hanging loop, the trefoil fleur-de-lis armlets, five heavy, beaded bracelets, a thick girdle with parallel striations, a flat, flowered torque (*graiveyaka*) tied at the nape of the neck, and the long stringed necklace decorated with two floral squares and fastened in back by a fancy flower button and two tassels. The large flower button and squat, bell-shaped tassels are almost identical to those on the back of the Virabai *yakṣa* (Fig. 95b), also from Rajasthan.

Despite the rigid frontal stance, the stiffness, and the close plastering of ornaments on his body that the *yakṣa* from Noh shares with the Parkham *yakṣa*, the carving of the former exhibits important elements of departure from the strictly cubical quality of the latter. The beginnings of naturalism emerge in the Noh carving in a manner comparable with that of the Vidiśā *yakṣa* (Fig. 111).[78] In contrast to the Parkham *yakṣa*, the Noh *yakṣa*'s abdomen swells more heavily, seeming to break free from the confines of the block of stone; it pushes heavily down upon the more softly rendered girdle (Fig. 91). The loop of the chest band, which hangs at his left flank, and the long flat necklace both droop with a gentler, suppler articulation that is lacking in the Parkham *yakṣa* of ca. 150 BCE. Overall, the image from Noh conveys a greater sense of natural fleshiness than sculptures carved in the Bharhut style.

The Mathura regional style becomes quite clearly evident when the Parkham and Noh *yakṣas* are viewed in contrast to the Vidiśā *yakṣa* of the Avanti region of Malwa, now in Madhya Pradesh (Fig. 111). Both sculptures from the Mathura region display an unparalleled propensity for ponderous mass articulated through roundness of forms. The Vidiśā

[76] Both V. S. Agrawala and Rawat Pandit Chaturbhuj Das Chaturvedi claim to have discovered this colossal *yakṣa* from Noh. See V. S. Agrawala, "Pre-Kushana Art of Mathura," p. 114; and Rawat Pandit Chaturbhuj Das Chaturvedi, "Yaksha and Wife from Bharatpur," p. 151.

[77] V. S. Agrawala, "Pre-Kushana Art of Mathura," p. 119.

[78] Pramod Chandra first noted this similarity in 1966 when he stated, "The Vidisa Yaksha is thus much closer to the Yaksha from Noh, where a similar sense of plastic vision is in evidence" (P. Chandra, "Yaksha and Yakshi Images from Vidiśā," p. 162).

yakṣa seems lighter and conveys extraordinarily soft fleshy textures, the hallmark of the Malwa region, as seen in the other sculptures from Vidiśā and Sanchi.

The other *yakṣa* from Noh, which is in much worse condition, is currently housed in the Bharatpur Museum (#213/64; Fig. 93). Although only the torso and part of the legs remain of this once massive sculpture, the swelling of the heavy, round abdomen over the thick girdle, the frontal posture, the stiffly hanging ends of the belt between the legs, and the same type of torque, long necklace, and chest band combine to suggest a date close to that of the large standing *yakṣa* in Noh village (Fig. 91).

Yakṣa *from Virabai and Mathura Musuem* Yakṣa *(Figs. 94–96)*

Only six miles (ten kilometers) from the village of Noh is the village of Virabai, which yielded another impressive iconic statue of a *yakṣa*, now housed in the Bharatpur Museum (#301/67). Virabai, like Noh, is near Bharatpur in Rajasthan, about thirty miles (48 kilometers) southwest of the city of Mathura and within the same cultural sphere. Despite the damaged condition of the Virabai *yakṣa*—his head and arms are missing, and he is broken below the knees—the same type of torque, neck ornaments, and striated girdle worn by the other male figures discussed in this chapter are visible (Figs. 94 and 95b). He wears a sheathed broadsword hanging affixed behind him by means of a strap (Fig. 95a). It is possible that this sword, which appears to be of the same type held by the Bharaṇa Kalan *yakṣa* (Fig. 88) and the *yakṣa* with sword and worshipper in Fig. 85, is an iconographic element that may identify the Virabai *yakṣa* with these *yakṣa*s. Doris Srinivasan has suggested that this image represents one of the Vṛṣṇi heros, other examples of whom also carry a sword.[79]

A much-worn sculpture of a *yakṣa* in the Mathura Museum (GMM 56.4248; Fig. 96) has the conservative type of flat torque decorated with overlapping rosettes, the longer, multi-strand necklace with square clasps, and stiffly pasted-on ties of his girdle. However, the more naturalistic articulation of his bent right leg, the softly rounded belly, and the twisted cloth of the *uttarīya* about his hips combine to suggest a date in the late second century BCE. That his right knee is bent rather than completely frontal does not contradict my identification of this figure as an icon for worship, for the Balarāma from Jansuti (Fig. 100), an iconic divinity, has a similar stance.

Head of a Yakṣa *in the Cleveland Museum of Art (Fig. 97)*

A relatively well preserved head from Mathura, in the collection of the Cleveland Museum of Art, probably originally belonged to a colossal iconic image of a *yakṣa* figure (Fig. 97). Like other sculptures of this period, his facial features are stylized, and his expression blank, and the planes of his face do not run smoothly together, but meet at sharp angles. The lack of crisply incised detailing and the hints of soft mass discernible in his earrings and cheeks suggest that this head probably postdates the earliest phase of stone sculptural production represented by the male *cauri* bearer (Fig. 7). The round break in the center of the turban indicates that there originally was a large knot, like those so frequently seen in sculptures of the second century BCE (cf. Fig. 86).

[79] Doris M. Srinivasan, *Many Heads, Arms, and Eyes*, p. 216. She cites the name of the village as Bīravai. The two names appear to be interchangeable.

Including this head of a *yakṣa*, we have already discussed eight iconic statues of *yakṣa*s in this chapter (the relief of the *yakṣa* holding a sword and worshipper, the Bharaṇa Kalan *yakṣa*, the Hariparvat-Ṭīlā *yakṣa*, the two *yakṣa*s from Noh, the Mathura Museum *yakṣa*, and the Vīrabai Yakṣa). If we add to this number the Parkham, Baroda, and Palwal *yakṣa*s discussed in Chapter Two, then that brings us to eleven images of *yakṣa*s that date from the mid-second to early first century BCE. This number exceeds the number of iconic *yakṣa* statues recovered from any other single region of the subcontinent during the same period of time. That there were so many *yakṣa*s being worshipped in the region of Mathura suggests that the cults of at least several *yakṣa*s were particularly prominent there, as was the tradition of venerating these divinities in anthropomorphic form.

Yakṣī *from Jhingki Nagara (Figs. 98 and 99)*

The life-size image of a seated *yakṣī* was noticed in the 1920s by Pandit Radha Krishna at Jhingki Nagara, a village about seven miles (eleven kilometers) southwest of the city of Mathura, where she was being worshipped under the name of Manasadevī.[80] The heavily eroded sculpture, missing her head, is currently housed in the Government Museum, Mathura (GMM 72.1).

The *yakṣī* is seated, with both legs pendant, squarely upon a stool, which is covered by an intricately embroidered cloth. Her right hand is held up in what appears to have been an *abhaya-mudrā*, and her left hand rests upon her left knee. Traces of her heavy ornaments remain, including armlets, necklaces, a long, spiral bracelet topped by one heavy bracelet (like those carved on female figures for centuries thereafter), a string of charms or amulets worn across her waist, a sash, and a broad girdle comprising four rows of coin-like disks.

As with all of the other sculptures discussed in this chapter, the *yakṣī* from Jhingki Nagara combines elements of the Bharhut style with features such as softening and voluminousness that indicate its slightly advanced date. On this sculpture, one of the most prominent traits that is retained from the earlier Bharhut style is the interest in flat, linear detail, noticeable in particular on the textile covering the wicker stool. The cloth has curved edges with corners that hang lower and end in what appears to be a foliate tassel. Along its borders (Fig. 99) are three rows of various floral ornaments consisting of rosettes or full-blown lotuses alternating with blue lily blossoms, a fine lotus rhizome, and other ornamental motifs that are found in abundance along the coping stones of the railing at Bharhut or on the torques of *yakṣa*s and *yakṣī*s. The major advance towards naturalism in this sculpture from Jhingki Nagara is found in the impressive sense of weight and volume best discerned from the better preserved rear view. Her voluminous, rounded hips recall the massive belly of the *yakṣa*s from Noh in their sense of expansive, heavy mass that was so well understood by the Mathura sculptor.

On the pedestal between her feet is carved an inscription that names her the *Yakṣī* Lāyāvā made by Nāka, a pupil of Kuṇika (Appendix I.4). An interesting parallel, noted in Chapter Two, is that the the Parkham *yakṣa* was also commissioned by another pupil

[80] The village of Jhingki Nagara is also known as Jhing ka nagla or Jhinga Nagla. See R. C. Sharma, "New Rare Sculptures in Mathura Museum," p. 71.

of Kuṇika, named Gomitaka (Appendix I.3). Assuming that the name "Kuṇika" in both inscriptions refers to the same person, and that Nāka and Gomitaka may be understood as having literally been pupils of Kuṇika, rather than simply in the lineage of Kuṇika (neither of which assumptions is necessarily true), then it stands to reason that the Parkham *yakṣa* and the Jhingki Nagara *yakṣī* are not far removed in date. Since the Jhingki Nagara *yakṣī* is carved with a greater sense of softness, volume, and naturalism than the quintessentially cubical Parkham *yakṣa*, though she retains some of the stiffness, angularity, and emphasis on linear detail, I suggest that the Jhingki Nagara *yakṣī* postdates the Parkham *yakṣa* by about twenty-five years.[81] This small difference in time allows for the possibility that both the Parkham *yakṣa* and the Jhingki Nagara *yakṣī* were made by different pupils of the same master.

Balarāma from Jansuti (Fig. 100)

The image of Balarāma (SML G.215) from the village of Jansuti in the Mathura District[82] can be identified as Balarāma because of the presence of the snake hoods arranged in a row above his head, the club (*musala*) in his right hand and the plough (*hala*) in his left hand. The sculpture as a whole is about two and a half feet (76.2 centimeters) tall. Although largely unbroken, this sculpture is quite badly eroded, the facial features now being almost indistinguishable. However, the round plumpness of the face that is so characteristic of Mathura sculpture throughout the ages is discernible.

Until the discovery of the Bharaṇa Kalan Agni (Fig. 86) and a male figure possibly also identifiable as Balarāma from Nanakpur (discussed below) (Fig. 101), this image of Balarāma was considered the earliest known sculptural representation of a Brahmanical deity.[83] Just as the image of Agni from Bharaṇa Kalan is much like that of a *yakṣa*, this depiction of Saṃkarśana Balarāma is closely related to *nāga* imagery, with the hoods spread over his head. The Jansuti Balarāma represents the earliest surviving visual evidence for a Vaiṣṇava cult at Mathura, although at this time Saṃkarśana Balarāma may have been viewed as a divinity associated with agriculture (indicated by the ploughshare in his left hand), rather than a member of the sophisticated *vyūha* theology of Pañcaratra Vaiṣṇavism. Nevertheless, we know that Bhagavata Vaiṣṇavism was extant in other regions of the subcontinent, such as Afghanistan and Malwa during the mid-second century BCE, as evidenced by the coins of Agathocles and the inscription on the Heliodoros pillar at Besnagar (Fig. 108).[84]

---

[81] In 1971 R. C. Sharma dated the Jhingki Nagara *yakṣī* to the period between the Maurya and Śuṅga period, as a sister of the Parkham *yakṣa*, which has been so dated on the basis of paleography. However, as stated above with relation to the Parkham *yakṣa*, the Jhingki Nagara *yakṣī* is stylistically inconsistent with the other sculptures of the Maurya period, and she is best dated to the post 150 BCE phase. R. C. Sharma, "New Rare Sculptures in Mathura Museum," p. 73.

[82] This image of Balarāma was discovered by Pandit Radha Krishna in 1929 in the village of Jansuti, six miles (ten kilometers) from Mathura City on the road to Govardhana.

[83] V. S. Agrawala, "Brahmānical Images in Mathura," p. 186. V. S. Agrawala also noted that the importance of Balarāma to Mathura is mentioned by Patañjali (mid-second century BCE), for, besides being the older brother of Krishna, he changed the course of the Yamuna river at Mathura with his ploughshare (*The Vyākaraṇa-Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali*, vol. I, p. 426).

[84] For photographs of the Agathocles coins depicting Vāsudeva Krishna and Saṃkarśana Balarāma and further discussion of early Vaiṣṇava imagery, see Doris M. Srinivasan, "Vaṣṇava Art and Iconography at

The Jansuti Balarāma exhibits stylistic features characteristic of the mid-second century BCE, but they are tempered by increased simplicity of detail and by elements of softness and naturalism. His stance is stiff, his joints bending with sharp angularity, much like the figures made ca. 150 BCE. However, his headdress droops softly, and his belly gently swells, while his girdle bends under the weight of his abdomen instead of being rendered straight across the hips, as we saw in the Parkham *yakṣa* (Fig. 15). The swelling abdomen, the angular posture, the slightly ungainly proportions, and the drooping headdress are remarkably similar to those seen in the Brahmin addressing a congregation (Fig. 55) found in the roundel above the figure of the *yakṣī* tying her sash. Even the triangulated segment of cloth falling between the legs is seen in both figures, as well as in the Hariparvat-Ṭīlā *yakṣa* (Fig. 90).

Possible Balarāma from Nanakpur (Fig. 101)

In 1993 a sculpture of a male figure was recovered from Nanakpur in the city of Mathura and is now in the collection of the Mathura Museum (GMM 93.37). The figure has lost both arms, and his legs are broken at the level of the knees. He is somewhat eroded, but the axial stance and the treatment of his ornaments are sufficiently clear to suggest a date of ca. mid-second century BCE for this image. He has the heavy, rounded face typical of Mathura sculpture, and judging from what remains of his facial features, they appear to be somewhat mask-like and geometrically outlined. His headdress is unusually smooth, lying over his head and flaring out behind his neck. Since his hands were both held at his hips like the Jansuti Balarāma (Fig. 100), and his left hand clutches a long object resembling a plough, I suggest a possible identification of this figure as the Bhagavata divinity Balarāma, the elder brother of Krishna.[85] However, there is no trace of the serpent behind him, so this identification remains quite tentative, although not impossible.

Like the Parkham *yakṣa* and the *yakṣa* with sword and worshipper (Figs. 15 and 85), the Nanakpur image has a short neck supporting his round, plump head, and a heavy spiral earring that seems to drag down his lobe. His torso is adorned with the familiar flat torque and long necklace, which look plastered to his body, but the latter is turned rather gently at the bottom like that of the *yakṣa* with sword and worshipper (Fig. 85), thus indicating that the Nanakpur figure probably postdates the Parkham *yakṣa*. His flat girdle cuts straight across his hips, and its ends, tied in a central knot, hang stiffly between his legs. Though the surfaces of his form are still rather hard, his abdomen swells slightly above the knot of the girdle in a hint of softness like that also noticeable in the Bharaṇa Kalan and Virabai images (Figs. 86, 88, and 94). The combination of these features in one sculpture leads to the conclusion that this image from Nanakpur also should date to ca. 100 BCE.

Pārśvanātha and Attendant (Figs. 102–104)

An extraordinarily important sculpture in the Lucknow Museum (SML J.75/82) depicts a life-size image of the Jina Pārśvanātha in human form standing in *kāyotsarga*, his arms

Mathurā," pl. 36.I.B and C. For a discussion of the inscription of Heliodoros, see, *inter alia, The Greeks in Bactria*, W. W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria*, p. 313.

[85] R. C. Sharma identified this image as a *yakṣa* (R. C. Sharma, *The Splendour of Mathura*, p. 67).

held straight down at his sides. An attendant in *añjalī-mudrā* stands to his left, and originally another may have stood at his right, but that side of the sculpture is broken. Although the heads and feet of both figures have broken off and are lost, and the figure of Pārśvanātha has lost his right arm, the surviving carvings are in good condition. The Jina is clearly identifiable as Pārśvanātha because of the snake coils that survive behind the image. This sculpture provides evidence for the existence of large-scale iconic images of Jinas by this early time. The nude male torsos from Lohanipur, near Patna, which probably date to the third century BC, may be figures of *tīrthaṅkara*s, but this identification is uncertain.[86] There are no other figures positively identifiable as Jinas, recovered from Bihar or any other region of India, that can accurately be shown to date earlier than the second century CE. We have already discussed the early representations of seated anthropomorphic images of the Jina Ṛṣabhanātha on the architrave with the dance of Nālāñjanā (Figs. 25 and 27); this image lends further support to the early Jina image tradition and shows that it was not limited to small-scale narrative reliefs—freestanding iconic images were made for worship as well. It is now clear that the development of anthropomorphic images of Jinas was not parallel to that of such images of the Buddha.

The sculpture of Pārśvanātha and the attending devotee displays several elements of the Bharhut style, but some aspects reveal an advancement that suggests to me a date ca. early first century CE. Gently swelling volumes are particularly noticeable in the thighs and abdomen of the nude Jina, as well as in the belly of the worshipper. The worshipper's *uttarīya* is loosely tied around his hips, and the thick, loose knot hangs at knee level. The naturalistic stretching of the cloth, the sagging weight of the knot, and its softly looped end are features that indicate this sculpture is later in date than any of those discussed hitherto in this chapter. The beginnings of naturalistic textile depictions were noted in the discussion of sculptures in this chapter, as in the handling of the lower garment in Fig. 54 and the sagging of the Brahmin's upper garment in Fig. 55. The softness of the padded rope-like girdle that fastens the pleatless lower garment and its response to the gentle swelling of the abdomen also indicate a move away from the rigidity of the Bharhut style. (Fig. 102). The beaded necklace with the square clasps (Fig. 102) is not so rigid as the parallel linear string necklaces seen on earlier male figures. That it is narrower at the shoulders and becomes gradually wider at the bottom adds to a sense of curving and weightiness. The trapezoidal shape of the clasps furthers this effect. The pearls also create a softer appearance than do the linear strings. The heightened naturalism seen in the sculpture of Pārśvanātha and attendant (Figs. 102 and 103), however, represents a transitional stage. It foreshadows the delicate depictions that will be noted first on the image of the female votary from Faizabad and the *yakṣa* on the pillar donated by Kaṭhika, both of which I attribute to ca. 50–20 BCE (Figs. 203 and 188). A similar loose, sagging knot is seen on two sculptures from Morā datable to ca. 15 CE (Figs. 276 and 278), but the style has become more formalized, with much wider depiction of pleats rendered by deeper, richer incised lines.[87]

---

[86] See K. P. Jayaswal, "Jaina Image of Maurya Period"; and Debala Mitra, in *Jaina Art and Architecture*, Pl. 21, a and b.

[87] Griti von Mitterwallner dated this sculpture of Pārśvanātha to the time of the Morā torsos on the basis of the similarity in knot (Gritli von Mitterwallner, *Kuṣāṇa Coins and Kuṣāṇa Sculpture from Mathura*, pp. 92–93,

Remnants of angularity and a cubical quality are seen, particularly noticeable in the attendant's forearm (Fig. 104), articulated with a sharp-edged corner rather than being smoothly rounded. His stance is also a bit flattened, as his right leg turns to the side in a manner similar to that of the *yakṣa* in Fig. 96. The transition from his upper thigh to his lower abdomen is rendered by a sharp, stylized line (Figs. 102 and 103), in a manner similar to that of the flying *ardhaphālaka* monk in Fig. 112, which I dated to ca. 100–75 CE and which is probably contemporaneous with this sculpture. In addition, the articulation of the Jina Pārśvanātha's slightly expansive belly has an additive quality rather than being smoothly achieved as it is in the Morā figures of the early first century CE (Figs. 276 and 278). Furthermore, there is a brittle quality to the narrow pleat lines, that recalls the mode of rendering pleats on the Bharana Kalan figures (Fig. 89). The pasted-on quality of the armlet in the form of a serpentine dragon encircling his upper arm is flat and linear, as seen in the squaring off of its snout, ears, and legs and the hard, smooth abstracted rendition of its scales (Fig. 104).

The existence of this sculpture, which has not yet been adequately addressed by scholars, is particularly valuable because it unmistakably represents the Jina Pārśvanātha, given the presence of the identifying serpent coils. Therefore, it, along with the seated relief images of Ṛṣabhanātha (Fig. 27), indicates that at Mathura there was no aniconic phase of Jaina art during which there was a prohibition against depicting Jinas in anthropomorphic or iconic forms.

Summary

In the latter part of this chapter and the previous chapter, we examined a total of seventeen iconic statues from the Mathura region datable from ca. 150 to 75 BCE that were the objects of devotion associated with a variety of sects. This number far exceeds those found from any other single region of India during the same time period. This surpassing of other regions in number, and in some cases in quality, of such major images indicates that Mathura sculptors had a propensity for depicting images of the divine in human form from the beginning of the region's stone sculptural tradition. Thus, it should be realized that Mathura began to attain the status of an important cultural center as early as ca. 150 BCE. Moreover, we shall see in subsequent chapters, it would remain prominent throughout the first centuries BCE and CE and thereafter, with the onset of the Kuṣāṇa and Gupta periods, at least until the seventh century CE.

Not only was stone sculptural production of ca. 150–75 BCE significant and well established in Mathura, it also seems to have been one of the most prolific and influential in all of India during this time, despite the lack of any known intact monuments. Its regional style is closely connected with those of the rest of Madhyadeśa, as it compares closely with the contemporaneous sculptures found at sites along the Gangetic plain from Kauśāmbī

fn. 183). However, the overall styles of the images differ, and they are probably separated by about one hundred years, this Pārśvanātha sculpture representing a precursor to the height of naturalism achieved in the mid-late first century BCE, while the Morā examples represent a furtherance and slight formalization of that style.

to Patna. It was also apparently interrelated with the styles of western India and, perhaps to a lesser degree, Avanti, where Sanchi and Vidiśā are located.

It is also important to consider that the stone sculptural tradition at Mathura began with a high degree of variety and skill. Such prolific and adept modes of depiction from the very outset of sculptural production in stone suggests that there was a preexisting tradition of similarly high-quality work in perishable materials, such as wood or clay, whose traces have now disappeared. Many of the forms and subjects represented in the art of this period were probably also created before the mid-second century BCE. Therefore, since depictions of Jinas in anthropomorphic form, for example, are found as early as ca. 100 BCE at Mathura, it is possible, indeed likely, that Jinas were also depicted in like manner prior to that time in a material that has not survived.

As is evident from the large number of sculptures discussed in Chapters Two and Three, artists in the stone-carving workshops at Mathura active during the mid-second to early first century BCE were prolific, precocious, and diverse. It is crucial to understand the sculptural and iconographic developments of this early period, for in them lie the sources of later traditions. In recognizing the strength and quality of the art of this early period at Mathura, and already knowing the extent and importance of the Kuṣāṇa period sculpture at Mathura (beginning ca. 127 CE), we should not be surprised that the stone sculptors of Mathura were equally innovative and influential during the intervening time period, ca. 50 BCE to ca. 120 CE. Nevertheless, the lack of comprehensive scholarly publications on these early periods has led to undue emphasis upon the importance of the Kuṣāṇa period as well as the erroneous notion that the Kuṣāṇa art of Mathura either arose *ex nihilo* under the instigation of the emperor Kaniṣka or was imported from the Northwest. As we shall see in the remainder of this book, the art of the Kuṣāṇa period may better be viewed as a seamless continuation of a long tradition of stone sculptural production extending over the three prior centuries.

CHAPTER FOUR

*ĀYĀGAPAṬA*S: DEFINING THE FRAMEWORK

Introduction

An analysis of the bas reliefs and inscriptions on the group of about twenty-nine extant carved sacred plaques called *āyāgapaṭa*s is essential for an accurate evaluation of Mathura sculpture and its stylistic characteristics and developments, particularly from ca. 50 BCE to 100 CE. The works discussed in Chapters Two and Three were attributed to ca. 150–75 BCE on the basis of comparisons with the art from other datable monuments, especially the *stūpa* at Bharhut. However, monuments in India are less clearly dated to a time within the 50 BCE to 100 CE period, so the sculptural trends have not previously been well established. The carvings on the gateways of *Stūpa* I at Sanchi are variously attributed to ca. 50 BCE or 50 CE, but the evidence provided by the *āyāgapaṭa*s, argues in favor of a 50–25 BCE date for those famous carvings. The *āyāgapaṭa*s are uniquely helpful in clarifying the stylistic developments of this otherwise shadowy period in the history of Indian art. First, most are inscribed, some with dates that provide rare and valuable benchmarks. Second, their extensive carvings include a wide variety of motifs, both figural and ornamental, that can be compared with the handful of other dated sculptures from this period. Hence, *āyāgapaṭa*s are particularly conducive to forming a relative chronology. Once the relative chronology of *āyāgapaṭa*s is put forth, other undated sculptures can be compared with them and thereby dated more precisely than was previously possible, as we will see in Chapters Five through Seven.

Characteristics and Classification of Āyāgapaṭa*s*

*Āyāgapaṭa*s are broad, flat stone slabs, most about three feet (one meter) square, or sometimes slightly rectangular, and about two to four inches (five to ten centimeters) thick. They are covered on only one face[1] with carvings that include iconic images, celestial and mythical figures, auspicious symbols, and vegetal ornamentation. The twenty-nine known *āyāgapaṭa*s, including fragments, are carved from stone, but they may also have been fashioned from clay, painted on cloth, or made from some other perishable substance, though none of the latter, to my knowledge, survives.

The carvings on *āyāgapaṭa*s fall into two major types that may be termed 'diagrammatic' and 'pictorial.' The former type is more common; twenty-one diagrammatic *āyāgapaṭa*s survive, while there are only seven of the pictorial type. Diagrammatic *āyāgapaṭa*s have

[1] Some *āyāgapaṭa*s are carved on their reverse sides with imagery or inscriptions of a later date, added when the *āyāgapaṭa* was reused for another purpose.

crowded, variegated imagery carved in a circular format in the center and a square format towards the extremities (Fig. 156). The constant, distinguishing feature of the diagrammatic type is the small central circle in which is depicted a sacred object, such as a *stūpa*, *cakra*, lotus, or, most commonly, an image of a seated Jina. This central object is surrounded by a symmetrical arrangement of *nandyāvarta* symbols,[2] except in one instance, the Year Twenty-One *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 133),[3] wherein the central lotus is surrounded by the curving arms of a *svastika*.

Pictorial *āyāgapaṭa*s, on the other hand, are characterized by a large main object or image that fills most of the surface space of the plaque. The main object can consist of an important symbol such as a *stūpa* (Fig. 168), *cakra* (Fig. 143), or *sthāpana*, a stylized empty throne (Figs. 122 and 123). It also can be a venerable figure such as a female divinity (Fig. 148), a monk (Fig. 177), or a Jina (Fig. 146). Commonly, the main object or figure is shown with worshippers. Pictorial *āyāgapaṭa*s do not display the proliferation of imagery and design within the abstract structure of concentric circles set within a square format that typifies the diagrammatic type. Instead they are more illustrative, with emphasis on a larger-scale object or figure of veneration.

Original Context for the Installation of Āyāgapaṭa*s*

Since none of the *āyāgapaṭa*s evinces any traces of mortises, tenons, or slats, and since most of the carvings extend to the edges of their surfaces, it seems that they were neither freestanding, like steles, nor clamped or inserted into supports with slats. Hence, it seems that either they were displayed vertically by being built into a wall,[4] or, most probably, they were displayed horizontally, laid flat upon a pedestal.

---

[2] The *nandyāvarta* symbol, also known as a *triratna, triśūla, tilakaratna* or *nandipada*, is a curved, trident-shaped symbol (ω), the outer prongs of which are much broader than the central pointed tine and commonly terminate in fish tails. The *nandyāvarta* is one of the group of auspicious symbols (*maṅgalas*), but in some contexts where it is found alone or in combination with a lotus flower, it can refer to the presence of the divinity, Jina, or Buddha. Oskar von Hinüber argued that this symbol was called *nandyāvarta* in texts of the early centuries CE (Oskar von Hinüber, "Das nandyāvarta-Symbol.") Anna Maria Quagliotti concurred with his analysis in *Buddhapadas* (Kamakura: Institute of Silk Road Studies, 1998), pp. 79–94, despite the disagreements set forth by Mireille Bénisti in "A propos du triratna," *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême Orient*, 64, pp. 44–81. Anna Maria Quagliotti discussed this symbol extensively and summarized the scholarship on it in Chapter Two of *Buddhapadas*. Of particular interest is the idea that the *nandyāvarta* refers to the branches of the primordial tree of life.

[3] The *āyāgapaṭa*s are identified here by the name of the donor in the inscription, when available, and the spelling of each name is transliterated directly from the inscription without Sanskritization. However, when damage to a plaque has erased the donor's name, it is identified by a descriptive title or by its find-spot, if known. Others without surviving inscriptions, adequately distinctive descriptive characteristics, or known findspot are designated by the museum in which they are housed, if the only *āyāgapaṭa* in that museum. Otherwise, it is called by the year in its inscription, as is the case with this carving, the Year Twenty-One *āyāgapaṭa*. Those plaques that are called by another term besides *āyāgapaṭa* in their inscriptions will be designated by that term, such as '*śilāpaṭa*' or '*āyavati*.' These terms are probably synonymous with *āyāgapaṭa*.

[4] The Nārāyaṇa Vāṭakā inscription from Ghosūṇḍī in Rājasthān, dating to ca. first century BCE might indicate that stone slabs similar to *āyāgapaṭa*s were inset into a wall, since the inscription contains the phrase '*pūjā śilā prākāro*'. See H. Lüders, "A List of Brahmi Inscriptions," No. 6; and D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions Bearing on Indian History and Civilization*, p. 90, no. 3. It is also possible that they were set into the ground, as the edges of many *āyāgapaṭa*s are only roughly finished. Round metal plaques, called *manda* in Newari, are

A bas relief carved in the spandrel of a tympanum of the early first century CE (NMD J.555, Figs. 222–224 and 226) depicts abbreviated representations of diagrammatic *āyāgapaṭa*s lying flat upon pedestals next to a *stūpa*.[5] They can be identified as *āyāgapaṭa*s by the quadruple *nandyāvarta*s surrounding the central concentric circular elements, seen clearly in the leftmost representation.[6] Also, they have two beaded borders, which may be abbreviated versions of the rows of *maṅgala*s commonly found on *āyāgapaṭa*s (see, for example, Fig. 159). Many *āyāgapaṭa*s were meant to be viewed from more than one direction, which supports the contention that they were laid flat and circumambulated. Sometimes the inscription is meant to be read from one direction, while the subject matter of the carving is oriented to another, as, for example, in Fig. 122. The relief carvings on some *āyāgapaṭa*s are oriented in different directions, as on the Acalā *āyāgapaṭa*, for example, on which the row of *maṅgala*s on the bottom is oriented opposite to the direction of the row of *maṅgala*s on the top (Fig. 159). The carvings can also be about equally viewable from all directions, as in the Mātharaka *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 143). Because the reverse sides of *āyāgapaṭa*s seem to have been uncarved originally and because many were meant to be viewed from more than one direction, we can conclude that diagrammatic *āyāgapaṭa*s were probably placed horizontally in this manner. In that position they could be venerated by circumambulation.

The pictorial *āyāgapaṭa*s were also likely to have been set up in a similar manner, since some of them were intended to be viewed from more than one direction (Figs. 122 and 123). However, because some of the pictorial types, such as the Amohini *āyavati* (Fig. 148) and the Vasu *śilāpaṭa* (Fig. 168), are so vertical in presentation and visually oriented to only one direction, we cannot dismiss the possibility that some were set up vertically, perhaps built into a wall, although currently there is no conclusive evidence to confirm this possibility.[7]

The National Museum tympanum spandrel, which shows *āyāgapaṭa*s laid horizontally upon pedestals, depicts them in association with a Jaina *stūpa* precinct (Fig. 226). Epigraphical clues also provide indications concerning the original contexts in which they were set up. Several inscriptions refer to locations that may represent the places where *āyāgapaṭa*s were installed. The Vasu *śilāpaṭa* inscription (Appendix II.25) records the installation of the stone plaque (*śilāpaṭa*) within the sanctuary (*āyātane*) of the Nirgrantha *arhat*s together with a shrine (*devikula*), an assembly hall for worship (*āyāgasabhā*), and a tank (*prapā*). *Śilāpaṭa*s are

---

inset into the ground next to Buddhist *stūpa*s in Nepal, and they are used in Newari Buddhist ritual contexts to this day. (This information was conveyed via e-mail correspondence from Gautama Vajracharya of the University of Wisconsin on November 27 and 30, 1998.) These modern *maṇḍala* plaques may represent distant echoes of the *āyāgapaṭa*s, which seem to have been set up outside of *stūpa*s as well, as seen in the National Museum tympanum spandrel (Fig. 226).

[5] V. S. Agrawala and Debala Mitra have associated these bas relief representations on the tympanum spandrel in the National Museum, New Delhi (J.555) with *āyāgapaṭa*s. See V. S. Agrawala, *Indian Art*, p. 231, and Debala Mitra, "Mathura: Early History," p. 64.

[6] Sadashiv Gorakshakar considered these objects to be carpets laid over empty seats. See *The Peaceful Liberators: Jaina Art from India*, ed. P. Pal, p. 103. The other representations of empty seats from this date, however, are shown with a backrest, and carpets should have draped corners.

[7] In fact, when the Vasu *śilāpaṭa* was discovered, it had been reused by being built into the wall of the Holi Gate at Mathura. See V. A. Smith, *The Jain Stupa and Other Antiquities at Mathura*, Lucknow: F. Luker, Superintendent Government Press, 1901, p. 61, Fig. CIII.

recorded to have been installed within a Hindu temple complex, according to the Mirjāpur stele inscription (Appendix I.10) and the Jamālpur Stele Inscription (Appendix I.11). A fragmentary inscription in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (N.S. 6482; Appendix I.12) refers to the setting up of a *śilāpaṭa* in a stone temple (*pārvato prasāde*). The fragmentary Koḷiya Gaṇa *āyāgapaṭa* inscription mentions the *vihāra*, or 'monastic quarters,' of the specific branch of Jaina monks in the locative case (Appendix II.28). This inscription suggests that the plaque was found in a Jaina monastic complex, which, as we know from the intact western Indian cave temples, could include small shrines with sacred objects or images. The place name in the Nāṃdighoṣa *āyāgapaṭa* inscription (Appendix II.17) is more difficult to interpret, for it mentions that multiple *āyāgapaṭa*s were 'set up in a *bhaṃḍira*.' *Bhaṃḍira* might refer to a park in Mathura,[8] which perhaps could include a temple or shrine that was provided with several of these plaques as their objects of worship. Several Jaina sources state that there was a park named Bhaṃdīra with a shrine dedicated to the *yakṣa* Sudaṃsaṇa, which was visited by Mahāvīra and thereupon became a holy site for the Jainas.[9] It is intriguing to think that this *āyāgapaṭa* records the dedication of such plaques in the same sanctuary. Viewed collectively, the evidence from the bas relief in the tympanum spandrel (Fig. 226) and from these various inscriptions shows that *āyāgapaṭa*s were set up horizontally upon pedestals in sacred precincts, be they temple sanctuaries, *stūpa* complexes, monasteries, or shrines in a park.

Function of Āyāgapaṭa*s*

With regard to the original function of *āyāgapaṭa*s, it seems best to view them as sacred objects of worship. The word itself means a plaque or tablet (*paṭa*) of an object to be worshipped (*āyāga*).[10] Moreover, they depict either the Jina (or *arhat*) himself or another venerated figure, and not simply random floral or decorative ornamentation. Perhaps they can be understood as a kind of early form of the religious prayer *paṭa*s of much later date, such as the Varddhamāna-Vidyā-*Paṭa*, often painted on cloth, which includes an invocational *mantra* or a prayer preceding a donative colophon written in a panel beneath an image of the *arhat* surrounded by worshippers.[11] Similarly, the inscriptions on the *āyāgapaṭa*s also begin with an invocation that may be considered to be a kind of *mantra*: 'Adoration to the *arhat*s' (*namo arahatānāṃ*) or 'Adoration to the *arhat* Vardhamāna or Mahāvīra' (*nama arahato vardhamānasa* or *namo arahato mahāvīrasa*). They also typically end with the phrase 'for honoring the *arhat*s' (*arahata pujāye*). The consistent presence of these *mantra*s suggests that they may have been used in association with prayer or meditation. Such invocations are absent on dedications from *toraṇa*s, *vedikā*s, or other solely architectural elements.

---

[8] See Theo. Damsteegt, *Epigraphical Hybrid Sanskrit*, p. 254.

[9] For a list of sources that refer to the shrine in Bhaṃdīra Park, see Mehta and Chandra, *Prakrit Proper Names*, vol. I, p. 512.

[10] For a discussion of the etymology of the word *āyāgapaṭa*, see S. Quintanilla, "*Āyāgapaṭa*s: Characteristics, Symbolism, and Chronology," pp. 80–82.

[11] See U. P. Shah, "Varddhamāna-Vidyā-Paṭa," Fig. III; for the prayer and the dedicatory colophon, see pp. 44–45.

Another similarity between the later *mantra* or prayer *paṭa*s and the *āyāgapaṭa*s is that they both can be divided into two basic types, diagrammatic and pictorial. The diagrammatic types of the later prayer *paṭa*s had tāntric diagrams that practitioners (*sādhu*s) were instructed to worship with offerings.[12] The other class of religious *paṭa*s, called *citrapaṭa*s, or 'image plaques', were non-tantric and were worshipped in Jaina temples, and they could represent a variety of subjects.[13] The examples of these two classes of later religious *paṭa*s may furnish some clue regarding the use of the *āyāgapaṭa*s. The diagrammatic type of *āyāgapaṭa*s may have been used by monks or lay practitioners as an aid in meditation. The *Tattvārtha-sūtra*, one of the few texts that detail Jaina meditation practices (*dhyāna*), describes the various types of meditation that a practitioner performs. One type of *dhyāna* involves meditation upon "the structure of the universe and the interplay of causes that brings souls to their particular destinies (*saṃsthānavicaya*)."[14] Since the diagrammatic *āyāgapaṭa*s seem to depict a two-dimensional cosmological diagram of the dome of heaven and the position of the liberated being (*arhat* or Jina) beyond the world of birth and death (*saṃsāra*),[15] perhaps they may have served as aids in this type of meditation practice on the structure of the universe and *saṃsāra*. *Saṃsāra* and the notion of the cycles of birth and rebirth in the world are visually represented on some diagrammatic *āyāgapaṭa*s by means of the large, curving *svastika*. The practitioner may himself have the opportunity to become liberated or 'qualified'—i.e. become an *arhat*,—by following the doctrines (*dharma*) that emanate from the Jina into the world and by honoring the sacred symbols of the *arhat* that are manifest on earth through prayer and worship. Since sculptures from as early as the beginning of the first century BCE (Figs. 112, 168 and 170) depict the *ardhaphālaka* Jaina monks as *cāraṇamuni*s who have achieved the ability to fly through the sky as a result of high levels of meditative practice, it seems that this sect at Mathura emphasized *dhyāna*, which may have been practiced in conjunction with *āyāgapaṭa*s. The pictorial *āyāgapaṭa*s, like the later *citrapaṭa*s, were perhaps more accessible to the unitiated, but still they functioned as objects of worship, the veneration of which would be meritorious for the worshipper.

*Āyāgapaṭa*s may also have been precursors to the *sarvatobhadrikā* images, which depict four Jinas facing each of the four directions, first made during the Kuṣāṇa period, according to currently available evidence. The current archaeological evidence suggests that *āyāgapaṭa*s were produced primarily during the first century BCE and the first century CE. The production of *āyāgapaṭa*s apparently tapered off by the beginning of the reign of Kaṇiṣka, which coincides with the time when large-scale anthropomorphic icons of the Buddha and Jina were first produced in large numbers. Kuṣāṇa period carvings on the back sides of *āyāgapaṭa*s, whose verso carvings are pre-second century CE, indicate that *āyāgapaṭa*s were decommissioned during the Kuṣāṇa period, perhaps in favor of more three-dimensional iconic images. These recut *āyāgapaṭa*s include the British Museum *āyāgapaṭa* (Appendix II.18, Figs. 154–155), the *āyāgapaṭa* fragment with grapevine border (Appendix II.23, Figs. 162–163), the Jīvanaṃda *āyāgapaṭa* (Appendix II.26, Figs. 174–175), and the

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 47. In this connection, U. P. Shah also cites the "Vardhamāna-Vidyā-Kalpa" of Vācaka Candrasena, p. 24.
[13] U. P. Shah, "Varddhamāna-Vidyā-Paṭa", p. 47.
[14] Padmanabh S. Jaini, *Jaina Path of Purification*, p. 253. See the *Tattvārtha-sūtra*, ix, 36.
[15] S. Quintanilla, "*Āyāgapaṭa*s: Characteristics, Symbolism, and Chronology," pp. 90–96.

Laghaka *āyāgapaṭa* fragment (Appendix II.29, Figs. 179–180). The waning of *āyāgapaṭa* production might be explained by the rise in use of three-dimensional anthropomorphic, iconic representations of the *sarvatobhadrikā* images. The four Jinas stand on a square pedestal, which represents the earthly realm, like the outer frame of an *āyāgapaṭa*, and on the pedestal are carved representations of various kinds of worshippers, sometimes honoring a non-figural symbol of the *arhat*, such as the *nandyāvarta*-and-lotus combination or the *cakra* atop the pillar. These pedestal scenes of worship of the aniconic symbols of the divinity correspond to the outer concentric ring of the Chaubiāpādā *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 160) and the fish-tail *svastika āyāgapaṭa* of Dhanamitra (Fig. 140), where the diverse non-figural symbols are being worshipped. The pillars shown on the square pedestal, commonly topped by a *cakra*, may be analogous to the *stambha*s found on the borders of some *āyāgapaṭa*s, such as the Sihanāṃdika *āyāgapaṭa*, Acalā *āyāgapaṭa*, Vasu *śilāpaṭa*, and others. Perhaps the three-dimensional, more literal imagery of the *sarvatobhadrikā* images replaced the more symbolic two-dimensional *āyāgapaṭa*s by the outset of the Kuṣāṇa period and continuously into later centuries.

*Āyāgapaṭa*s are unique, sacred objects, and calling them 'votive tablets of homage' is not only an untenable translation from the point of view of the rules of Sanskrit grammar, but it also reduces their imputed importance and affords an erroneous impression about their nature as objects of worship. The significance of *āyāgapaṭa*s should not be diminished by designating them as being merely votive offerings themselves or as being decorative platforms on which offerings to another *caitya* of some sort were to be placed. They were probably honored in a way that subsidiary iconic images in a temple or *stūpa* complex would have been venerated. The diagrammatic and pictorial types of *āyāgapaṭa*s may have been used by Jaina monks during meditation and teaching, the diagrammatic type perhaps on a more esoteric level than the pictorial. As far as the current archaeological evidence shows, the *āyāgapaṭa*s seem to have been the preferred medium for the early depiction of iconic, anthropomorphic images of the *tīrthaṅkara*s, a factor that will become clear after the chronological analysis presented below.

In previous scholarship, *āyāgapaṭa*s, at least implicitly, have been considered to be all of the same date. However, clear stylistic differences among them indicate that they span several major periods, and, as we shall see, much evidence reveals that *āyāgapaṭa*s were produced over a period of about four hundred years. The primary difficulty one encounters in attempting to order the *āyāgapaṭa*s into a relative chronology is that the majority of the extant plaques seem to date to a period during which artistic styles are virtually unknown, aside from J. E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw's groundbreaking preliminary observations made in 1947.[16] For this reason, *āyāgapaṭa*s have either been considered to date to the familiar Kuṣāṇa period of the second century CE, or to a pre-Kuṣāṇa date by virtue of one of the *āyāgapaṭa*'s being inscribed with the name of *mahākṣatrapa* Śoḍāsa (Appendix II.15). However, most of the *āyāgapaṭa*s are stylistically and paleographically anomalous to the other sculptures of the Kuṣāṇa period, and although one *āyāgapaṭa* is dated to the time of Śoḍāsa, it does not follow that they all must be attributed to that time.

[16] J. E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, *The "Scythian" Period*, pp. 160–161.

Despite the lack of scholarship on the modes of artistic production during a span of about one hundred and twenty-five years, from ca. 50 BCE to 100 CE—the period to which most of the surviving *āyāgapaṭa*s can be attributed—enough evidence from a variety of sources exists for us to be able to order the *āyāgapaṭa*s into a relative chronology. This chronology with several dated benchmarks then provides a valuable framework for the subtle developments that occurred in the art of Mathura during this otherwise uncharted period.

*Āyāgapaṭa*s exemplify stylistic trends datable from ca. 150 BCE to around 300 CE. Once the chronology of the *āyāgapaṭa*s is established, more sculptures of various types can be attributed to this period, as will be discussed in Chapters Five, Six, and Seven. It then becomes evident that Mathura was the site of a prolific, high-quality center of sculptural production that crossed all sectarian boundaries and was party to significant developments, such as the rise of the anthropomorphic Jina and Buddha images, before the Kuṣāṇas held political sway over Mathura by 127 CE, when the reign of Kaniṣka began.

Chronology

Ca. 150–75 BCE

For a chronological examination of the *āyāgapaṭa*s, we begin with an analysis of those that evince the characteristics of flatness and linearity, thus revealing that they were likely made between ca. 150 and 75 BCE.

Śimitrā Āyāgapaṭa *(Figs. 122 and 123)*

About one half of the finely wrought Śimitrā *āyāgapaṭa* survives (Fig. 122), and it appears to be the earliest known example of an *āyāgapaṭa*. It is named after the donor, a Jaina woman named Śimitrā. The main central object carved on this slab is called a *sthāpana*, a stylized empty seat used to mark the presence of a sacred figure. In form it is probably akin to a *bhadrāsana*, one of the eight auspicious symbols. It is formed by two horizontal rectilinear bars, one shorter than the other, connected by a diagonally placed bar; though there originally would have been two placed in a V-formation, only one survives. The conjectural reconstruction of the plaque shown in Fig. 123 provides some idea of how the imagery was originally presented. The diagonal bar has curved triangular patterns composed of stylized blue lilies, and the short, horizontal bar is filled with overlapping rosettes. A fish, whose body is covered with a rigid network of crisscrossed lines, which has abstracted facial features, and which possibly refers to the *matsya-yugma maṅgala* (the auspicious symbol of the pair of fish), has been carved in the empty space in the middle of the *sthāpana*. Around the *sthāpana* itself and in the borders is a stunning complex of lotus rhizomes, complete with flowers, buds, leaves, and nodules.

The panel containing the clearly incised inscription mentioning the female donor named Śimitrā is in a plain rectangular panel oriented ninety degrees from the *sthāpana*. That the inscription is oriented in a direction different from that of the imagery suggests that it was laid flat and intended to be seen from more than one direction. The forms of the letters in the inscription are later than one would expect for this date, but it is much like

the Dhanabhuti inscription (Fig. 1), which also likely dates to ca. 150 BCE. It is therefore possible that paleography was less consistent and less akin to Aśokan Brāhmī in Mathura than in other regions more closely associated with the Aśokan edicts. The forms of the images are generally more indicative of date than the paleography of letters, for the former exhibit more volumes and variety than do unidimensional letters.

The *sthāpana* in the context of Jaina art in Mathura was an object of worship, indicative of the presence of an *arhat*, like a *stūpa* or even an image of a Jina. In an *āyāgapaṭa* from Chaubiāpādā-Ṭīlā (Fig. 160), the *sthāpana* is presented as an object of worship by the celestial beings, just like the sacred tree (*caityavṛkṣa*) and another auspicious symbol, the *nandyāvarta*-and-lotus symbol. The formation of the object on the Śimitrā *āyāgapaṭa*, with the parallel horizontal rectilinear bars connected by two diagonal bars, recalls textual descriptions of *sthāpana*s, or crossed sticks that symbolically represent the presence of the *ācārya*.[17] Textual sources describe the *sthāpana* as consisting of two or more crossed sticks that would be easily collapsible and portable.[18] The sticks themselves could have complex ornamental carvings, like the bars of the object on the Śimitrā *āyāgapaṭa*. A beam would be placed under the *sthāpana* along with lotus flowers (*varāṭaka*), both of which are present in the Śimitrā *āyāgapaṭa*.[19] A monk sets up the *sthāpana* before him while preaching or meditating, to serve both as a corrective witness to his discourse and as a display of reverence to his *ācārya*.[20]

In form and meaning the *sthāpana* is related to the *bhadrāsana*, for it seems to be an abstract representation of an empty seat or throne, indicating the presence of a venerated figure who is physically absent. The empty seat sometimes indicates the presence of the Buddha in bas reliefs from various early Indian sites, particularly from Andhra Pradesh. Since the inscription invokes Mahāvīra, this *sthāpana* may invoke the presence of Mahāvira, and it could have been circumambulated. Alternatively, it could depict a symbolic image of a high-ranking *śramaṇa* (renunciate), an object of veneration, like the anthropomorphic representation of the *śramaṇa* portrayed on the Kaṇa plaque of the third century CE (Fig. 177). Depicting the *sthāpana* as a symbolic representation of Mahāvīra or a *śramaṇa* would be analogous to depicting a *stūpa* or other non-iconic depiction of a Jina's presence on a pictorial *āyāgapaṭa*. Hence, the Śimitrā *āyāgapaṭa* seems to be a portrayal in stone of the wooden prototype of a *sthāpana*. Such a representation in permanent material would be useful in the context of a *vihāra*, where teachings or meditation would have taken place regularly.

---

[17] The *sthāpana* also appears with simpler carvings on the *āyāgapaṭa* fragment with knotted rhizome, *sthāpana*, and *nandyavarta* (SML J.128, Fig. 127).

[18] For a representation of a *sthāpana* in a medieval Jaina manuscript, see A. K. Coomaraswamy, "An Illustrated Śvetambāra Jaina Manuscript of CE 1260," *Eastern Art*, II, 1930, Pl. CXXXIV, Fig. 2A. "Behind these two [monks] is a table (*hattha-pīṭha*) on which is a bundle, probably containing, as Professor Brown informs me, the symbolic representative of an absent *guru*," p. 239.

[19] For a discussion of the *sthāpana*, see U. P. Shah, *Studies in Jaina Art*, pp. 113–114. He cited the *Viśeṣāvaśyaka-mahābhāṣya* of Jinabhadra Kṣamāśramaṇa of the sixth century CE, the Guruvandana-bhāṣya section of the *Saṃghācāra-ṭīkā* of Devendrasūri, and the *Piṇḍaniryukti* with commentary (Devachand Lālbhai Pustakodhāra Fund, No. 44, 1918, pp. 3–7).

[20] "Literally [*sthāpana* or *sthāpanācārya*] means installation of the (figure or symbol) of the *ācārya*, when he is not personally present" (U. P. Shah, *Studies in Jaina Art*, p. 113).

The clarity of the sharply delineated, stylized patterns rendered with unmodulated incised lines and the hardness and flatness of forms offset against areas of plain ground space are characteristics of relief sculpture dating to ca. 150 BCE. These elements are found on the Śimitrā *āyāgapaṭa*, and they distinguish them from those of the other extant *āyāgapaṭa*s. The relief style of the Śimitrā *āyāgapaṭa* is similar to that of other sculptures dating to ca. 150 BCE, such as the reliefs from Bharhut or the earliest sculptures from Mathura, including the Mehrauli *yakṣī* (Figs. 2–4), the male *cauri* bearer (Fig. 7), and the elephant and riders medallion (Fig. 14). The overlapping rosette pattern found on the short horizontal bar of the *sthāpana* is pervasive in relief depictions of architectural elements and ornaments of this early date (for example, Fig. 42). The mode of representing the lotus rhizome is similar to that found in some reliefs from Bharhut. (See the lotuses carried by the elephants from a Bharhut architrave in Fig. 124.)[21] Although the stems undulate, and the lotus leaves curl, the forms are all hard and their articulation stiff and sharp.

Okaraṇa Āyāgapaṭa *(Fig. 125)*, Āyāgapaṭa *Fragment with Running Animals (Fig. 126),* Āyāgapaṭa *Fragment with Knotted Rhizome,* Sthāpana, *and* Nandyāvarta *(Fig. 127)*

The Okaraṇa *āyāgapaṭa* (Patna Museum Arch 5811) seems to have been made about twenty-five to fifty years later than the Śimitrā *āyāgapaṭa*, ca. 100 BCE.[22] It is relatively well preseved; a little more than half of the original plaque remains, measuring two feet seven inches tall by one foot five and three fourths inches (78.74 × 45 centimeters) wide. The central element of this diagrammatic *āyāgapaṭa* is a full-blown lotus flower surrounded by four tri-pronged *nandyāvarta*s with lilies filling the corner interstices. A three-line inscription, half of which remains along the lower part of the plaque, records the donation of this *āyāgapaṭa* by the wife of Okaraṇa for the sake of honoring the *arhat*s (Appendix II.2), thus indicating that this plaque was Jaina in orientation. Below the inscription a row of auspicious symbols (*maṅgala*) was originally carved along the lower border; only traces of the conch (*śaṅka*), empty seat (*bhadrāsana*), and possibly a *svastika* survive. The other three sides contain a procession of animals, including a bull, a winged lion, a rhinoceros,[23] and a winged horse, circumambulating the edge of the *āyāgapaṭa* in a clockwise direction.

Only small parts of the *āyāgapaṭa* fragment with running animals (Fig. 126) and the *āyāgapaṭa* fragment with knotted rhizome, *sthāpana*, and *nandyāvarta* (Fig. 127) have survived. The former reveals a border similar to that of the Okaraṇa *āyāgapaṭa*, in which the front half of a running winged lion is seen to the right of a winged conch shell (*śaṅka*); the tail and hindquarters of a cloven-hoofed animal are discernible near the broken left edge of the piece. Above the segregating line of the border is seen the end of a fish tail

---

[21] See for example the coiling rhizome, lotus leaves, and buds in the interstices between the larger, stylized full-blown lotuses on a coping stone frieze in L. Bachhofer, *Early Indian Sculpture*, Fig. 25 top, and the undulating lotus rhizome in Coomaraswamy, *La Sculpture de Bharhut*, Pl. XXXV, Fig. 98.

[22] Stella Kramrisch dated this *āyāgapaṭa* to the second century CE, but she did not offer any reason for this, and the carving of the Okaraṇa *āyāgapaṭa* is not consonant with the styles of the Kuṣāṇa period (Stella Kramrisch, *Patna Museum Catalogue of Antiquities*, p. 21).

[23] This may be one of the earliest surviving representations of a rhinoceros in Indian sculpture of the historical period. Another is found on a *vedikā* coping-stone frieze in the State Museum, Lucknow, J.483 (Fig. 79). Some Indus Valley seals that date to around 2000 BCE do depict images of rhinoceroses. For an example of a rhinoceros on a seal from the Indus Valley Civilization see Jonathan Mark Kenoyer, *Ancient Cities of the Indus Valley Civilization*, New York, 1998, p. 190, cat. no. 15.

that probably belonged to one of four *nandyāvarta*s, as on the Okaraṇa *āyāgapaṭa*, but in this fragment, the interstice is filled with the curving body of a lion instead of a blue lily.

The Okaraṇa *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 125), the simplest and earliest example of a diagrammatic *āyāgapaṭa* with the four *nandyāvarta*s abutting the central circle, has the full-blown lotus flower in the center instead of the image of the *arhat*. In its square border, however, is a series of circumambulating animals, including a bull, a winged lion, a rhinoceros, and a winged horse. The appearance of these animals may be suggestive of the assembled animals at a *samavasaraṇa*, the gathering of animals and other beings to hear the teachings of the Jina that emanate to the four directions. They are also akin to the animals that are carved on the coping stones (*uṣṇīṣa*s) of *vedikā*s that surround *stūpa*s or other *caitya*s, such as those found at Bodhgaya and *āyāgapaṭa*. Thus, the central part of the Okaraṇa *āyāgapaṭa* may be understood as the dome of heaven, analogous to the domical *stūpa*, and the outer square edge with the circumambulating animals may be analogous to the *vedikā* surrounding a *stūpa*, which demarcates the sacred from the mundane world.

The border of the *āyāgapaṭa* fragment in Fig. 127 has a lotus rhizome, as was seen in the Śimitrā *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 122), but it is less finely wrought. Simplification of linear detail was a trend noted in Chapter Three and in connection with other sculptures of around 100 BCE. The *sthāpana* has a simple incised plaited pattern instead of the intricate detailing on the slightly earlier Śimitrā *āyāgapaṭa*. A similar plaited pattern is also found in the foliage of the *kāmaloka* pillar and in the garlands in a panel from Bodhgaya (Fig. 107). The *sthāpana* is depicted atop a *nandyāvarta*, which is quite worn but seems to have the same proportions and incised-line border as the Okaraṇa *āyāgapaṭa* has (Fig. 125).

The carvings on the *āyāgapaṭa*s in Figs. 126 and 127, as well as those on the Okaraṇa *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 125), are characterized by flat and shallow relief, a high proportion of empty ground space, and linear contours that lend a cut-out quality to the animals, *maṅgala*s, and flowers. These traits are characteristic of sculptures such as those found on the early railing reliefs at Bodhgaya, dating to around 100 BCE.[24] The central full-blown lotus flower on the Okaraṇa *āyāgapaṭa* is carved in a style that seems closely linked to that of the lotus medallions on the coping stones at Bodhgaya (Fig. 107b) and reliefs from Mathura of the late second century BCE discussed in Chapter Three (e.g., Fig. 74). Their carvings are all flat and shallow, with forms articulated by clear, sharply cut incised lines. The petals and stamens of the calyx on the Okaraṇa *āyāgapaṭa*, like those of the Bodhgaya lotuses, are rendered almost like cut-out shapes; they exhibit a quality of abstraction and hardness that does not approximate the softness, delicacy, and irregularity of a natural flower, as are seen in the carvings of ca. 50 BCE–15 CE. Likewise, the lilies on the Okaraṇa *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 125), the *nandyāvarta*s on both the Okaraṇa *āyāgapaṭa* and the *āyāgapaṭa* fragment in Fig. 127, and the winged conches on the Okaraṇa *āyāgapaṭa* and the *āyāgapaṭa* fragment with running animals (Fig. 126) all have flat planes of uncarved space, abstracted geometric forms, and sharply linear contours that exemplify the style of ca. 100 BCE.

[24] This date for the carvings of the Bodhgaya railing is based on their stylistic features, as was discussed in Chapter Three. They retain much of the angularity and blank ground space of carvings of ca. 150 BCE, but they also evince elements that foreshadow the more naturalistic styles of ca. 50 BCE in approximately equal measure. Hence, the early Bodhgaya railing carvings may best be dated to around 100 BCE until evidence surfaces to suggest otherwise.

The animals portrayed on the Okaraṇa *āyāgapaṭa* and the *āyāgapaṭa* fragment with running animals (Figs. 125 and 126) seem stylistically akin to those found on the early Bodhgaya reliefs (Figs. 128a and 128b). Alhough they are depicted in running postures, their forms seem quite static and their movements jerky and puppet-like; their limbs and joints are unnaturally stiff and angular. The quality of movement is not unlike that seen in the centaur architrave dateable to ca. late second century BCE (Figs. 21–24). Another stylistic trait characteristic of the second century BCE is a lack of facial expression, which is notable in the animals on the Okaraṇa *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 125), on the *āyāgapaṭa* fragment with running animals (Fig. 126), and on the Bodhgaya coping (Figs. 128a and 128b). Like the floral and symbol carvings, the bodies of the animals are also characterized by broad, blank, virtually unmodeled flat planes. Elements such as wings, ears, horns, or the hump of the bull (Fig. 125) appear to be distinct parts placed onto the bodies, rather than components of an organic whole. Detailing on the wings or dewlaps is rendered only by a series of parallel incised lines, like the wings of the *kinnara* in Fig. 84; no attempt was made to show subtle differences in textures. Overall, the emphasis in these three plaques is on planar shapes, and the effect is clean and crisp, particularly on the less eroded Okaraṇa *āyāgapaṭa*. These features are not found in the carvings of sculptures dating to periods other than ca. 100 BCE. Despite the difficulty of judging their style on the basis of their highly worn and fragmentary condition, it seems that the *āyāgapaṭa* fragment with running animals (Fig. 126) and the *āyāgapaṭa* fragment with knotted rhizome, *sthāpana*, and *nandyāvarta* (Fig. 127) date to around the same time as well.

As noted in Chapter One, there is as yet no evidence of a school of stone sculpture at Mathura prior to the second century BCE. The Śimitrā *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 122) seems to date to ca. 150 BCE, making it contemporaneous with the sculptures discussed in Chapter Two that were made at the very outset of stone sculptural production at Mathura as we know it now. This suggests that *āyāgapaṭa*s possibly had an even older tradition, perhaps having been made out of perishable materials such as clay, cloth, or wood in the same way that figural divinities, narrative reliefs, and ornamental carvings may have been produced before they began to be rendered in stone during the second century BCE at Mathura. The remains of the four *āyāgapaṭa*s that seem to have been made between ca. 150 and ca. 100 BCE indicate that there probably was an unbroken continuity of *āyāgapaṭa* production at Mathura throughout the second century BCE, and it probably represents a continuation of a more ancient tradition.

Ca. 75–37 BCE

Fragment of -tusikā Āyāgapaṭa *(Fig. 129)*

The surviving remains of the fragment of -tusikā *āyāgapaṭa* (SML J.260) comprise less than one-fourth of the original plaque, and it is of the familiar quadruple-*nandyāvarta* diagrammatic type, like the Okaraṇa *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 125). The corner lily and traces of a *nandyāvarta* can be discerned in the central panel. *Maṅgala*s including the *bhadrasāna, nandyāvarta*-and-lotus symbol, *śrīvatsa*, and *svastika* are carved in the remaining borders, and a lotus flower fills the corner square at the lower right. A high proportion of flat empty ground space remains, and the forms are simple and plain, with only incised-line detailing. However, the carvings are softer and less rigid than those on the Okaraṇa *āyāgapaṭa*, which suggests

that this plaque may be more advanced in date. As discussed in Chapter Three, Indian sculptural styles moved away from abstraction and linearity towards a softening of forms in the early to mid-first century BCE.

Bhikhu Phagula Śilā *(Fig. 130)*
A plaque that can be considered both a *pādukā* slab and a Buddhist type of pictorial *āyāgapaṭa* is the Bhikhu Phagula *śilā* in the Allahbad University Museum. The Bhikhu Phagula *śilā* from Kauśāmbī, like the fragment of -tusikā *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 129), also appears to have been made ca. 75 BCE. This stone plaque, only the lower left quarter of which remains, is of the pictorial type, with the footprints of the Buddha forming its main central element. Only a part of one footprint survives; it displays the remains of a *cakra* on the sole, one of the identifying marks of a Buddha. The pads of each toe have a *svastika*, except for the big toe, which has a *nandyāvarta*-and-lotus. Three of the *svastika*s turn in a clockwise direction, and one of them turns in a counterclockwise direction. The stylized, foliate *svastika* form in the lower left corner of the Bhikhu Phagula *śilā*'s border also turns in a counterclockwise direction. It appears that at this date, artists were not consistent with the directionality of *svastika*s.[25]

An inscription recording the donation of the slab by the monk Phagula at the Ghoṣitārāma monastery is carved in a long rectangular panel below the footprints (Appendix II.6). The lower border is divided into square panels; a vegetal *svastika*, whose stems in the center form an endless-knot symbol, is in the lower left panel, and to the right is a stylized, fern-like honeysuckle motif. The surviving panel on the left side above the inscription contains a fanciful, foliate *śrīvatsa*. The remains of a *naramakara* grasping the end of his straight, stiff, fish tail leg is visible in the broken panel next to the *śrīvatsa*.

The simplicity, stiffness, and linearity seen in these carvings suggest an early date for the Bhikhu Phagula *śilā*. The tail of the *naramakara* is held rigidly upright and has striated detailing, and the vegetal ornaments are articulated with simple incised cuts. The toes of the Buddha's footprints are rendered as geometric shapes outlined by virtually unmodulated lines. However, the incised lines and contours are not as sharp as those of the Okaraṇa *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 125), and the fanciful, imaginative renderings of the *maṅgala*s and honeysuckle motif, which seem to have the beginnings of an organic inner vitality of their own, suggest that the Bhikhu Phagula *śilā* postdates the Okaraṇa *āyāgapaṭa* by two or three decades.

Pādukā slabs are objects of worship themselves, and the footprints indicate the presence of the divinity or liberated being.[26] The footprints are symbols (*pratīka*) used to denote the 'tracks' by which the devotee is able to recognize and follow that being. A. K. Coomaraswamy skillfully analyzed the meaning of the *pāduka* slabs:

---

[25] For other examples of counterclockwise *svastika*s, see the foliate *svastika* form in the top border of the Ferenc Hopp Museum *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 146) and those in two corners of the Mātharaka *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 143). See also R. C. Sharma, *Splendour of Mathura: Art and Museum*, Fig. 43, and R. Knox, *Amaravati*, p. 211.

[26] Both Debjani Paul and Anna Maria Quagliotti have argued convincingly that the isolated Buddha-pada slabs were objects of worship, set up for veneration. D. Paul, "Antiquity of the Viṣṇupāda at Gaya. Tradition and Archaeology," *East and West*, 35, 1985, pp. 133–141; and A. M. Quagliotti, *Buddhapadas*, pp. 122, and 134.

> The 'tracks' by which He is to be found are primarily the symbolic expressions of the ritual sacrifice and hymns, 'seen' and 'warded' by the poetic genius (*Ṛg Veda* IX, 73, 9; X, 71, 3 etc.); and in just the same way any symbol such as our *triśūla* [= *nandyāvarta*], or any other 'motif' of a canonical iconography, constitutes a 'track' by means of which he may be 'followed after,' the symbol (*pratīka*) being employed, not for its own sake, but as a call to action. It is evident that 'tracks' of this kind neither are nor need be represented literally in the form of a spoor, the indication of actual hoof prints at Padaṇa being quite exceptional. If, on the other hand the notion be interpreted more literally and in connection with a more anthropomorphic concept, then all the passages cited above can be quoted in sanction and explanation of the cult of the 'feet of the Lord' (*pādukā*, Buddha-pada, Viṣṇu-pada, etc.) in Buddhist, Jaina, and Vaiṣṇava practice alike. And if the Tree and Fiery Pillar are supported by such feet, it is because He is firmly established (*pratiṣṭha*) on solid ground (*pṛthivī* . . .), in the Waters, in the Depths, existent (*sthita*) in the world, that is in the last analysis 'within you,' in the lotus of the heart.[27]

The two-dimensional pillar stands firmly 'in the Waters,' as represented by the aquatic imagery, of lotus rhizomes, grapevines, and the like, depicted along the outer edges of *pādukā* slabs and *āyāgapaṭa*s such as the pictorial Śimitrā *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 122). As Coomaraswamy wrote, "It is not merely a worship of the *vestiga pedium* (*pādukā*, footprints) that is represented, but of the whole Person."[28] I agree that *pādukā* slabs should be understood as representing the divine presence of the Buddha, not his absence.[29] They are a marker of the most relevant component of the Buddha's body to the worshipper: his feet. Devotees are to touch the tops of their heads to the feet of the Buddha upon greeting him; hence, the footprints are a most important image to indicate the Buddha's presence.

Shimla Museum Āyāgapaṭa *(Fig. 131)*, Āyāgapaṭa *Fragment with* Cakra *(Fig. 132)*

The Shimla Museum *āyāgapaṭa* (SMHP J.247) and the much worn *āyāgapaṭa* fragment with *cakra* (GMM 15.569) also are attributable to ca. 75 BCE. The Shimla Museum *āyāgapaṭa*, in its current state, consists of a corner measuring less than one-quarter of the original plaque; the inscription that would have been carved into the rectangular panel has been eroded away. It would have had the quadruple *nandyāvarta* formation like that of the Okaraṇa *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 125); the tips of two *nandyāvarta* fish tails are visible on the broken inner sides.[30] Still clear is a simplified and stylized honeysuckle motif, which points towards

---

[27] A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Elements of Buddhist Iconography*, p. 17. This description also evokes the symbolism of the carvings on the diagrammatic *āyāgapaṭa*s discussed at length above, in that the central circle of the *āyāgapaṭa* is two-dimensionally indicative of the pillar that 'stands firmly established on solid ground,' and the ground in turn is represented by the square of the external shape.

[28] A. K. Coomaraswamy, "Uṣṇīṣa and Chatra," p. 7.

[29] Cf. Jacob N. Kinnard, "The Polyvalent *Pādas* of Viṣṇu and the Buddha."

[30] In his conjectural reconstruction of the Shimla Museum *āyāgapaṭa*, N. P. Joshi suggested that this plaque would have been of the Dhanamitra variety, like the Dhanamitra *āyāgapaṭa* in Fig. 140. (N. P. Joshi, "Early Jaina Icons from Mathura," Fig. 34.2). However, the curving *svastika* formation is not possible in this piece. The remains of two fish tails are visible in the fragment; one was drawn in Joshi's reconstruction, visible to the left of the corner honeysuckle motif, its central leaf-like triangular projection pointing at it, and the other to the upper right of the honeysuckle motif, but little more than the central leaf-like projection remains visible (Fig. 131). The fact that the central leaf-like projection of the latter also points towards the corner honeysuckle motif confirms that this fish tail could not have belonged to a curving *svastika*, since it points in the opposite direction from the former, more visible fish tail. Therefore, the Shimla Museum *āyāgapaṭa* must have had the four-directional *nandyāvarta*s, whose tails point at an angle towards the corners rather than straight out. Such oblique pointing of *nandyāvarta* tails can be seen in the *āyāgapaṭa* in Fig. 160.

the corner of the original inner panel, filling the interstice between two *nandyāvarta*s, instead of the lilies of the Okaraṇa *āyāgapaṭa* or the curved animal on the fragment in Fig. 126. The *nandyāvarta* tails and the two curling arms of the honeysuckle motif each have a row of thick square dots;[31] thus, the Shimla Museum *āyāgapaṭa* imparts a less plain impression than the Okaraṇa *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 125). Like the Okaraṇa *āyāgapaṭa*, the Shimla Museum *āyāgapaṭa* has a border filled with circumambulating animals, the remaining ones of which include the forepart of a lion, a winged dragon, a winged lion with a human face, and the leonine hindquarters of another creature. The features that indicate that the Shimla Museum *āyāgapaṭa* is more advanced in date than the Okaraṇa *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 125) or the *āyāgapaṭa* fragment with running animals (Fig. 126), include the variegated texturing of the cross-hatching on the lower parts of the wings, the incised circles carved on the bodies, an increased sense of motion, and a fullness and swelling of the snouts and paws. Overall, the carvings have become more crowded, contributing to a softer and fuller impression when compared to the cleaner, crisper mien of the Okaraṇa *āyāgapaṭa*. Nonetheless, some early features remain identifiable in the Shimla Museum *āyāgapaṭa*, such as the overall stiffness and the unnatural ways in which the animals' front paws are placed one above the other to indicate their striding postures.

The scant remains of the carvings on the *āyāgapaṭa* fragment with *cakra* (Fig. 132) include the edge of a large wheel (*cakra*) in what would have been the central panel. The arc of the *cakra* in proportion to the projected size of the central panel suggests that this plaque would have originally been a pictorial type of *āyāgapaṭa*, like the Śimitrā *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 122), but with a large *cakra* in the center, instead of a *sthāpana*. A winged lion running to the left is visible in the upper rectangular section of the fragment, which suggests that it would have had striding animals in the border. It is interesting to note that the animals on the Shimla Museum *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 131) and the *āyāgapaṭa* fragment with *cakra* (Fig. 132) stride around the *āyāgapaṭa* in a counterclockwise direction, as opposed to those on the Okaraṇa *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 125), the *āyāgapaṭa* fragment with running animals (Fig. 126), and the Mātharaka *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 143), which all circumambulate in a clockwise direction. This inconsistency in directionality suggests that it may not have been so strongly codified at this date, like the direction of the turning of the *svastika* noted above.

The shape of the wings and the degree of tension in the striding legs and perked tail in Fig. 132 seem to be similar to those of the animals on the Shimla Museum *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 131), but unfortunately the damage to the sculpture is so extensive that it is very difficult to make definitive judgments. At the upper right of the fragment, the trunk of an elephant is visible, and his one foot indicates that he was probably carved in a striding position. Directly below him are the remains of two crouching addorsed lions with a lily shown in profile between their heads; they probably formed part of a pillar capital, such that the left and right sides of the original plaque would have had *stambha*s like those seen in Figs. 156, 162, and 168. The elephant above may be analogous to the elephant that surmounts the pillars in Figs. 156 and 162, but the stiffness of the remaining forms of the crouching lions and the blue lily suggests that it is of an earlier type.

[31] These rows of thick square dots were popular in Orissa during the second to first century BCE and later. They are distinctively carved on the strap-like ornaments worn by an early *yakṣa* from Bhubaneswar (Orissa State Museum Ay8). See Panigrahi, *Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneswar*, Fig. 5.

Although they are both quite damaged, the Shimla Museum *āyāgapaṭa* and the *āyāgapaṭa* fragment with *cakra* evince some early traits of stiffness, simplicity in shapes, and linear detailing, which are tempered by more rounded modeling, by some crowding, and by the infusion of a new softness and vitality unseen in the earlier Okaraṇa *āyāgapaṭa* group (Figs. 125 and 126). These combined features suggest a date nearing the more naturalistic phase of the mid-first century BCE.

Year Twenty-One Āyāgapaṭa *(Figs. 133 and 134)*
Among the group of surviving *āyāgapaṭa*s, some can be dated to the mid–first century BCE, and their carvings differ markedly in style from those on the Okaraṇa *āyāgapaṭa*, continuing the trends towards softness and organic vitality noted in the fragment of -tusikā *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 129), Bhikhu Phagula *śilā* (Fig. 130), and Shimla Museum *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 131). The Year Twenty-One *āyāgapaṭa* (GMM 35.2563, Fig. 133), less than half of which remains, was obtained from the site of Kaṭhoti Kuān in Mathura. It is a diagrammatic type of *āyāgapaṭa* with a full-blown lotus flower forming its central element, around which curve the four arms of a *svastika*. The *svastika* has elaborated curled ends with foliate petals, and lotus flowers in various stages of bloom spring from the tail of the surviving *svastika* arm and from the central lotus medallion. A small, four-petaled rosette fills what would have been an empty space above the *svastika* tail. Forming the border of the square plaque is a double row of twisted garlands, and a square floral pattern interrupts the garlands at the corners and the median of each side.

In contrast to the geometric, flat, linear, and quiet qualities of the Okaraṇa *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 125), the relief carvings of the Year Twenty-One *āyāgapaṭa* have softened, more irregular forms and an ebullience that is heightened by the crowding of elements and little empty ground space. The remaining petals of the central lotus have a pliable resilience, and the Y-shaped grooves in the middle of each petal are not so sharply and rigidly incised. The half-opened lotus flower in the lower corner and the buds springing from the center have irregular shapes, and the incised-line borders of the petals seem to quaver, imparting a more organic impression (Fig. 134). There is a gentle swelling to the flowers that evokes a life force within them; even the arm of the *svastika* is modeled so that it seems to bulge. Although there are no running animals on the Year Twenty-One *āyāgapaṭa* fragment, its carvings have a greater sense of movement than those of the Okaraṇa *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 125). The unevenly sized, curling, stylized tails of the *svastika* emerge from the bulging arms with such vitality that they seem to cause thick and rounded lotus stalks to spring forth with their burgeoning blossoms. These tails contrast markedly to the simple, plain fish tails of the *nandyāvarta*s on the Okaraṇa *āyāgapaṭa*. The square dotted borders of the *svastika* arms increase the sense of energy, as does the crisscrossed center of the rosette. Very little space is unfilled on the Year Twenty-One *āyāgapaṭa*, and the higher relief creates background shadows that set off the carvings. The double twisted-garland border displays an interest in design patterns that was furthered in *āyāgapaṭa*s of a slightly later date.

The Year Twenty-One *āyāgapaṭa* is inscribed (Appendix II.9), but the inscription is in an unusual location, along the middle of one of the curving arms of the *svastika*. Remarkably, the inscription contains a date: the twenty-sixth day of the second month of the twenty-first year. This *āyāgapaṭa* with its date has been mentioned by only three other scholars, all of whom have reckoned the year to the Śaka era of 78 CE without providing their

reasons for so doing.[32] The use of the Śaka era for the date on the Year Twenty-One *āyāgapaṭa* does not seem appropriate, for that would yield a date of 99 CE. Similarly, a reckoning to an era beginning with the accession of Kaniṣka around 127 CE, which would yield a date of 148 CE for the plaque, also seems improbable, since its stylistic characteristics are unlike the styles of other sculptures known to date to this time, namely the early to mid-Kuṣāṇa period. The floral and ornamental carvings dated to the early second century CE, such as those on the umbrella of the Bala Buddha dated to Year Three of Kaṇiṣka (Fig. 135), are highly refined, restrained, and sharply carved with regular, straight lines, distinct from the surging, softly cut forms on the Year Twenty-One *āyāgapaṭa*. Sculptures dated to around the Year Twenty-One of Kaṇiṣka include a Buddha image from Sonkh dated to the Year Twenty-Three of Kaṇiṣka (Fig. 136) and a Buddha triad from Ahichhatra dated to the Year Thirty-Two (Fig. 137). An examination of the vegetal carvings on the pedestal, the Bodhi tree behind the Ahichhatra Buddha triad, and the flowers held in the hands of the attendants reveals a style of carving that developed from the Year Three Bala image to become drier and more schematized. There is nothing dry, schematized, or refined about the carvings on the Year Twenty-One *āyāgapaṭa*; instead they are fresh and vigorous, indicating the beginning of a style rather than one that has become formalized or refined. These stylistic elements of vigorous organic growth, movement, higher relief, and crowding can be best related to the carvings of *toraṇa*s of Sanchi *Stūpa* I that display these traits (Fig. 138). Keeping these stylistic considerations in mind, what, then, could be the appropriate era for the Year Twenty-One on this *āyāgapaṭa*?

If the Śaka era and the era beginning with the accession of Kaniṣka are inappropriate for the reckoning of the date of the Year Twenty-One *āyāgapaṭa*, then another era must be postulated. Probably the most suitable era among those currently known would be the Azes era, also known as the Vikrama era, beginning in 57 or 58 BCE. It is generally accepted that the Vikrama era postulated in later inscriptions and colophons is equivalent to the Azes era mentioned in numerous early inscriptions. The Takt-i Bahi inscription of the twenty-sixth regnal year of mahārāja Gondophares (*mahārāyasa Guduvharasa*) is dated to the Year One Hundred Three of the Azes era, which corresponds to 47 or 46 CE when reckoned to the Vikrama era of 58 or 57 BCE, known from its common usage in medieval Jaina inscriptions. Reckoning 47 or 46 CE for the twenty-sixth regnal year of Gondophares is very acceptable, given other numismatic and literary evidence pertaining to his reign.[33] Because this era, beginning in 58 or 57 BCE, is most probably identified with the beginning of the reign of Azes in the early inscriptions, I refer to it as the Azes era rather than the Vikrama era.

The Azes Era is commonly mentioned in inscriptions from the Gandhāra region and areas from present-day southern Afghanistan, such as Avaca, during the first centuries

---

[32] N. P. Chakravarti, *Archaeological Survey of India*, *Annual Report*, 1935–36, p. 113; V. S. Agrawala, *Mathura Museum Catalogue*, Part III, Jaina Tirthankaras and Other Miscellaneous Figures, 1963, p. 37; and N. P. Joshi, "Early Jaina Icons from Mathura," p. 333.

[33] For scholarship detailing the equivalence of the Azes Era with the Vikrama Era of 58 or 57 BCE, see B. N. Mukherjee, "The Vikrama and Śaka Eras—Observations on their Beginnings and their Early Use in Eastern India," and "An Interesting Kharoṣṭhī Inscription"; Joe Cribb, "Western Satraps and Satavahanas: Old and New Ideas of Chronology," 153; and Richard Salomon, "The 'Avaca' Inscription and the Origin of the Vikrama Era."

BCE and CE. As we know from the inscription on the lion capital from Mathura in the British Museum,[34] the *kṣatrapa* rulers of Mathura were connected with the Śaka kings of the northwestern regions, and therefore it would not be unreasonable to suggest that during the time of the Year Twenty-One *āyāgapaṭa* the Azes era was used in north Indian inscriptions. Furthermore, the invocation to the *arhat*s in the Year Twenty-One *āyāgapaṭa* inscription suggests that this *āyāgapaṭa* was Jaina in orientation, and the Vikrama era was frequently used in Jaina colophons and inscriptions in later centuries. Reckoning the Year Twenty-One to the Azes era converts to 37 or 36 BCE for the date of the Year Twenty-One *āyāgapaṭa*. This date is satisfactory, given the style of the carvings, which, as noted above, represents a continuation of the trend towards softness and naturalism seen in the carvings of the early first century BCE, yet it is not as advanced as the ornamental carvings dated to the time of mahākṣatrapa Śoḍāsa (circa 15 CE). Its stylistic similarity to the carvings of *Stūpa* I at Sanchi also has important ramifications for the date of that famous site. The carvings of Sanchi *Stūpa* I may best be dated to the mid- to late first century BCE rather than the first century CE, to which time it occasionally is attributed. Thus, the Year Twenty-One *āyāgapaṭa* represents an important, rare dated piece from the pre-Kuṣāṇa period at Mathura.

Āyāgapaṭa *Fragment with* Aśoka *Flowers (Fig. 139)*

A much-worn *āyāgapaṭa* fragment (SML J.257) probably dates to the time of the Year Twenty-One *āyāgapaṭa*, since it exhibits many of the same traits. Only the lower right-hand corner survives, with part of an inscription recording the dedication of this *āyāgapaṭa* for the sake of the *arhat*s (Appendix II.10). The remains of some *aśoka* flowers, carved in relatively deep relief, in the central panel have gently swelling forms and the crisscross filler pattern that was used on the small rosette of the Year Twenty-One *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 133). The petals around the base of the *aśoka* flower also display the pliability and softness in their grooved centers that are similar to the petals around the Year Twenty-One *āyāgapaṭa's* full-blown lotus medallion. Other foliate elements appear to fill all the spaces of the central panel, and the borders are also crowded with ornament. The borders are divided into small panels, the one on the right being filled with an ornate double-honeysuckle motif, which has wavy-line borders like those on the Year Twenty-One *āyāgapaṭa* lotuses, and its foliate arms appear to be decoratively scalloped. The round lotus flower in the corner, although eroded, seems to have had the softness of carving noted in the *aśoka* flowers, and leaves fill the small spandrels of its square panel. The dividing lines between each panel are filled with rows of concentric circles, which add to the plaque's sense of energy.

The *svastika* in the lower panel of the *āyāgapaṭa* fragment with the *aśoka* flowers is fairly simple, with its four fish-tail arms, bordered only by a simple incised line, curving around a lotus center. The simplicity of the *svastika* recalls the *maṅgala*s on the fragment of -tusikā *āyāgapaṭa* (SML J.260), mentioned above as probably dating to ca. 75 BCE (Fig. 129). The flat, linear, almost careless character of the lotus flowers in the small squares punctuating the border of the Year Twenty-One *āyāgapaṭa* also recalls the larger lotus in the

[34] Sten Konow, *Kharoshṭhī Inscriptions with the Exception of those of Aśoka*, pp. 48–49.

square corner of that *āyāgapaṭa* fragment (SML J.260; Fig. 129). Thus it appears that some conservative elements have been retained in both the Year Twenty-One *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 133) and the *āyāgapaṭa* fragment with *aśoka* flowers (Fig. 139). Since these latter two *āyāgapaṭa*s share many of the same stylistic features, including minor elements of conservatism, they may be considered contemporaneous, dating to around 37 or 36 BCE.

To summarize the discussions thus far in this chapter, the beginnings of a chronology appear to emerge with the Śimitrā *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 122), which imparts stylistic aspects characteristic of sculpture dating to ca. 150 BCE. It is followed by the Okaraṇa *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 125), probably dating to ca. 100 BCE along with the *āyāgapaṭa* fragment with running animals and the *āyāgapaṭa* fragment with knotted rhizome, *nandyāvarta*, and *sthāpana* (Figs. 126 and 127). Slightly later in date are the fragment of the -tusikā *āyāgapaṭa* and the Bhikhu Phagula *śilā* (Figs. 129 and 130), which in turn are followed by the Shimla Museum *āyāgapaṭa* and the *āyāgapaṭa* fragment with *cakra* (Figs. 131 and 132), all of which seem to date during the mid-first century BCE. The Year Twenty-One *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 133) is a valuable benchmark of the third quarter of the first century BCE, since it is dated by its inscription to a year that more than likely corresponds to 37 or 36 BCE, and stylistically it seems to be accompanied in date by the *āyāgapaṭa* fragment with *aśoka* flowers (Fig. 139). The changes in style from ca. 150 BCE to 37 BCE, as seen in these ten *āyāgapaṭa*s, conform to pan-Indian stylistic currents that move from detailed linearity to a crisp simplicity, then to a crowded organic softness and vitality. The evidence provided by these ten plaques also reveals the unbroken continuity of *āyāgapaṭa* production at this early period—a point that has not been acknowledged before. This continuity prevailed without abatement into the late first century BCE and throughout the first century CE.

Ca. 20 BCE

Perhaps the most spectacular examples of *āyāgapaṭa*s discovered so far were probably made around 20 BCE. The style that seems slightly tenuous in the Year Twenty-One *āyāgapaṭa* developed into full maturity with confidence and sophistication in the carvings of the Dhanamitra *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 140) and the Mātharaka *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 143). The relief carvings on these plaques perpetuate the mid-first century BCE trends of crowding, vitality, and softness with a furthered interest in textures and a heightened complexity.

Dhanamitra Āyāgapaṭa *(Figs. 140–142 and 192), Mātharaka* Āyāgapaṭa *(Figs. 143–145)*

The Dhanamitra *āyāgapaṭa* and the Mātharaka *āyāgapaṭa* are both diagrammatic *āyāgapaṭa*s in good states of preservation, except for some erosion, mainly around the edges, and the missing upper left corner of the Mātharaka *āyāgapaṭa*. The Dhanamitra carving represents the most common type, with the central circular element, in this case a seated Jina superimposed over a full-blown lotus flower, representing the *arhat*, or qualified enlightened being, above the gate of the high-noon sun, seated in eternal meditative bliss above the dome of the sky. Four *nandyāvarta* symbols, each attached to the central lotus, suggest the emanation of the *arhat*'s presence in the form of his doctrines into the four directions. The next and largest concentric ring is filled with the curving arms of a *svastika* and interstitial spaces filled with flowers and auspicious symbols that refer to the auspicious aspects

of life, which turns in incessant cycles of one birth after another. In the outermost ring, celestial beings worship four symbols of the Jina's presence in the world: the image of the Jina at the bottom, the sacred tree at the right, the *stūpa* at the top, and another icon, possibly a *dharmacakra*, at the left. These symbols are found at the point of meeting between the circular or celestial realms and the outer square or terrestial realms. Atlantean *naramakara*s fill the spandrels, and the effaced inscription (Appendix II.11) at the bottom edge is flanked by a row of auspicious symbols.

The Mātharaka *āyāgapaṭa* (SML J. 248; Fig. 143) represents a different version of the diagrammatic type of *āyāgapaṭa*, but with similar symbolic attributes. The central element is a sixteen-spoked wheel, surrounded by a ring of sixteen *nandyāvarta*-and-lotus symbols, which in combination evoke omni-directionality of the *arhat* and the doctrine, rather than four-directionality; the meaning is the same, however, implying simultaneous emanation in all directions. According to Vedic literature, the sun at the ocular apex of the dome of heaven is said to be pierced like the hub of a wheel, by the cosmic pillar or *axis mundi*. The wheel itself is a solar symbol, and its spokes are analogous to the rays of the sun, like the ribs of a *chattra*.

> If it be so, if he is qualified (*arhat*), then when he has reached the full term of life (*sarvam āyus eti*) . . . ascending these worlds . . . he escapes through the midst of the Sun (*ādityaṃ samayātimucyate*); that is the hole of the sky (*divaś chidram*); verily like the hole in a cart or chariot-wheel, even so is the hole of the sky; it is all covered up by the rays (*raśmibhiḥ saṃchannam*).[35]

The hub marks the point of penetration of the wheel by the pillar, and it thus marks the place of liberation in a way similar to the other *āyāgapaṭa*s, but without depicting the figure of the *arhat* anthropomorphically. The Mātharaka *āyāgapaṭa* is in this way similar to the Okaraṇa *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 125), the former depicting the high-noon sun at the apex of the sky in the form of a *cakra*, the latter depicting it as a full-blown lotus flower.

A narrow concentric ring surrounding the felly of the central *cakra* is filled with eight small *nandyāvarta*-and-lotus symbols emanating from the center. *Āṣṭadikpalikā*s,[36] or 'maidens of the eight directions,' fly clockwise around the wheel carrying offerings of flowers and garlands in the subsequent broad concentric ring (Figs. 143–144). Their presence indicates that this ring depicts the heavenly realm of the sky. An encircling twisted garland forms the outermost ring. The whole ensemble of concentric circles is supported by four *naramakara*s in the spandrels. This *āyāgapaṭa* has a broad square border with an auspicious symbol in each of the four corners and at the median of each side. A composite creature with the body of a winged lion and the torso of a man or a woman is carved in each of the rectangular border panels, and they are shown in the act of bringing offerings.

The crowding of elements observed on the Year Twenty-One *āyāgapaṭa* is also in evidence on these two plaques. The spaces around the arms of the large *svastika* of the Dhanamitra *āyāgapaṭa* are filled with auspicious symbols (*svastika, śrīvatsa, matsya-yugma*, and

---

[35] Coomaraswamy, "Uṣṇīṣa and Chatra," p. 12.

[36] V. S. Agrawala identified these eight flying celestial women as *aṣṭadikkumārikā* in *Indian Art*, p. 232. These celestial maidens may be an early grouping of eight goddesses, which is so commonly found in Indian sculpture of the medieval period. Alex Wayman discussed the connection between the number eight in relation to the goddesses and female symbolism (Alex Wayman, "The Mathurā Set of Aṣṭamaṅgala (Eight Auspicious Symbols) in Early and Later Times," pp. 236–237).

bhadrāsana), small rosettes with crisscrossed centers, leaves, and lilies sprouting from the ends of the tails. The border panels on the Mātharaka *āyāgapaṭa* that contain composite human-and-griffin creatures, seemingly circumambulating in a clockwise direction, have quarter lotuses and trefoil designs filling the corners. Billowing scarves, garlands, and elaborate wings and tails of the composite creatures and flying celestial beings on both plaques spread out so that almost no empty ground space remains, thereby enhancing the impression of crowding and activity.

A sense of surging movement is seen in the carvings of the Dhanamitra and Mātharaka *āyāgapaṭa*, is even greater than that noted on the Year Twenty-One *āyāgapaṭa*. In the Dhanamitra *āyāgapaṭa* the graceful arcing of the great *svastika* arms, emphasized by the single row of dots down their spines, the encircling twisted garland, and the ring of celestial beings in vigorous flying postures combine to produce a sense of swirling energy that is augmented by the spiraling serpentine legs of the *narīmakara*s in the spandrels. On the Mātharaka *āyāgapaṭa* the eight female figures in the ring around the wheel fly fervently in a relentless clockwise motion (Figs. 143 and 144). Each composite creature in the rectangular border panels displays much more urgency in its gait and mien than do the animals on the earlier Okaraṇa *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 125). The half-female, half-leogryph creature in Fig. 145 surges forth, clutching a garland in her right hand.[37] Her curling wing is not rendered with simple parallel incised lines, but with feathery strokes of irregular depth and a cross-hatched section that provides a contrasting texture. Her tail curves forward and doubles gracefully back with a taut inner energy. The encircling outer band, carved with the tightly twisted garland comprising varied textures interrupted only by four rosettes with crisscrossed stamens, furthers the impression of turning, circular motion (Figs. 143 and 144). These garland rings on both the Dhanamitra *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 142) and the Mātharaka *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 143) appear more tautly twisted, with their long curving bands of differing widths and textures, than the straight double-garland border of the Year Twenty-One *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 133). Thus, the garlands seem to have more verve than those of the Year Twenty-One *āyāgapaṭa*, whose garlands are represented in a more abstract manner, with straight parallel lines, betraying the slightly earlier and more conservative aspect of this plaque, dated to a year that probably corresponds to 37 or 36 BCE. Rich vitality and momentum are noticeable in the Dhanamitra and Mātharaka *āyāgapaṭa*s, both in the overall effect of the plaques and in their details.

The carvings in both the Dhanamitra and Mātharaka *āyāgapaṭa*s have a soft quality, as though the forms were carved in a wax-like substance rather than stone; this aspect is evident in the Year Twenty-One *āyāgapaṭa* as well. Rounded softness and fleshiness characterize the limbs and bodies of the human and animal figures in both *āyāgapaṭa*s, as seen in the coiling, serpentine legs of the spandrel atlantes and the flying celestial beings (Figs. 142 and 145). The arms of the large *svastika* on the Dhanamitra *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 142) are modeled around the edges so that they have a breathing, organic quality; they are not hard, flat geometric shapes like the *nandyāvarta*s of the Okaraṇa *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 125). The

[37] The fervent activity and inner energy in the figures on the Dhanamitra *āyāgapaṭa* and the Mātharaka *āyāgapaṭa* are paralleled only by the sculptures from the Rāṇī-Gumphā at Udayagiri in Orissa, which probably date to around 20 BCE (Debala Mitra, *Udayagiri and Khandagiri*, Pls. V and VI).

incised-line borders of the lilies and the *svastika* and other flowers are slightly irregular (Fig. 142), but not quite as much as those on the Year Twenty-One *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 133), suggesting a greater confidence and thereby perhaps a later date. Overall, the forms in both the Dhanamitra and Mātharaka *āyāgapaṭa*s are softly rounded, neither refined nor regularized like the style of the early second century CE (Fig. 135) and neither dry nor tough like the styles of the middle to late Kuṣāṇā period (Fig. 136).

The beginning of an interest in variegated textures is apparent in the carving of the Year Twenty-One *āyāgapaṭa*, but on the Dhanamitra and Mātharaka *āyāgapaṭas*, evidence of this interest is more pronounced. Each of the concentric rings of the Mātharaka plaque has a distinct texture, moving from the plain hub to the striped appearance provided by the spokes, to the sixteen *nandyāvarta*-and-lotus symbols that create a richly textured ring around the felly. The closely packed, flying female celestial beings in the subsequent ring, with their billowing scarves and lotus flowers, contrast with the finely articulated twisted garland. On the Dhanamitra *āyāgapaṭa* the broad expanses of the large *svastika* arms stand out against the compact bodies in the surrounding ring of flying celestial beings (Fig. 140). Textiles are carefully rendered with soft, naturalistic pleats of irregular widths, as seen on the lower garments of the flying figures in Fig. 142. This soft texturing is similar to that of the feathers and tails of the composite figures in the borders of the Mātharaka *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 145). More whimsical texturing, which is also characteristic of the sculptures of the late first century BCE, is found on the bifurcate legs of the atlantes in the spandrels of the Mātharaka and Dhanamitra *āyāgapaṭa*s and on the bodies of the composite figures in the borders. Some have incised shapes, including circles, triangles, and teardrops (Figs. 142 and 145); others have mainly circles (Fig. 144).

Among the earlier *āyāgapaṭa* fragments discussed above, only one trace of a human figure remains, and that is the small, mostly broken *naramakara* on the Bhikhu Phagula *śilā* (Fig. 130). Human figures abound on both the Dhanamitra and Mātharaka *āyāgapaṭas*. An anthropomorphic Jina figure is seated cross-legged in *dhyāna-mudrā* in the center of the Dhanamitra *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 141), and this image is quite eroded, so little can be extrapolated about the figural style. Another seated image of a Jina in human form is located at the bottom of the outermost concentric ring of the same plaque (Fig. 140), and he, along with three other objects of worship, is being venerated by sixteen flying celestial beings in various postures of adoration. The eight flying celestial maidens and the composite figures on the Mātharaka *āyāgapaṭa*, as well as the atlantes in the spandrels of both *āyāgapaṭa*s, represent a sizable group of human or semi-human figures.

A close examination of the figures can lead to a tentative definition of the figural style of ca. 20 BCE at Mathura. Besides the rounded softness and fleshiness of the forms discussed above, some other characteristics can be gleaned. The female figures have a segmented quality; the neck, breasts, waist, and abdomen form three distinct sections, rather than being smoothly integrated into a single whole. The male figures have corpulent bellies with large, deep navels that hang, almost in a separate segment, over their belts. These features of the segmented torso in women and the corpulence of men continued to be characteristic of figures carved at Mathura for the next fifty to one hundred years. Their faces are not blank and expressionless; instead, they appear to smile slightly. In Fig. 142, the heads of the flying celestial beings are turned in various directions, as though there is an interest in conveying a sense of interaction among the figures. Overall, there

is a variety of postures among the flying figures, as some are shown from the back, some from the front, and others from a three-quarter angle. The angularity and stiffness seen in sculptures of the second century BCE are not evidenced in the figures of these *āyā-gapaṭa*s; instead, their movements are smoother and quite energetic, indicative of the inner vitality that pervades these carvings.

Gone are the early, conservative traits seen in the Year Twenty-One *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 133) and the *āyāgapaṭa* fragment with *aśoka* flowers (Fig. 139), such as the simple *svastika* or the flat, linear, square lotus. They do not display the slightly quavering, tenuous character that suggests experimentation with a new style. If the Year Twenty-One *āyāgapaṭa* is datable to 37 or 36 BCE, then we might say that the Dhanamitra and Mātharaka *āyāgapaṭa*s probably date to ca. 20 BCE, perhaps ten or twenty years after the Year Twenty-One *āyāgapaṭa*. The Dhanamitra and Mātharaka *āyāgapaṭa*s are high-quality productions that exemplify a distinctive style characterized by soft, waxy carving, crowding, surging energy, variegated textures, and fanciful detailing, with a figural type different from that found in the sculpture of any other time. These traits are all depicted with consistency, confidence, and sophistication, resulting in an unparalleled complex, organic effect that balances design with naturalism.

Ferenc Hopp Museum Āyāgapaṭa *(Fig. 146)*

The Ferenc Hopp Museum *āyāgapaṭa* also appears to date to around the end of the first century BCE. This plaque is unique among the surviving pictorial types of *āyāgapaṭa*s in that its main central figure is that of a seated *tīrthaṅkara*. The plaque is broken just below his navel, but the positioning of his arms indicates that his hands were held in *dhyāna-mudrā*. The *chattra* above his head is depicted two-dimensionally, and a textured garland hangs from the left side. A blue lily below the garland fills some of the empty space. The borders are filled with *maṅgala*s; at the right is a fairly plain *nandyāvarta*-and-lotus symbol, a two-lobed bottle perhaps identifiable with the *varddhamāna* (powder flask), and a *śrīvatsa*, with thick curving arms filled with a row of square dots, reminiscent of those carved on the Shimla Museum *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 131) and in the curling *svastika* arm of the Dhanamitra *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 140). In the border above the Jina are the remains of two curving foliate *svastika* forms, the whole one turning in a counterclockwise direction and the broken one turning clockwise.

The figural style of the central Jina, with his broad face and torso, short neck, double-outlined almond-shaped eyes, slight smile, and corpulent belly, concurs with the male facial and figural types of this period. The softness and richness notable in the carving of the ornament and *maṅgala*s in the borders of the Ferenc Hopp Museum *āyāgapaṭa* indicate its proximity in date to the Dhanamitra and Mātharaka *āyāgapaṭa*s (Figs. 140 and 143). The quality of the pattern texturing the garland that hangs from the *chattra* is quite similar to that of the twisted garland pattern surrounding the third concentric ring of the Dhanamitra *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 142). The vitality of the curving foliate arms of the ornament in the upper border and the thick, dotted *śrīvatsa* also resemble the ornament found on the Dhanamitra *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 140) and the Mātharaka *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 143). The quality of this foliate ornament is also similar to the carvings on the doorjambs from Jankhat, currently in the Archaeological Museum in Kannauj, such as the one depicted in Fig. 193, which also probably dates to ca. late first century BCE. Thus, while the Jina figure

seated in the central circle of the Dhanamitra *āyāgapaṭa* is depicted in small scale, the Jina on the Ferenc Hopp Museum *āyāgapaṭa* is a unique early bas relief depiction of a larger scale iconic Jina figure (Fig. 146), probably dating to the end of the first century BCE.

One form in which the manifest presence of the *arhat* is recognized by devotees on earth is the anthropomorphic icon. This fragment of a pictorial type of Jaina *āyāgapaṭa* in the Ferenc Hopp Museum of Eastern Asiatic Arts in Budapest depicts an anthropomorphic image of a Jina seated in *dhyāna-mudrā* as the main central object of worship (Fig. 146). As we saw in connection with the seated Jina figure at the bottom of the outermost ring of the fish-tail s*vastika āyāgapaṭa* of Dhanamitra (Fig. 140), the Jina's presence can be venerated in the form of the anthropomorphic icon.[38] Earlier reliefs discussed in Chapter Three also depict the veneration of the Jina in anthropomorphic form (Figs. 27 and 102). The Ferenc Hopp Museum *āyāgapaṭa* may have included more than one Jina seated iconically in the center, but the dimensions of the remaining fragment indicate that this was probably the only one.

Āyāgapaṭa *Fragment with Overlapping Rosette and Palmette Border (Fig. 147)*

The *āyāgapaṭa* fragment with overlapping rosette and palmette border (SML B.146), may, despite its worn and fragmentary condition, be adjudged to date to around 20 BCE as well. The border of this plaque has overlapping rosettes and stylized palmette motifs, a pattern similar to that found on the long bar of the *sthāpana* in the Śimitrā *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 122), but the style is not as sharp and rigid. A full-blown lotus flower has been carved in the corner, as on the fragment of -tusikā *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 129). The remains of one stylized honeysuckle motif in the corner of what would have formed the inner panel might suggest that this was originally a diagrammatic type of *āyāgapaṭa* with the quadruple *nandyāvarta* formation. The traces of thick, square dots filling the curling arms of the honeysuckle motif are similar to the dots found in the *śrīvatsa* of the Ferenc Hopp Museum *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 146) and the Dhanamitra *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 140). The style of carving found in the borders can be related to the incised palmettes and half-rosettes found on the inner edges of the Jankhat doorjambs (Figs. 193–196). However, the damaged condition of this plaque allows us to make only a tentative attribution of date.

The Reign of Śoḍāsa: Ca. 15 CE

By the second decade of the first century CE, the sculptural style of the late first century BCE had changed into a new mode. The soft, surging organic forms of the ornamental carvings attributed to ca. 37–20 BCE became lighter and more delicate, carved in very shallow relief. The figural style had matured by the beginning of the first century CE into the corpulent male figures and the female figures with segmented torsos. This new mode of relief sculpture is exemplified in the carvings of a group of *āyāgapaṭa*s that includes the Amohini *āyavati* (Fig. 148), the Pārśvanātha *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 150), and the Nāṃdighoṣa *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 153). The dating of these *āyāgapaṭa*s to around the second decade of the first century CE is made on the basis either of their being inscribed during the reign of Śoḍāsa,

[38] See also the image of the seated Jina in the outer ring of the British Museum *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 154).

as is the case with the Amohini *āyavati*, or of their stylistic resemblance to other sculptures inscribed during the reign of Śoḍāsa (ca. 15 CE). Śoḍāsa appears to have been an independent ruler of Mathura who used the Sanskrit title *svāmi*, meaning lord, as well as the title *mahākṣatrapa*, which is derived from the Iranian title meaning "governor" (satrap), combined with the Sanskrit prefix, *mahā-*, meaning "great." Śoḍāsa and his father Rajuvula were both of Śaka descent, meaning that they were probably descended from nomadic Scythian peoples who had settled in Śakastan, or Seistan, in southeastern Iran. In the first century BCE, groups of Śakas from Iran made incursions into Afghanistan and Pakistan, and they set up kingdoms where the Indo-Greeks had previously been in control. Rajuvula was apparently a governor of the Mathura region under an Indo-Scythian overlord based to the northwest, but he seems to have achieved a degree of independence, which was maintained by Śoḍāsa probably into the third decade of the first century BCE. More detailed information about the *mahākṣatrapa*s Rajuvula and Śoḍāsa will be discussed at the beginning of Chapter Six, where I present the sculptures datable to the reign of Śoḍāsa, ca. 15 CE. In this chapter we examine the inscription and the *āyāgapaṭa* that was carved during his reign and dated to the Year Seventy-Two.

Amohini Āyavati *(Figs. 148, 149, and 273)*

One *āyāgapaṭa* survives with an inscription that is dated during the reign of *svāmi mahākṣatrapa* Śoḍāsa; this inscription includes a date, the Year Seventy-Two, which, when referred to the Azes Era of 58 or 57 BCE, yields a date of CE 14 or 15 (Appendix II.15).[39] This plaque, called the Amohini *āyavati*—Amohini being the name of the donor and *āyavati* probably being a synonym for *āyāgapaṭa*, used in the inscription—is a pictorial type of *āyāgapaṭa*, with a standing female divinity as its central image of veneration (SML J.1; Fig. 148). This plaque differs from those discussed above in that its imagery consists mainly of figural elements, all women, who are shown honoring the central female figure. Unfortunately, the plaque is heavily eroded; nevertheless, some characteristics about the female figural style of sculpture during the time of Śoḍāsa can be seen in the surviving carvings.

The Amohini *āyavati* as a whole is conceived as an architectural niche or shrine. It is framed by pilasters with composite capitals on both sides, by a *vedikā* below, and by an ogee arch with incised latticework, which has been carved into the top border of the plaque. The central female figure is probably a Jaina tutelary divinity (*śāsanadevatā*), a *yakṣī*, or another goddess worshipped among the Jainas, for she stands frontally and axially, with her left arm akimbo and her right hand held up in *abhaya-mudrā*, the posture in which *yakṣa*s and *yakṣī*s are typically depicted. Furthermore, she seems to stand within a sacred space marked by the *vedikā*, and her prominence is underscored by the arch above her head. She is larger than any of the surrounding figures who stand in more varied and natural poses. (Fig. 148). Two flanking attendants hold a *chattra* and a *cauri*, which are emblematic of divinity, and another woman at the left of the panel offers her a garland. At her right side, a child (or a diminutive woman) stands looking up at her with hands clasped in *añjalī-mudrā*, the gesture of veneration. Diminutive figures, who may be identified

[39] Hereafter, for the sake of convenience, I refer to the date as 15 CE rather than 14 or 15 CE.

as children or infants, are often associated with images of *yakṣa*s or *yakṣī*s. These divinities often preside over the protection or obtaining of children. The relief of the *yakṣa* with sword and worshipper (Fig. 85) and the Hariparvat–Ṭīlā *yakṣa* (Fig. 90) are shown holding small figures in *añjalī-mudrā*, as did the Bharaṇa Kalan *yakṣa*, in all probability (Fig. 88). Perhaps the female divinity on the Amohini *āyavati* is similarly associated with a female child shown in *añjalī-mudrā* by her side. It is also possible that she is an image of the donor, Amohini, herself.

On the Amohini *āyavati* the large female figure standing frontally and hieratically under a *candraśālā* arch, her right hand held up in *abhaya-mudrā* and her left arm held akimbo, is like the *yakṣī* in the right niche in the raised platform (*jagatī*) of the *stūpa* on the Vasu *śilāpaṭa* (Figs. 168 and 171). These aspects suggest that the central figure may be a *yakṣī* or other female divinity that has been incorporated into the Jaina pantheon, since other *yakṣī*s, such as the Akrūr-Ṭīlā devatā (Fig. 271), are also portrayed as standing in this manner. Furthermore, the *candraśāla* arch above her head seems to underscore her nature as a divinity.[40] Since the inscription on this plaque opens with an invocation to the *arhat* Mahāvīra (see Appendix II.15), perhaps she is the *śāsanadevatā* of Mahāvīra.[41] Thus, this pictorial *āyāgapaṭa* depicts the worship of a Jaina divinity rather than the *arhat* himself.

As we have already noted, *yakṣa*s and *yakṣī*s have been associated with *arhat*s in the carvings of other *āyāgapaṭa*s, as seen in the niches at the base of the *stūpa* on the Vasu *śilāpaṭa* (Figs. 168 and 171) and flanking the central Jina on the Chaubiāpādā *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 160). In a tympanum carving of the Kuṣāṇa period (SML B.207; Fig. 233) and on the reverse of the tympanum in the National Museum (NMD J.555; Figs. 223 and 232), a female divinity is shown being worshipped. In the Kuṣāṇa tympanum, she is venerated along with a *stūpa* and an image of the *tīrthaṅkara*, both of which are central objects of pictorial *āyāgapaṭa*s, as we have seen, which suggests that among the Jainas, goddess worship was strong by the turn of the first century CE.[42] This being the case, the Amohini

[40] As Coomaraswamy observed: "Before long, too, the arched niche acquires also an independent status, and forms a regular setting for figures of deities represented in relief on walls or architraves, and now indeed has far more the character of an arch (*toraṇa*) than of a window." (A. K. Coomaraswamy, "Early Indian Architecture: III. Palaces," p. 203.)

[41] Some scholars have suggested that this figure represents Triśalā, the mother of Mahāvīra (V. S. Agrawala, in *Jaina Art and Architecture*, A. Ghosh, ed., vol. III, p. 441; and U. P. Shah, *Studies in Jaina Art*, p. 79). This interpretation does not concur with the nature of early Indian sculpture, because historical (or semi-historical) figures, such as the mother of the Budddha or the mother of Kṛṣṇa, are not represented as deified figures outside of a narrative context. Furthermore, in the sculpture of later centuries, there is no evidence that Triśalā is deified in this manner, but there are numerous instances of the worship of *yakṣī*-like mother goddesses and other female divinities. It is not until much later, in the Jaina manuscripts, that Queen Triśalā is specifically depicted, and then only in a narrative context of the birth of Mahāvīra or seated with her husband. It is more plausible that this female figure depicts a *yakṣī*, since *yakṣī*s were so popular and frequently depicted in this manner during the pre-Kuṣāṇa and Kuṣāṇa periods. Later texts and temple inscriptions provide several names for *yakṣī*s or *śāsanadevatā*s associated with Mahāvīra; these names include Aparājitā, Siddhāyinī, and Siddhāyikā. See U. P. Shah, *Jaina-Rūpa-Maṇḍana*, p. 217.

[42] This female figure on the Lucknow Museum B.207 (Fig. 233) tympanum also has been identified as Triśalā (V. N. Srivastava, "Some Interesting Sculptures in the Lucknow Museum," p. 49), since she is seated next to the goat-headed *yakṣa* Naigameṣin, who is said to have transferred the embryo of Mahāvīra from the womb of a Brahmin woman to that of the Kṣatrīya queen Triśalā. However, the Jina seated in the middle of this tympanum should be identified as Neminātha, not Mahāvīra, because of the images of Kṛṣṇa and

āyavati figure probably represents an earlier example of devotion to a female divinity within a Jaina context. The tradition of goddess worship among the Jainas continued vigorously in the Gupta and medieval periods, particularly as manifested in the popularity of the goddess Ambikā, who commonly had shrines of her own within Jaina temple complexes. Like the figure of the Amohini *āyavati*, Ambikā also is frequently depicted with venerating attendants who are solely women, and often in the company of children.

The bold figural type of the central image is consistent with that of the smaller female figures on the Dhanamitra and Mātharaka *āyāgapaṭa*s (Figs. 142a, 144, and 145). She has a broad, flat face supported by a short neck, and, most strikingly, she exhibits the segmented type of torso, wherein her breasts, waist, and hips are like three distinct units. The turning of her right arm is a little awkward, and it is held away from her body. She appears to be heavily ornamented, with large earrings, a floral medallion at her brow, and strings of pearls in her hair; the double garland-like necklace, now badly eroded, is draped naturalistically over her shoulders, with one end slipping more over her right shoulder than her left. This kind of double-garland ornament draped over the shoulders and clasped at the middle of the chest is similar to the type seen on the Morā torso E.22 (Fig. 276), which was found near an inscription also dated to the reign of Śoḍāsa (Appendix I.13), or like that seen on the Akrur-Ṭīlā devatā (Fig. 271), among others. It seems to have been a fashion of the early first century CE.

Each of the female attendants and devotees is depicted in a different posture, thus adding to the liveliness of the scene. From what remains of the lower part of the plaque, it seems that the attendants have the exaggerated, bent-knee stance that is found in the attendant monks in the center of the Pārśvanātha *āyāgapaṭa* (Figs. 150 and 151).[43] They are dressed with ornaments that include necklaces and large earrings; their hair is carved with the single puffed loop at the brow, and they seem to wear a cloth coif over their heads.

There is little ornamental carving on the Amohini *āyavati*, except for the vegetal motifs found in the voluted capital at the upper left corner (Fig. 149). Though small, it lacks some of the tension and inner vitality seen on the ornamental carvings of the group attributed to ca. 20 BCE; there is a tendency towards a relaxing of line and form. Festooned garlands are suspended from the 'ceiling' of the plaque, and ornamental covers conceal the hangers; each petal-shaped section of these covers has a Y-shaped groove. These garlands, as well as the one held by the female figure at the left, are soft and round, and

---

Balarāma that attend the *tīrthaṅkara*. Therefore, it is not reasonable that Triśalā be present as a central deity. Instead, the female figure is better understood as a *yakṣī* or other *devatā*, worshipped among the laity, in like manner to Naigameṣin, who was worshipped in his own right as a *yakṣa* presiding over healthy childbirth. (See U. P. Shah, "Harinegameṣin," pp. 21ff.) The other male figure seated to the female divinity's left may also be a *yakṣa*; he, like Negameṣin and the central female divinity, is in *abhaya-mudrā*. The triad is being worshipped by male figures in Scythian dress at the left and female figures at the right; note that the goddess is given central prominence, in line with the *stūpa* and *tīrthaṅkara* in the upper registers. Furthermore, an image of the goddess Sarasvatī was dedicated by a Jaina layman in the Year Fifty-Four, during the Kuṣāṇa period. See the Lüders List, No. 54.

[43] This bent-knee stance is also seen in the figures of the Katrā *toraṇa* fragment, which is dated by inscription to the time of Śoḍāsa (Figs. 217 and 218; Appendix I.14).

they are carved with a rich texture similar to that on the garland motifs of the Dhanamitra *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 142a) and the Mātharaka *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 144), but these textured carvings on the Amohini *āyavati* are looser and more relaxed. The garlands are depicted in varying positions, as if they were being pushed or blown in different directions; likewise, the garland grasped by the attendant softly droops and responds to movement. The *cauri* held by the attendant at the right also exhibits a soft, billowing quality (Fig. 148). Thus, elements of naturalism, as seen especially in the varied postures of the figures and the modulated positions of the garlands, are continued in the art of the early first century CE, and the distinctive, segmented figural style is prominent.

Pārśvanātha Āyāgapaṭa *(Figs. 150–152)*
The Pārśvanātha *āyāgapaṭa* is a diagrammatic type of *āyāgapaṭa*, in the center of which is a seated image of the Jina identifiable as Pārśvanātha by the five-hooded snake behind his head (SML J. 253). He is being venerated by two *ardhaphālaka* monks, identifiable by the *colapaṭṭa* draped over their left arms, with their hands held in *añjalī-mudrā*. The figural type of the Pārśvanātha image and the two monks (Fig. 151) continues the male figural styles noted on the Dhanamitra and Mātharaka *āyāgapaṭa*s (Figs. 142a, 143, and 144), and it is bold, like that of the female figures on the Amohini *āyavati* (Fig. 148). Like the Jinas on the Dhanamitra *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 140), the figure of Pārśvanātha is in *dhyāna-mudrā*, and only his ankles are crossed in the *padmāsana* posture of meditation. He and his attendant monks have broad, flat faces with slightly smiling expressions, almond-shaped eyes outlined with a double line, and short necks, like the figures on the Amohini *āyavati*, and they are reminiscent of the Jina figure on the Ferenc Hopp Museum *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 146). The monks' heads, shown in three-quarter view, have chins that jut forward in a manner similar to that of the *chattra*-bearing attendant on the Amohini plaque and the figures on the Katrā *toraṇa* fragment (Fig. 217), both dated to the time of Śoḍāsa. Most remarkable are the segmented, corpulent bellies of the monks (Fig. 151), which are even more prominent than those on the flying celestial beings of the Dhanamitra *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 142a). The bent-leg stance of the monks is also seen in other figures dated to the time of Śoḍāsa, such as the figures on the Katrā *toraṇa* fragment (Figs. 217 and 218) and the Amohini *āyavati* (Fig. 148).

The figure of Pārśvanātha sits on a raised pedestal (Fig. 151) that is more elaborate than the one on which the Jina in the center of the Dhanamitra *āyāgapaṭa* is seated (Fig. 141). The former pedestal has a square base that is curved to conform to the circle of the medallion, above which are two narrow tiers and a higher, elevated section. Another narrow molding decorated with a sawtooth design is topped by the platform on which the Jina sits; this topmost platform is ornamented with a simple row of squares. It may be considered to be a version of the Mt. Meru type of pedestal, which underscores the position of the Jina as seated at the top of the axis of the world.

Surrounding the central circle is a large concentric ring filled with four *nandyāvarta*s; in the interstices between each of the *nandyāvarta*s is a half-opened lotus flower flanked by two smaller buds (Fig. 150). A lotus rhizome undulates throughout the outer concentric ring. In each of the four spandrels of the plaque is carved a different motif, including elephants frolicking with lotuses, a seated lion, rearing griffins with lotus flowers in their mouths, and honeysuckle. In the left border a grapevine issues from a pot at the median

(Fig. 152), and another eroded vegetal pattern was carved in the right-hand border. The one-line dedicatory inscription was carved along the lower edge of the plaque (Appendix II.16).

In comparison to the *āyāgapaṭa*s of ca. 37–20 BCE, such as the Dhanamitra and Mātharaka *āyāgapaṭa*s, and the Year Twenty-One *āyāgapaṭa*, the carvings on the Pārśvanātha *āyāgapaṭa* are shallower and more delicate, imparting a sense of greater unification to the plaque as a whole. There is less contrast in texture from one section to the next. The *nandyāvarta*s are filled with a light, feathery motif (Fig. 152), and they do not have the thick, fleshy appearance of the *svastika* arms and the small *nandyāvarta*s on the Dhanamitra *āyāgapaṭa* (Figs. 141 and 142). The graphic boldness and movement seen in the soft forms of the *āyāgapaṭa*s attributed to ca. 20 BCE have given way to flattened, more refined, and subtle forms articulated with lilting lines and an overall sense of tranquillity. In general, the carvings on the Pārśvnātha *āyāgapaṭa* are loose, gentle, delicate, and relaxed; this trait of looseness was also noted on the small areas of ornamental carving on the Amohini *āyavati* (Fig. 149). The lace-like delicacy of the ornamental style is concurrent with the blockier and bolder figural style seen in the figures in the central medallion and on the Amohini *āyavati*.

On the Pārśvanātha *āyāgapaṭa* the Jina Pārśvanātha is flanked by two *ardhaphālaka* monks who worship him in the central circle.[44] The central circle is surrounded by the four fish-tail *nandyāvarta*s alternating with a cluster consisting of one partly opened lotus flower flanked by two buds. The outermost concentric ring is filled with a lotus rhizome, while the border along the left side has a grapevine issuing from a pot located at the center of the left side; it is an abbreviated version of the grapevine found on the border of the Nāṃdighoṣa *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 153). The border on the right side is carved with a more geometric floral design. In each of the four spandrels in the corners of the Pārśvanātha *āyāgapaṭa* are to be found four different motifs: a honeysuckle in the lower left corner, two winged, horned lions rearing from a lotus seed pod in the upper left corner, a pair of elephants grasping lotuses in their trunks in the upper right corner, and a lion seated *en face* in front of two rearing winged lions in profile, with lotuses in their mouths, in the lower right corner. The vegetal and animal ornament is remarkably like some of the descriptions of elements in the *samavasaraṇa* scenes that describe lotuses and other creepers encircling and adorning the *samavasaraṇā* area; pairs of elephants and other animals, both real and mythic, are mentioned as well.[45] However, these descriptions were made several hundred years later than this *āyāgapaṭa*, and the flowers, grapes, and animals may simply be elements of the auspicious ornamentation that is common in sculpture of this era, evoking life-giving waters and the spread of *dharma*.

Nāṃdighoṣa Āyāgapaṭa *(Fig. 153)*

The Nāṃdighoṣa *āyāgapaṭa* exhibits a similar type of lightness and delicacy of ornamental carving as that seen on the Pārśvanātha *āyāgapaṭa*. Although its central circle has been damaged, apparently gouged out, the other vegetal carvings on this plaque are fairly clear.

---

[44] For a discussion of the representation of *ardhaphālaka* monks in early Indian art, see S. Quintanilla, "Closer to Heaven than the Gods: Jaina Monks in the Art of Pre-Kushan Mathura."

[45] See U. P. Shah, *Studies in Jaina Art*, p. 90; and R. C. Sharma, "Art Data in the *Rāyapraseniya*," pp. 42–43.

The petals of a full-blown lotus flower surround the central circle, around which are arranged four *nandyāvarta*s with feathery, fish-tail ends. In the corner interstices between each *nandyāvarta* have been carved two honeysuckle motifs, a bouquet of lotuses, and an *aśoka* spray in the lower right corner. The *aśoka* flowers have been carved with finesse and delicacy, articulated with shallow striations and cross-hatching (Fig. 153). They are a far cry from the softer, lumpy flower in the corner of the *āyāgapaṭa* fragment with *aśoka* flower, which dates about fifty years prior, to the third quarter of the first century BCE (Fig. 139). Subtle variations in motifs that add to the liveliness of the carvings are noticeable throughout the Nāṃdighoṣa *āyāgapaṭa*. Examples are seen in the cluster of three lotus flowers in the upper right corner, for instance, wherein one is only half opened, another is beyond full bloom, and both flank a small bud with leaves. Naturalism and densely filled spaces continued to characterize the relief carvings on the *āyāgapaṭa* reliefs of the early first century CE. The grapevine that issues from a pot at the median of the lower edge and undulates throughout the border of the Nāṃdighoṣa *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 153) has many subtle, naturalistic elements. These include the curving of small stems around the main vine, from which grow grape leaves articulated with delicate striations, rounded clusters of grapes, and spiraling tendrils, all irregularly positioned.

The Nāṃdighoṣa *āyāgapaṭa* (RBS J.686a; Fig. 153) is similar to the Sihanāṃdika and Acalā *āyāgapaṭa*s (Figs. 156 and 159) in that its central circle and its four surrounding *nandyāvarta*s interspersed with flowers stemming from the center are set within a square frame.[46] The outermost square border, however, has no depictions of the *stambha*s and *maṅgala*s; instead, it contains a grapevine, which issues from a pot at the center of the bottom edge and undulates continuously around the entire border. The symbolism of the grapevine seems to be that of life and propagation, like a lotus rhizome, perhaps indicating the spread of the *dharma* in the world.

The stylistic characteristics noted in the ornamental carvings of the Pārśvanātha and Nāṃdighoṣa *āyāgapaṭa*s are like those on the Vasu doorjamb (GMM 13.367; Fig. 264), which is dated by an inscription to the reign of *svāmi mahākṣatrapa* Śoḍāsa (Appendix I.15), and the Morā doorjamb (Figs. 265 and 266), which was found at the same place as a stone slab carved with an inscription also dated to the time of Śoḍāsa (Appendix I.13). Joanna Williams has suggested that the Vasu doorjamb dates to the third century CE, and that its ornamental reliefs were carved later than the inscription, for the relief carvings seem to her to presage those of the Gupta period in their elegance. However, they do not concur with the dry, schematized styles of the third century CE. It is not likely that an original inscription would have been incised on an unembellished doorjamb. Moreover, the existence of the Mora doorjamb, the Pārśvanātha *āyāgapaṭa*, and the Nāṃdighoṣa *āyāgapaṭa*, which can be dated to the early first century CE on independent grounds, indicate that during the time of Śoḍāsa such sophisticated relief styles were

---

[46] In the Nāṃdighoṣa *āyāgapaṭa* the central image is missing, and, as noted above, this is the *āyāgapaṭa* that was reported to have been found at a Buddhist *vihāra* in Ahichhatra. We can only speculate whether a Buddha image or a *stūpa* or other symbol originally was carved in the central circle. The petals of a full-blown lotus flower surrounding the central-most circle do remain, however, and they concur with our interpretation of the carvings as representative of the dome of the sky with the sun or lotus at the apex, above which is seated the liberated being, be it a Jina or a Buddha.

current.[47] It is by virtue of their stylistic association with the carvings of the Vasu and Morā doorjambs that the Pārśvanātha and Nāṃdighoṣa *āyāgapaṭa*s can also be dated to around the second decade of the first century CE. The doorjambs are discussed further in Chapter Six.

Overall, the Vasu and Morā doorjambs present a light, unified appearance, with graceful lines and delicate, complex shapes—characteristics also seen in the imagery on the Pārśvanātha and Nāṃdighoṣa *āyāgapaṭa*s. Thus, during the time of Śoḍāsa (ca. 15 CE), a distinctive and sophisticated ornamental style, exemplified by the Pārśvanātha and the Nāṃdighoṣa *āyāgapaṭa*s and the Vasu and Morā doorjambs, can be identified—a style that is unlike those of sculptures dated to any other period of Indian art. The ornamental style of this period is delicate and lyrical, but the figural style evokes contrasting qualities of boldness, segmentation, and exaggerated postures.

British Museum Āyāgapaṭa *(Fig. 154)*

With these stylistic characteristics in mind for the art produced during the time of *mahākṣatrapa* Śoḍāsa, we can also attribute another fragment of an *āyāgapaṭa* in the collection of the British Museum in London (1901,12–24, 10.B&M; Fig. 154) to this time period. Though the slight erosion of the plaque's surface has caused some of the delicacy of the detail to be muted, the gentle curling fronds and clearly elegant foliation seen at the base of the pot and the *nandyāvarta*s are matched only by other ornamental carvings of the time of Śoḍāsa, such as the *aśoka* rhizome at the left of the Vasu doorjamb (Fig. 264). The bold rendering of the figures with broad chests and short necks, along with the soft limpness of the crossed legs of the Jina on the British Museum *āyāgapaṭa* are also like the modes of portrayal of the early first century CE. The back side was carved at a later date with an iconic image of a Jina (Fig. 155), evidently replacing and updating the diagrammatic imagery of the *āyāgapaṭa* with another kind of object of worship, an icon, that was more in line with the modes of worship current in the late second century CE.

Ca. 25–50 CE

Sihanaṃdikā Āyāgapaṭa *and Acalā* Āyāgapaṭa *(Figs. 156–159)*

The Sihanāṃdika *āyāgapaṭa* (NMD J.249; Fig. 156) and the Acalā *āyāgapaṭa* (SML J.252; Fig. 159) have reliefs closely similar to one another. In these two *āyāgapaṭa*s a solitary Jina sits on a pedestal in the central circle around which are arranged four *nandyāvarta*s, whose prongs end in stylized fish tails, while vegetal honeysuckle motifs fill the interstices; these elements are set within a square, rather than a circle. Their top and bottom borders are filled with *maṅgala*s, and a depiction of a composite pillar (*stambha*) is carved in the left and right borders. Because the *maṅgala*s and the *stambha*s are placed within a square format, they may be understood as being symbols that are manifest in the world, since the square can be indicative of the earth. *Stambha*s are often set up outside the gateways or *vedikā*s of *stūpa*s, marking the location of the sacred site, just as the lion pillar of Aśoka

[47] Joanna G. Williams, *The Art of Gupta India*, pp. 13–14.

was erected in front of the southern gateway at Sanchi, for example. The Sihanāṃdika and Acalā *āyāgapaṭa*s both have one pillar that is topped with a *cakra*, which probably represents the wheel of the *dharma* propagated in the world by the teachings of the Jina. The other pillar on these *āyāgapaṭa*s is topped by an elephant, in the case of the Sihanāṃdika *āyāgapaṭa*, and by a seated lion, in the case of the Acalā *āyāgapaṭa*. These animals can be identified as the cognizance of the particular individual Jina who is depicted in the center. The elephant is the emblem on the standard of Ajitanātha, and it is also found atop the pillar on the *āyāgapaṭa* fragment with grapevine border (GMM Q.3; Fig. 162), and the lion is the symbol of Mahāvīra. In the cases of the Sihanāṃdika and Acalā *āyāgapaṭa*s, the inscriptions do not identify the specific Jina seated in the center, because the invocations read '*namo arahaṃtānā(m)*,' or 'Adoration to the *arhat*s' in the plural (Appendix II.19 and II.20). The Vasu *śilāpaṭa* (Fig. 168), on the other hand, has a pillar surmounted by a seated lion, much like the one on the Acalā *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 159), and its inscription invokes Mahāvīra, whose cognizance is the lion (Appendix II.25). This suggests that the animal capitals on such pillars may in fact be related to the animal symbols of the individual Jinas, just as the animal cognizance of the particular Jina was carved on the pedestal of *tīrthaṅkara* images in the Kuṣāṇa and later periods.

Compared to the figure of Pārśvanātha on the Pārśvanātha *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 151), the Jina in the center of the Sihanāṃdika *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 157) has more elongated limbs, a tighter, slenderer torso, and less broad bold planes in both the head and body. Although he still has the short neck, the almond-shaped eyes with the double outline, and the slightly smiling expression, his face is bonier than the wide, fleshy face of the Pārśvanātha image. This quality of tightening in the figure with an interest in depicting some underlying bone structure, foreshadows the figural type of the Kuṣāṇa period.

The Sihanāṃdika *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 156) and the Acalā *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 159), exhibit the beginnings of standardization and regularity in their ornamental carvings, which suggest a further maturation of the first century CE style. Surrounding the central medallion on both the Sihanāṃdika and Acalā *āyāgapaṭa*s are four fish-tail *nandyāvarta*s, and in the interstices between each of them is a honeysuckle motif. The textural patterning of the *nandyāvarta*s on the latter plaque is heavily worn, but that on the former is quite clear. Each *nandyāvarta* on the Sihanāṃdika *āyāgapaṭa* (Figs. 156 and 157) comprises alternating narrow bands of square dots and curved teardrop shapes. These patterns are rendered in a regular, almost mechanical mode, although they do impart some richness of texture to the plaque as a whole. The *nandyāvarta*s and honeysuckle motifs lack the sense of surging, organic movement of the Dhanamitra *āyāgapaṭa* of ca. 20 BCE (Figs. 140 and 141), and they no longer evince the feathery delicacy of the same elements on the Pārśvanātha *āyāgapaṭa* (Figs. 150 and 152) and the Nāṃdighoṣa *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 153), attributed to ca. 15 CE.

The tendency to incorporate standardized elements is also seen in the use of exactly the same geometric floral motif in each of the four corners of the Sihanāṃdika *āyāgapaṭa*, whereas in the earlier plaques discussed above, we see less symmetry. Nevertheless, the geometric floral ornaments display a continued interest in unusual designs. Less delicacy and less variety in pattern are notable in the rendition of the *aṣṭamaṅgala*s on the upper and lower borders of the Sihanāṃdika *āyāgapaṭa*. Detailing is effected by the use of simple rows of square dots, abbreviated wavy line and dot patterns as seen on the *bhadrāsana*,

and regularized leaf elements. Despite this tendency toward regularity and abbreviation of detail, which would be furthered in later sculptures, the carvings on the Sihanāṃdika *āyāgapaṭa* are not dry and formalized. They still retain some of the softness of forms and overall richness of texture that characterize the art of the first century BCE and first century CE. The softness and richness are particularly evident in the *aṣṭamaṅgala*s of the Sihanāṃdika *āyāgapaṭa* compared to the harder and highly refined *maṅgala*s on the *chattra* of the Bala Buddha (Fig. 135), dated to the Year Three of Kaniṣka—i.e., ca. 130 CE.

The carvings of the symbols on the upper and lower borders of the Acalā *āyāgapaṭa* are very worn, so that it is not possible to draw accurate stylistic conclusions about them. It is interesting to note, however, that twelve, rather than the usual eight, symbols have been carved. Two *stambha*s, or pillars, are carved on both sides of the Sihanāṃdika and Acalā *āyāgapaṭa*s (Figs. 156 and 159). The pillars have pot bases on inverted voluted stands that consist of vegetal ornamentation, including palm leaves and geometric lily patterns. The pot bases on the Sihanāṃdika *āyāgapaṭa* are divided into two registers, the lower having a broad, plain petal-like design, while the top has a series of narrow petals with the familiar Y-shaped groove reminiscent of the covers on the Amohini *āyavati* garland hangers (Fig. 149). The shafts of the pillars, which are slightly concave on the Sihanāṃdika *āyāgapaṭa*, probably are meant to be octagonal, with only the front three facets being visible. The capitals are composed of three parts, the lower being a grooved disk (*āmalasāraka*) atop a twisted rope and row of square dots, bordered on the top and bottom by two narrow, plain moldings (Fig. 158). Two addorsed crouching winged lions shown in profile form the middle capital, and above them is a voluted Ionic element filled with a cross-hatched pattern and centrally placed dots. An elephant standing in profile on a plinth ornamented with a simple row of square dots surmounts the pillar on the right, while a *cakra* surmounts the pillar at the left. On the Acalā *āyāgapaṭa*, the *cakra* is found atop the pillar at the right, while a seated lion is carved on the left pillar.

Because the features of regularity and reduced vitality and lyricism are noticeable in the Sihanāṃdika and Acalā *āyāgapaṭa*s, they may be dated to a time following the apogee of the Śoḍāsa period of the first and second decades of the first century CE. They show a continuing interest in distinctive design patterns, rich textures, and softened forms, which indicates that they are significantly earlier than the sculptures dated to the time of Kaniṣka, during the second quarter of the second century CE. Therefore, the Sihanāṃdika and Acalā *āyāgapaṭa*s may be dated to ca. 50 CE.

I interepret the Sihanāṃdika and Acalā *āyāgapaṭa*s to portray a two-dimensional diagram of the dome of heaven, but they exclude the scenes of worship in the celestial realms, and instead place more emphasis on the auspicious symbols and markers found in the earthly world, such as the *maṅgala*s and *stambha*s. Alex Wayman suggested that the *maṅgala*s are associated with "intermediate space, what was called *antarikṣa* in the old Indian books."[48] In my interpretation of the carvings on diagrammatic *āyāgapaṭa*s, the areas in which the *maṅgala*s are carved may be understood as the intervening realm between heaven and earth.

---

[48] Alex Wayman, "The Mathurā Set of Aṣṭamaṅgala (Eight Auspicious Symbols) in Early and Later Times," p. 243. He went on to interpret the four *nandyāvarta*s surrounding the central circle as forming the sides of the mythical mountain atop which the Jina meditates.

Ca. 75–100 CE

Five *āyāgapaṭa*s survive that can be dated to this later phase, since they evince qualities of heightened boldness, simplification, stiffening, and other traits that foreshadow the prevalent styles of the Kuṣāṇa period of the second century CE.

Chaubiāpādā Āyāgapaṭa *(Fig. 160)*
The Chaubiāpādā *āyāgapaṭa* (GMM 48.3426), almost half of which has been cut away, features a Jina seated in the central circle upon a raised, altar-like pedestal (*pītha*), flanked by a male and a female worshipper. These flanking figures, who are clothed and wear jewelry and headdresses, may represent the *yakṣa* and *yakṣī* who attend this Jina as his *śāsanadevatā*s, messenger or protector divinities associated with the *arhat.*[49] On this *āyāgapaṭa*, the *arhat* is shown seated in meditative equipoise in a location that is analogous to the immortal realm directly above the ocular apex of the dome of the sky.

Four *nandyāvarta*s are depicted in the next concentric ring immediately surrounding the central circle with the Jina. (We can assume that a fourth originally existed below the central circle, but is now lost.) Each *nandyāvarta* is formed by two S-curved *makara*s, which are depicted nose-to-nose, with a half-opened lotus flower shown in profile issuing from their joined mouths. The *nandyāvarta* upon a full-blown lotus flower (the *nandyāvarta*-and-lotus symbol) in certain contexts can be understood to refer to the sacred and auspicious presence of the *arhat*, either a Jina or a Buddha, when it is depicted upon a pedestal and under worship, as it is in the outermost ring at the middle of the top edge of the Chaubiāpādā *āyāgapaṭa*. If we view the central circle containing the Jina on the Chaubiāpādā *āyāgapaṭa* to function in place of a full-blown lotus and each of the four surrounding *makara*-shaped *nandyāvarta*s as being the three-pronged part of a complete *nandyāvarta*-and-lotus symbol, then four *nandyāvarta*-and-lotus symbols are shown facing each of the four directions, sharing the same central circle in common with the lotus part of the whole symbol. The central circle of the Chaubiāpādā *āyāgapaṭa*, rather than depicting the full-blown lotus flower—a symbol of the sun at high noon atop the cosmic pillar—instead reveals the *arhat* himself, who has penetrated the obstructing gateway of the sun or lotus and sits beyond it in the realm of immortality. At least one *āyāgapaṭa*, however, the Okaraṇa *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 125), does depict a full-blown lotus flower in its central circle with the four *nandyāvarta*s abutting it, thereby clearly rendering the imagery of the four-directional *nandyāvarta*-and-lotus symbol. Thus, the Okaraṇa *āyāgapaṭa*, the Chaubiāpādā *āyāgapaṭa* and any other *āyāgapaṭa*s with a central circle immediately surrounded by four *nandyāvarta*s can be

[49] A *yakṣa* and *yakṣī* are found flanking the seated *arhat* in later *paṭa*s painted on cloth. For example, the sixteenth-century painting, the Varddhamāna-Vidyā-Paṭa, depicts the *yakṣa* Mātaṅga and the *yakṣī* Siddhāyikā, the *śāsanadevata*s of Mahāvīra, flanking the seated Jina in the center and wearing clothing and ornaments like the figures honoring the Jina in the center of the Chaubiāpādā *āyāgapaṭa*. (U. P. Shah, "Varddhamāna-Vidyā-Paṭa," Pl. III). A *yakṣa* and *yakṣī* are also to be found in niches in the vertical face of the raised terrace, flanking the *toraṇa* in front of the *stūpa* on the Vasu *śilāpaṭa* (GMM Q.2), and these may also be interpreted as representing the *ṣāsanadevatā*s of the *arhat* who is embodied in the *stūpa* (Fig. 168). Although U. P. Shah asserted that no *yakṣa* and *yakṣī* pair are to be found flanking a *tīrthaṅkara* prior to about the fifth century CE (*Jaina-Rūpa-Maṇḍana*, p. 212), these examples suggest that *yakṣa*s and *yakṣī*s may actually have been associated with Jinas as early as the first century CE. It is unlikely that they are to be identified as lay people or donors, since they are not generally shown formally attending the Jina or Buddha with a *cauri*.

understood as depicting four non-figural symbols of the *arhat*'s sacred presence simultaneously facing each of the four directions. The only difference between having a Jina in the center and having a lotus in the center is that the former depicts the liberated being beyond the sun, while the latter depicts the concealing sun itself (as is seen on *chattra*s). Both are aligned on the same axis; therefore, it is consistent with the diagram of the dome of the sky to have either the sun or the *arhat* depicted in the central circle. The *nandyāvarta* symbol also can be understood as being half of a *vajra*, which consists of a central pillar, like a sacrificial post, surrounded by four or eight prongs that meet from all directions at a common center.[50] Thus, the *nandyāvarta* symbol implies multidirectionality from a single central pillar, which may be rendered two-dimensionally as a full-blown lotus, since the *axis mundi* pillar pierces the apex of the sky at the point of the high-noon sun, represented by the open lotus. Furthermore, the *nandyāvarta* may allude to the teaching or doctrine of the *arhat*, as Coomaraswamy wrote:

> It can hardly be doubted that in Jaina usage a similar significance [for the *nandyāvarta*] was intended, that is, the doctrine and its teaching. In this case we ought perhaps to interpret the quadruple form as representing a *samavasaraṇa*, that great and formal Preaching of the Law which is such an important event in the life of every Jina. We are told that on this occasion, when the gods have made due preparation, the Jina enters the Samavasaraṇa area and takes his seat facing East, and that he is reflected in three other figures which face toward the three other quarters; quadruple images of a corresponding intention are by no means rare. This circumstance, to which there is nothing analogous in the accounts of the Buddha's First preaching, will account for the occurrence of a quadruple '*nandipada*' [or *nandyāvarta*] in Jaina art, and not elsewhere.[51]

Finally, in a specifically Jaina context, the *nandyāvarta* refers to the 'three jewels' of the *dharma*, namely true insight (*samyak-darśana*), right knowledge (*samyak-jñāna*), and proper conduct (*samyak-cārita*).[52] In short, the quadruple *nandyāvarta*-and-lotus or *arhat* symbols on *āyāgapaṭa*s have multiple meanings. They can be understood as representing the presence of the *arhat*, who simultaneously faces the four directions and sits in line with the cosmic pillar, or *axis mundi*, imagery that is further emphasized by the association of *nandyāvarta*s with *vajra*s. The aspect of the Jina relates to the *samavasaraṇa* scene in that he is simultaneously four-directional and his teachings emanate from him. Finally, the symbols refer to the content of his teachings: the doctrines of true insight, right knowledge, and proper conduct, which emanate to every direction, providing the means for liberation.

Aside from the fact that the *nandyāvarta*s on the Chaubiāpādā *āyāgapaṭa* point outward from the central circle, they are in the form of *makara*s, crocodilian creatures of the waters (Fig. 160). In fact, *nandyāvarta*s almost invariably are depicted with some reference to an aquatic creature, usually with their outer prongs in the shape of fish tails. The aquatic reference of *nandyāvarta*s is indicative of the waters, life, and propagation. When arranged around the central circle on *āyāgapaṭa*s, the outward-pointing *nandyāvarta*s thereby evoke the notion of emanation and propagation of the doctrine from the Jina in the center. The floral imagery that is also often interspersed with the *nandyāvarta*s in the second concentric

---

[50] A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Elements of Buddhist Iconography*, pp. 14 and 15 and footnotes 23 and 24 on p. 67.
[51] A. K. Coomaraswamy, "Notes on Indian Coins and Symbols," p. 180.
[52] Padmanabh S. Jaini, *Jaina Path of Purification*, pp. 192 and 200.

ring further reinforces this notion of propagation. On the Chaubiāpādā *āyāgapaṭa* the floral imagery among the *nandyāvarta*s is found in the lotus or lily shown in profile issuing from the mouths of the *makara*s (Fig. 160). The other seven extant *āyāgapaṭa*s that have the four *nandyāvarta*s surrounding their central circle also all include floral imagery pointing outward from the center, interspersed with the *nandyāvarta*s themselves: the Nāṃdighoṣa *āyāgapaṭa* has honeysuckle, *aśoka* flowers, and lotuses in the interstices between each of its four *nandyāvarta*s (Fig. 153); the Sihanāṃdika *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 156) and the Acalā *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 159) also have the honeysuckle; the Dhanamitra *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 140) and the Okaraṇa *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 125) have lilies in profile; the Pārśvanātha *āyāgapaṭa* has bunches of lotuses (Fig. 150), and the British Museum *āyāgapaṭa* has a vase with foliate base overflowing with lotuses (Fig. 154).

In the outermost concentric ring of the Chaubiāpādā *āyāgapaṭa*, at the median of each side is found a symbol: a *bhadrāsana* (stylized throne) at the left,[53] a *nandyāvarta*-and-lotus symbol on top, and a *caityavṛkṣa* at the right (Fig. 160).[54] The *bhadrāsana* and the *nandyāvarta*-and-lotus symbol are enthroned on pedestals, while the *caityavṛkṣa* is surrounded by a *vedikā*. Each symbol is being worshipped by a pair of flying celestial beings, one male and one female, shown in the act of offering flowers, hanging garlands, or approaching in *añjalī-mudrā*. The pedestals, *vedikā*, and acts of worship by celestial beings indicate that each of these symbols is sacred. The alignment of these symbols, immediately abutting the central tine of the *makara*-shaped *nandyāvarta*s, suggests that the symbols are directly connected to the Jina in the center by way of the doctrine. Furthermore, the sacred symbols are found at the median of each side, at the point of contact between the inner circular sections of the *āyāgapaṭa* and the square frame. As Vedic sources suggest, heavenly realms are viewed as being circular or domical, while the earthly realm is understood as being square; hence the inner circular sections of the *āyāgapaṭa* may be interpreted as depicting the heavens, and the outer square frame may represent *terra firma*.[55] Thus, the venerated symbols of the divinity may be seen as extending in the four directions into the earthly as well as celestial realms for worship by both gods and men. This is more literally illustrated on the pictorial type of *āyāgapaṭa*s, such as the Vasu *śilāpaṭa*, wherein the *stūpa* is simultaneously worshipped by celestial beings (*kinnara*s) and by human *muni*s or *siddha*s and dancers (Fig. 168). The placement of the symbols upon the square border, indicating the earth, suggests that these are the forms in which the divine presence is manifested in the mundane world, as well as the celestial world, within the *saṃsāri*c dome of the universe. Therefore, in sum, the circular sections of the Chaubiāpādā *āyāgapaṭa* may be interpreted as showing the liberated *arhat,* who is at the apex of the sky, in the center. The true doctrine (*dharma*), represented by the four *nandyāvarta*s, simultaneously emanates from him in all four directions into the celestial and earthly realms. The presence of the

---

[53] See the Śimitrā *āyāgapaṭa*, in which the *bhadrāsana* is the central element (Fig. 122).

[54] The numerous instances in which the divinity or the enlightened being is aniconically represented as a *caityavṛkṣa* in the bas reliefs of early Indian monuments confirm that, like the enthroned *nandyāvarta* and *bhadrāsana*, the *caityavṛkṣa* refer to sacred presence as well.

[55] In Vedic literature the dome of the cosmic hut, box, or chariot, equivalent to the sky, is considered to be circular, while the floor, or the earth, is square. See the *Ṛg Veda*, VIII, 20.8; 25.7; X, 135.6 (A. K. Coomaraswamy, "Uṣṇīṣa and Chatra," p. 16). See also G. Verardi, "Avatāraṇa: a Note on the Bodhisattva Image Dated in the Third Year of Kaniṣka in the Sārnāth Museum," p. 79.

divine—the liberated being in the Jaina context—can be physically worshipped and venerated in various forms, such as the *bhadrāsana, nandyāvarta*-and-lotus symbol, and *caityavṛkṣa*. This view is also consonant with the pervasive notion of emanation from the One to the many, here seen in a specifically Jaina context.

The spandrels of the Chaubiāpādā *āyāgapaṭa* contain atlantean creatures (*narīmakara*s), that have the torso of a woman with bifurcate serpentine legs ending in fish tails and the projecting fin-like ears characteristic of *makara*s.[56] They are indicative of the waters of the cosmic ocean on which the cosmic hut (the world) floats and is supported. Their posture evocatively depicts them supporting the dome of heaven with their heads, hands, and coiled tails.[57]

The Jina of the Chaubiāpādā *āyāgapaṭa* is seated in *padmāsana*, but instead of having only his ankles crossed, with one foot over the other, as in the earlier plaques (Figs. 141, 151, and 157), his legs are more completely crossed, with his feet resting upon his thighs, as in seated Buddhas and Jinas of the Kuṣāṇa period (Figs. 136 and 137). His hands are held in *dhyāna-mudrā*, and they are positioned with use of more foreshortening, with one hand laid flat upon the other, as is also seen in images of the Kuṣāṇa period. This positioning of the hands contrasts with that of the earlier Jinas in the center of the Pārśvanātha and Sihanāṃdika *āyāgapaṭa*s, where the upper hand is turned awkwardly outward, in a more flattened manner that shows all five fingers facing forward (Figs. 151 and 157). Some foreshortening is also observable in the articulation of the dais on which the Jina sits. The attendants are depicted behind the platform, which has some depth, whereas in the earlier medallions only the front edge of the platform is shown, and the attendants are depicted to either side of the dais (Fig. 151). The platform itself is plain, lacking the rows

[56] V. S. Agrawala and most scholars after him have called these atlantes '*mahoraga*s' or 'great serpents' (V. S. Agrawala, *Indian Art*, p. 231). However, these creatures are not serpents, despite the serpentine quality of their bifurcate 'legs'. Their legs end in fish tails which are characteristic of *makara*s; moreover, *makara*s also often have serpentine bodies. These beings also have fins in place of ears, another trait of the *makara*. The appellation '*mahoraga*' is misleading, and I choose instead to use the word *naramakara* for the males and *narīmakara* for the females to refer to these creatures, as found in the *Aupapātika-sūtra* (*sūtra* 5). Some of these creatures are depicted with legs in the form of complete *makara*s (see the Camuṇḍā-Ṭīlā capital in Figs. 210 and 211). Nevertheless, be they serpents or *makara*s, their symbolic meaning is the same, for both are creatures belonging to and are representative of the waters.

[57] The relationship between these atlantean *naramakara*s and *narīmakara*s with similar atlantean figures in Hellenistic or early Christian art bears exploring. Giants with coiled serpentine bifurcate legs can function as atlantes in early Christian mosaics, in some cases even in spandrels (see Karl Lehmann, "The Dome of Heaven," Figs. 48 and 49). Such giants with bifurcate serpentine legs were commonly depicted in the Hellenistic period at monuments including the great frieze on the altar of Zeus and Athena at Pergamon. The Roman Republican frieze on the 'altar' of Domitius Ahenobarbus, probably dating to the early first century BCE, depicts an anguipede Triton with similar coiling legs and a loincloth formed by pendant leaves, which are reminiscent of the *naramakara*s on the *āyāgapaṭa*s. (For illustrations of these two famous monuments from the classical Mediterranean world, see, *inter alia*, John Boardman, ed., *The Oxford History of Classical Art*, pp. 165 and 231, respectively.) The iconography for a giant would be germane to a load-bearing *yakṣa*-like creature, such as the *naramakara*s. As we have seen in Chapter Two, these *naramakara*s appear in the earliest stone sculpture from Mathura dating to the second century BCE (Figs. 10a, 10b, and 72). These composite figures, like motifs such as the palmette and the bead-and-reel, may represent an aspect of Hellenistic or early Roman art that became assimilated into the repertoire of Indian art. Some of them are depicted as female in India, for female figures are particularly well suited to the fecund aspect of the waters. A pebble mosaic from Olynthus in Macedonia, probably dating to the mid-fourth century BCE, depicts female figures with coiling legs in the spandrels; they are associated with vegetal motifs and thereby may be related in a fundamental way to *yakṣī*s. See Manolis Andronikos, *Vergina: The Royal Tombs and the Ancient City*, Figs. 19 and 20. On pebble mosaics of the fourth century BCE in Greece in general, see Martin Robertson, "Early Greek Mosaic."

of square dots and sawtooth motifs; this simplification is an example of the diminished interest in patterning that is observable in other elements of this plaque. The central Jina on the Chaubiāpādā *āyāgapaṭa*, with his broad face, short neck, and stocky torso, continues the earlier figural type. The corpulence that is pervasive in the male figures of the late first century BCE and the first century CE is also seen in the figure of the male attendant depicted in *añjalī-mudrā* at the Jina's right. Because the corresponding female figure, who raises a *cauri* in her right hand and perhaps holds a lotus flower in her left hand, is quite effaced, little can be said about her figural type. Both attendants are clothed and wear jewelry and headdresses, confirming that they are not monks or nuns, but are possibly the *yakṣa* and *yakṣī* associated with the particular Jina in the center.

The four surviving flying celestial beings in the outer concentric ring and the two *narīmakara*s in the spandrels of the Chaubiāpādā *āyāgapaṭa* shed further light on the figural style of ca. 75–100 CE. In the male figures the corpulent bellies that hang over their soft, rope-like girdles are apparent, but they are less sharply set off from their bodies than those of the earlier male figures, such as those on the Dhanamitra *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 142) and the Pārśvanātha *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 151). The segmentation of the female torsos is less emphatic on the Chaubiāpādā *āyāgapaṭa*, as is evident when a *narīmakara* on this plaque is compared to a *narīmakara* on the Dhanamitra *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 142), where her waist is formed by two almost parallel lines above the springing of her hips. In the Chaubiāpādā *āyāgapaṭa* figures, the transition from waist to hips is smoother and more unified. The limbs, in particular the legs held in flying postures, are smoother and more clearly emphasized in the figures of the Chaubiāpādā *āyāgapaṭa*, for the pleats of their lower garments are not carved upon their legs. Greater interest is apparent in showing the nude form of the body, with skin that is tauter and limbs that look tougher and more solid in form than those of the figures on the Dhanamitra *āyāgapaṭa*, for example. The fish-tail, serpentine bifurcate legs of the *narīmakara*s on the Chaubiāpādā *āyāgapaṭa* are also simpler in form, with a firm, solid appearance, in contrast to those on the Dhanamitra *āyāgapaṭa* (Figs. 140 and 142a), which appear to be soft, spiraling in complex curves and countercurves with an organic inner energy. The power seen in the Chaubiāpādā *āyāgapaṭa* forms is also found in the boldness and relative simplicity of firmly articulated elements; these are traits that were carried through into the second century CE.

The garments, garlands, and other inanimate forms also display a greater sense of conviction and boldness of representation than do the carvings on the earlier plaques discussed above. The billowing, scarf-like upper garments of the flying figures on the Chaubiāpādā *āyāgapaṭa* are rendered in stiff, sweeping arcs that are emphasized by broad, parallel pleat lines; similar parallel pleat lines are found on the swath of lower garment that hangs between their legs. Gone is the naturalistic, irregular pleating of the textiles from ca. 20 BCE (Fig. 142a). Bold, parallel-line pleating is a constant trait in the sculptures of the early Kuṣāṇa period, such as the Bala Buddha dated to the Year Three of Kaniṣka (Fig. 173), but there they are rendered with tighter, finer lines not yet achieved in the style exemplified by the Chaubiāpādā *āyāgapaṭa*.

The garlands hanging from the *nandyāvarta*, *bhadrāsana*, and *caityavṛkṣa* at the median of each side have stiff, formalized shapes, and their patterning is highly abbreviated, thus furthering the tendency towards regularity whose beginnings were noted in the design patterns of the Sihanāṃdika *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 156).

In the carvings of the Chaubiāpādā *āyāgapaṭa* there is a move toward realism and abbreviation, as was noted in the depiction of the central Jina and his pedestal. The nose-to-nose *makara*s that form the *nandyāvarta*s in the widest concentric ring have realistic scales rather than fanciful incised shapes on their bodies.[58] The bifurcate "legs" of the *narīmakara* in the upper right spandrel have cursory check marks that accord with the general trend toward simplification of design and more closely resemble the texture of fish scales than do the diverse shapes incised on the *narīmakara* of the Dhanamitra *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 142a). This move away from whimsical design toward abbreviation and realism also foreshadows the trends of the Kuṣāṇa period, where there is less experimentation or interest in patterning than is found in the sculpture of the late first century BCE and first century CE.

The delicate, feathery ornamental style of ca. 15 CE yielded to a more powerful style of carving, with an emphasis on strong, dynamic forms that are not offset by an overabundance of design and gratuitous elements of fullness and crowding. This powerful style differs from the soft, surging vitality of the late first century BCE *āyāgapaṭa*s, in that it is simplified and stiffer, with less contrast among textures. Although the style of the Chaubiāpādā *āyāgapaṭa* approached some of the stylistic elements of the Kuṣāṇa period, it had not arrived at the highly regularized, dry, and refined quality of the early second century CE, as seen in the carvings of the *chattra* of the Bala Buddha (Fig. 135). Therefore, it may be best dated to the middle to late first century CE.

Amoghadatta Āyāgapaṭa *(Fig. 161)*

The Amoghadatta *āyāgapaṭa* (SML J.264) appears to have been similar to the Dhanamitra *āyāgapaṭa* in general content and layout. This fragment probably had a Jina or other sacred object or figure in the central medallion; a concentric ring with four *nandyāvarta*s, only half of one of which remains in the upper left corner, surrounded the central circle. Four curving *svastika* arms in the form of fish tails would have filled the subsequent concentric ring, and flying celestial beings carrying offerings of flowers or holding their hands in *añjalī-mudrā* are carved in flying postures in the outermost concentric band. The remains of an atlantean *narīmakara* with the familiar curling, serpentine legs is found in the surviving spandrel. Although this fragment is much worn, the decreased interest in crowded elements, the boldly arcing, stiff scarves with wide parallel pleat lines, and the firm, solid forms of the nude legs are clearly recognizable, suggesting a proximity in date to the Chaubiāpādā *āyāgapaṭa*.

Āyāgapaṭa *Fragment with Grapevine Border (Figs. 162–164)*

The *āyāgapaṭa* fragment with grapevine border (GMM Q.3) consists of less than one-fourth of the original plaque. An inscription on the back, with an overlapping rosette border, was carved at a different time than the *āyāgapaṭa* reliefs (Fig. 163 and Appendix II.23). The remains of two flying celestial beings are found on the inner part of the stone; they are positioned head-to-head, and they both grasp two ends of a double garland bound together by two clasps (Fig. 164). They are quite worn, but the stocky, corpulent torsos are discernible, as are the rather stiffly rendered, tough, solid limbs and the wide swath

[58] A railpost in the Archaeological Museum, Sarnath (#420) also renders a *nandyāvarta* in the form of two *makara*s, arranged head-to-head.

of cloth with parallel pleats between the legs, characteristics that are in keeping with the figural style of ca. 75–100 CE. The pattern on the garland is composed of the simplified bands of square dots, like those on the Chaubiāpādā *āyāgapaṭa*, rather than the rich, twisted texturing found on earlier garlands, and it hangs in a stiff loop, lacking the softness of the earlier examples.

An inner square border consisting of a double twisted garland is carved with a square lotus in the corner, which recalls the border of the Year Twenty-One *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 133), but its textural carvings are much less vivid in comparison. A pillar surmounted by an elephant (*gaja-stambha*) at the right side of the *āyāgapaṭa* fragment with grapevine border (Fig. 162) is similar in form to the one found on the Sihanāṃdika *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 156). However, in several respects it evinces qualities that suggest a date later than that of the Sihanāṃdika *āyāgapaṭa*. The faceted shaft of the pillar is straight rather than slightly convex and trapezoidal, indicating a simplification of shape, which is a later trait. The lower element of the capital is not articulated as an *āmalasāraka*, but it is instead bell-shaped, decorated with horizontal bands, and it is comparatively lacking in a sense of inner vitality. A pair of addorsed winged creatures, perhaps like those on the Sihanāṃdika *āyāgapaṭa*, is found above the bell capital, but the voluted Ionic element has been eliminated, adding to the sense of simplification in the *āyāgapaṭa* fragment with grapevine border. The surmounting elephant suggests that this plaque may have been dedicated to the Jina Ajitanātha, whose cognizance is the elephant. He exhibits less liveliness in his posture than the elephant of the Sihanāṃdika *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 158), for his tail and trunk simply hang vertically. Instead, his aspect is more powerful and static, for he has a larger head, body, legs, and ears.

The outermost border of the *āyāgapaṭa* fragment with grapevine border is filled with an undulating grapevine, the end of which is held by a much-defaced male figure in the lower corner of this fragment, probably to be identified as a *yakṣa* (Fig. 162). When contrasted to the grapevine on the Nāṃdighoṣa *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 153), the Pārśvanātha *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 152), and the Morā doorjamb (Fig. 265), all datable to the early first century CE, this vine is stiffer and more powerful in style, lacking in lyricism and delicacy. The stem of the vine on the *āyāgapaṭa* fragment with grapevine border is thick and incised with two parallel lines that follow the curvature of the stem. The leaves, spiraling tendrils, and large bunches of grapes are also comparatively thick and more regular in appearance. The grapes themselves are rendered by dry cross-hatching, instead of by the more naturalistic overlapping round circles. Thus, the *āyāgapaṭa* fragment with grapevine border, like the Chaubiāpādā and Amoghadatta *āyāgapaṭa*s, displays stylistic traits that prefigure those of the second century CE, but retain softness and richness that suggest a date in the late first century CE.

Śivayaśā Āyāgapaṭa *(Fig. 165), Vasu* Śilāpaṭa *(Fig. 168)*

The two pictorial *āyāgapaṭa*s datable to ca. 75–100 CE are the Śivayaśā *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 165) and the Vasu *śilāpaṭa* (Fig. 168), the former being fragmentary, comprising only the lower one-third of the original plaque, and the latter being virtually unbroken but somewhat worn.[59] These two plaques, the Śivayaśā *āyāgapaṭa* and the Vasu *śilāpaṭa*, are closely

[59] Two fragments in the Lucknow Museum, one of which depicts a flying *siddha* and a *kinnara* (SML J.105;

similar in type. They both depict a *stūpa*, elevated upon a terrace (*jagatī*) and surrounded by a *vedikā*; a flight of stairs leads to an elaborate *toraṇa* that marks the entranceway into the sacred area on the terrace around the *stūpa*. This *stūpa* on the Vasu *śilāpaṭa* perhaps was intended to be dedicated to the twenty-fourth Jina, Mahāvīra, since the inscription invokes him in its first line (*namo ārahato Vadhamānasa*).[60] Moreover, the pillar on the right side of the Vasu *śilāpaṭa* is topped by a seated lion, which is the cognizance of Mahāvīra. The *stūpa* itself has a two-tiered drum, the lower being the taller of the two, and each tier is demarcated from the level above by a *vedikā*. The dome is surmounted by a *harmikā* and a *chattra* with hanging garlands.

At the lower corners of the Vasu *śilāpaṭa* are two ogival niches, each with its own *vedikā*, placed in the outer wall of the *jagatī*, and flanking the stairway leading to the *stūpa*. A male figure, the goat-headed *yakṣa* Naigameṣin, stands in the niche at the left (Fig. 172), and in the right stands an image of a *yakṣī* (Fig. 171). Although both of these figures are heavily worn, it is possible to detect some important features. The *yakṣa* stands with his right hand held up in *abhaya-mudrā*, which, along with the garland that hangs from the roof of the niche to the right of his head and the *vedikā* that demarcates the sacred space, confirms his nature as a divinity. His left hand is held down by his left side, and in the lowered hand he grasps the head of an infant, whose hands are clasped together at its chest, and whose knees are bent outwards and heels are touching (cf. the infants from Bharhut in Fig. 121, who lie with their heels together). Despite its eroded condition, traces of the goat head in profile, with horns and long ears, survive, thereby identifying this figure as the goat-headed divinity Naigameṣin, who is often depicted with a child or a baby.[61] The goat-headed *yakṣa* Naigameṣin, a commander of Indra's army, who presides over childbirth and the granting of sons, according to both Vedic and Jaina literary sources, is associated with Mahāvīra in that he was responsible for transferring the embryo of Mahāvīra from the womb of the Brahmin woman Devānandā to that of the Kṣatriya queen Triśalā.[62] Hence it is reasonable that Naigameṣin be found at the site of a *stūpa* and on a plaque dedicated to Mahāvīra. He is dressed in a *dhoti*, a long *uttarīya* is thrown over his shoulders, and he wears a large V-shaped necklace.

Fig. 112) and the other only a *kinnara* (SML J.106; Fig. 84), may have formed part of two other *āyāgapaṭa*s similar to the Śivayaṣā *āyāgapaṭa* and the Vasu *śilāpaṭa*, since they also both depict part of an umbrella that probably would have surmounted the *stūpa*. I have not, however, included them in the list of *āyāgapaṭa*s because there is too little remaining of the stones to make a positive determination.

[60] Varddhamāna is another name for Mahāvīra. For a full transcription and translation of the inscription on the Vasu *śilāpaṭa*, see Appendix II.25.

[61] See U. P. Shah, "Harinegameṣin," Fig. 2 (GMM E.1), and for female goat-headed divinities holding a child in this posture see Fig. 3 (GMM E.2). *Yakṣa*s holding diminutive figures (children) in their left hands have been discovered in Mathura, such as the three examples dating to the second century BCE discussed in Chapter Three (see Figs. 85, 88, and 90). In these three examples, a small, worshipping figure stands on its own in the palm of the *yakṣa*'s left hand, while the *yakṣa* holds a sword in his right hand. The *yakṣa* in the Vasu *śilāpaṭa* niche, however, is different, for he does not carry the sword, and the child seems more like a baby or a fetus, unable to stand on its own, its legs bent and feet together, which is the posture of infants, as in Fig. 121. Naigameṣin particularly presides over childbirth itself and fetuses *in utero*, as he was thought to be responsible for fetuses who died prior to birth, and he was propitiated for prevention of prenatal deaths.

[62] The story of the transfer of the embryo is found in the *Acārāṅga Sūtra*, 2.3, *sūtra* 176 (*Sacred Books of the East*, vol. XXII, pp. 190ff.) and in the *Kalpasūtra* (*Sacred Books of the East*, vol. XXII, pp. 222–229). For the functions of Naigameṣin as a deity presiding over childbirth in popular devotion and in Vedic and Jaina literary sources see U. P. Shah, "Harinegameṣin," pp. 24ff.

The female figure in the niche at the right is even more worn, but we can discern that she stands frontally and axially, with her right hand raised in *abhaya-mudrā* and her left hand held akimbo. She wears heavy anklets and a sash with a projecting loop and ends that hang down her left side (Fig. 171). A garland is suspended from the roof of her niche to the right of her head. She may be identified with a *yakṣī* who is associated with Mahāvīra, like his *śāsanadevatā* (female messenger divinity) of later centuries.

Flanking the *stūpa* is a pair of female figures, depicted in dance poses upon the terrace *vedikā*. A pair of *kinnara*s, half-man and half-bird divinities, bring offerings of flowers and garlands to the *stūpa*, and a pair of nude, flying *cāraṇamuni*s or *siddha*s (highly accomplished Jaina monks who have the power to fly) also pay homage to the *stūpa*. They touch their foreheads with their right hands, while their left hands grasp a bowl; the *colapaṭṭa*, a cloth draped over their left forearms, identifies them as members of the *ardhaphālaka* sect (Fig. 170). It is interesting to note that the *cāraṇamuni*s are shown above the *kinnara*s, thus suggesting that they are higher than the celestials in the hierarchy of beings. Similar *ardhaphālaka* monks are depicted in the elevated position of the central circle of the Pārśvanātha *āyāgapaṭa* (Figs. 150 and 151). Finally, the scene is framed by two pillars, *stambha*s like those seen on the Acalā *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 159); the one on the left is topped by a *cakra*, while the one on the right is topped by a seated lion in profile.

These pictorial types of *āyāgapaṭa*s, as seen in examples like the Śimitrā *āyāgapaṭa*, the Śivayaśā *āyāgapaṭa*, and the Vasu *śilāpaṭa*, may be understood as large-scale representations of only one of the small sacred symbols carved in the outermost ring of the diagrammatic Dhanamitra and Chaubiāpādā *āyāgapaṭa*s (Figs. 140 and 160). In the Dhanamitra *āyāgapaṭa*, the worship of the *stūpa* by celestial beings was depicted in small scale, as only one small element in the cosmological diagram. Its location at the point of contact between the circular heavenly realms and the square frame suggests that this symbol, the *stūpa*, can be venerated in both the celestial and terrestrial regions. The bas reliefs on the Śivayaśā *āyāgapaṭa* and the Vasu *śilāpaṭa* take that one small element and portray the worship of the *stūpa* by dancers and *siddha*s, as well as the celestial beings.

The male figures of the *kinnara*s and *cāraṇamuni*s (Fig. 169) display the stocky, corpulent torsos, broad faces, short necks, and boldly emphasized limbs characteristic of the figural style of the middle to late first century CE. The female figural style of the time is recognizable in the dancing women of the Śivayaśā *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 166) and the Vasu *śilāpaṭa*. They maintain vestiges of the segmented torso that is a salient feature of the female figures of the late first century BCE and the early first century CE, but the transition from the waist to the hips is more unified, as was noted in the *narīmakara* of the Chaubiāpādā *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 160). More attention was paid to the smooth, bold volumes of the bodies, and there is an emphasis on revealing the nude forms of the legs, which foreshadows the mode of representation found during the second century CE. However, the relatively angular bending in their postures, the soft, glove-like quality of the hands and feet, the short necks, and the broad, smiling faces with double-outlined almond-shaped eyes (Fig. 166) argue for a probable date of ca. 75–100 CE.

The lower garments of the dancing women are stretched tightly across their legs, and the looped ends hang stiffly down to one side, not obscuring their figures. The pleats are rendered with broadly spaced incised lines, which do not strive to convey the natural texture of the cloth. Simple rows of square dots form the ornamentation on the headdresses,

necklaces, girdles, armlets, and anklets; this feature concurs with the trend toward abbreviation and formalization observable in the *āyāgapaṭa*s attributed to ca. 75–100 CE.

Although the *toraṇa*s on both the Vasu *śilāpaṭa* and the Śivayaśā *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 167) are fully carved with ornamentation, the quality of the ornament is formalized and dry when contrasted to earlier ornamental carvings. All three horizontal architraves are covered with a variety of geometricized floral motifs, and their curled ends are in the form of *makara*s, whose scales are articulated by a simple cross-hatched pattern. The spaces between each of the architraves on the Śivayaśā *āyāgapaṭa* are filled with geometric patterning, and each die has a *śrīvatsa*. A highly abbreviated, stylized rhizome is carved on the upright pillars. Surmounting the topmost architrave are acroteria, including a honeysuckle and *nandyāvarta*-and-lotus symbols. Overall, the ornament on these two plaques can be characterized by abbreviation, regularity, and a turn toward dryness.

The flanking pillars on the Vasu *śilāpaṭa* and what remains of those on the Śivayaśā *āyāgapaṭa* are representative of the familiar type seen on the Sihanāṃdika *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 156), the Acalā *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 159), and the *āyāgapaṭa* fragment with grapevine border (Fig. 162). Like those on the latter *āyāgapaṭa*, their faceted shafts are straight rather than concave, and their lower capital elements are bell-shaped and somewhat lacking in a sense of inner expansion. The lion surmounting the pillar at the right of the Vasu *śilāpaṭa* seems to be stockier and is articulated with thicker, heavier lines than the lion on the Acalā *āyāgapaṭa* capital (Fig. 159), which seems to be more svelte, with a slender, S-shaped tail.

Because the Vasu *śilāpaṭa* and the Śivayaśā *āyāgapaṭa* display characteristics intermediate between those in *āyāgapaṭa*s of the Śoḍāsa period of ca. 15 CE and the styles of the Kuṣāṇa period of ca. 130 CE, it seems appropriate to date these plaques, as well as the Chaubiāpādā *āyāgapaṭa*, the Amoghadatta *āyāgapaṭa*, and the *āyāgapaṭa* fragment with grapevine border, to around 75–100 CE.

Laghaka Āyāgapaṭa *(Figs. 179 and 180)*

The traces of relief carvings on the Laghaka *āyāgapaṭa* (SML J.251) are so damaged and fragmentary that it is difficult to make a determination regarding its date, but it appears to be earlier than the second century CE. Its fragmentary inscription is more legible than the relief carvings; hence, we know the name of the donor, and it is quite certainly an *āyāgapaṭa* fragment (Appendix II.29).

Second and Third Centuries CE

Among the twenty-five extant *āyāgapaṭa*s, only three or four may tentatively be datable to the Kuṣāṇa period of the second and third centuries CE—a time from which a vast quantity of sculpture survives. On this basis, we may infer that the production of *āyāgapaṭa*s ceased or diminished, perhaps in favor of three-dimensional iconic and figural sculpture which began to be made on a large scale in the second century CE. This change is especially evident on the British Museum *āyāgapaṭa* (Figs. 154 and 155), the Jīvanāṃdā *āyāgapaṭa* (Figs. 174 and 175), and the Laghaka *āyāgapaṭa*s (Figs. 179 and 180), the backs of which were recarved with figural images.

Jīvanāṃdā Āyāgapaṭa *(Fig. 174)*
A very fragmentary piece of an *āyāgapaṭa* inscribed with the name Jīvanāṃdā may have been carved during the second century CE. The Jīvanāṃdā *āyāgapaṭa* (SML J.44) was reused, carved on the back with an image, only the feet of which survive, along with an inscription that seemingly dates to the late Kuṣāṇa period (Fig. 175; see Appendix II.26). The *āyāgapaṭa* side, judging from the style of the reliefs and the paleography of the short inscription, seems to date to ca. 150 CE. In the border is a segment of an undulating vine with leaves and one surviving flower (perhaps a mango blossom), carved in a rather stiff and dry fashion, like others of the second century CE (Fig. 176). The reliefs lack the richness and elegance of the earlier vegetal sculptures, such as those seen in Figs. 200, 264, and 152 dating to the late first century BCE or the early first century CE; thus, it could possibly be of a later date.

Kaṇa Plaque (Fig. 177)
The pictorial Kaṇa plaque (SML J.623) is inscribed with the Year Ninety-Nine (Appendix II.27), which, when reckoned to 127 CE, the beginning of the reign of Kaniṣka, places it at 226 CE, during the reign of the Kuṣāṇa emperor Vāsudeva. Other inscriptions on sculptures with a similar style are dated to the Year Eighty-Seven (Lüders List, No. 72) and the Year Ninety-Eight (Lüders List, No. 76), and both mention that they were carved during the reign of Vāsudeva. Furthermore, the dry, formalized stiffness, minimal evidence of interest in design elements, repetitiveness, and exaggerated linearity of the carvings, especially in the facial features of the figures on the Kaṇa plaque, concur with the styles of the first half of the third century CE.[63]

The Kaṇa plaque depicts two figures as the main objects of veneration (Fig. 177): an *ardhaphālaka* monk and a female divinity. They are being honored by four small figures, one of whom is a *nāga*.[64] The female figure stands with her right hand in *abhaya-mudrā* and her left arm akimbo. The monk (*śramaṇa*), identified as 'Kaṇa' in the inscription (Appendix II.27), carries a short whisk broom (*rajoharaṇa*) in his raised right hand, and he probably clasps a small *mukhapaṭikā* in his left hand.[65] Over his left wrist is draped a short, rectangular cloth, which he holds in front of his genitals; this cloth identifies him as an *ardhaphālaka* monk. These monks could attain high positions of reverence, as two of them are portrayed flanking the Jina Pārśvanātha in the center of the Pārśvanātha *āyāgapaṭa* (Figs. 150 and 151), and two more are depicted flying through the sky at the top of the Vasu *śilāpaṭa* (Fig. 168). Monks could attain reverential status as mediators between the Jinas and the devotees of the world, as could the *śāsanadevatā yakṣī*s, one of whom is probably represented by the female figure in *abhaya-mudrā* on the Kaṇa plaque.

---

[63] An example of a late Kuṣāṇa sculpture exhibiting these characteristics is the seated image of the Jina Ariṣṭanemi (GMM B.15), dated to the Year Fifty-Seven, perhaps from the beginning of the reign of Kaṇiṣka II. See Gritli von Mitterwallner, *Kuṣāṇa Coins and Sculpture*, Pl. 67.

[64] N. P. Joshi has stated that this plaque depicts a monk preaching to a woman. However, this seems unlikely. See N. P. Joshi, "Early Jaina Icons from Mathura," p. 361.

[65] Jaina monks use the *rajoharaṇa* to sweep away small insects and dust particles from the pathway before them as they walk, and they hold the *mukhapaṭikā* over their mouths while speaking in order to prevent small insects or other living beings from inadvertently entering their mouths.

In the register above the main panel is carved a *stūpa* with a two-tiered base flanked by four seated *tīrthaṅkara*s, two on each side. This arrangement may refer to the *samavasaraṇa* in a two-dimensional mode, with the four-directional Jinas shown seated in a row.[66] The fact that the Jinas are depicted above the female divinity and the *śramaṇa* implies that they are seated in the immortal realm of the liberated, whereas the female divinity and the monk exist in the earthly world. They are objects of veneration because of their special connection and association with the Jinas, as evinced by the presence of such *yakṣī*s and *śramaṇa*s in the central circles of the diagrammatic *āyāgapaṭa*s accompanying the Jinas themselves (Figs. 160 and 151).

Koḷiya Gaṇa Āyāgapaṭa *(Fig. 178)*

So little remains of the carvings of the Koḷiya Gaṇa *āyāgapaṭa* that it is difficult to make a positive determination regarding its date. However, the scratchy simplicity of the traces of patterning, the silhouette of the Jina, the stiffness of the hanging garlands from the *chattra* of the central *stūpa*, and the paleography of the characters of the inscription suggest a late Kuṣāṇa date for this fragment.

Summary

The group of *āyāgapaṭa*s discussed in this chapter represent a spectrum of styles spanning about four hundred years, from as early as ca. 150 BCE to 226 CE. Among the surviving group of *āyāgapaṭa*s, four date to the second century BCE; ten are attributable to the first century BCE; about eleven date to the first century CE; and three seem to have been made during the second and third centuries CE. No *āyāgapaṭa* has yet been discovered that is attributable to the Gupta or medieval or later periods. Hence, the relief carvings on the *āyāgapaṭa*s embody artistic styles that span about four hundred years of early Indian sculpture. They are particularly valuable in that they provide a coherent chronology of the stylistic phases that occurred during the first century BCE and the first century CE—a period whose styles have not been previously defined in all their subtle variations. This chronological survey also shows that the pictorial and diagrammatic types of *āyāgapaṭa*s were made concurrently; i.e., that they are pictorial or diagrammatic is not a chronological indicator. The earliest *āyāgapaṭa*s of the second century BCE are both pictorial, as seen in the Śimitrā *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 122), and diagrammatic, as seen in the Okaraṇa *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 125). Likewise, the two latest examples, probably of the third century CE, are the pictorial Kaṇa plaque (Fig. 177) and the diagrammatic Koḷiya Gaṇa *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 178).

With their combination of ornamental, figural, and epigraphical carvings, the *āyāgapaṭa*s provide the most important source for our understanding of the modes of sculptural pro-

[66] The arrangement of the four Jinas seated on both sides of a *stūpa* is much like a description of a *samavasaraṇa* in the *Rāyapaseṇiya, sūtra* 36, wherein a *stūpa* is described as being in the center of a great assembly hall, and four Jinas, Ṛṣabhanatha, Mahāvīra, Chandrānana, and Vāriṣena, sit facing the *stūpa*. However, on the Kaṇa plaque, the actual Jinas themselves may be different, since at least one of them is identifiable as Pārśvanātha with the snake hoods above his head. See R. C. Sharma, "Art Data in the Rāyapaseṇiya," p. 41.

duction at Mathura during the first century BCE and the first century CE. In the following chapters, the results of the stylistic chronology afforded by the study of *āyāgapaṭa*s are applied to the dating of other kinds of sculptures, providing a more complete picture of the school of sculpture at Mathura during the first century BCE and the first century CE than has been presented in previous publications. Once the most plausible dates of important sculptures have been determined, we may examine the implications for the growth of religious movements of the time, including the development of early anthropomorphic representations of the Jinas and the Buddha, with a firmer grounding in history.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE EMERGENCE OF NATURALISM (CA. 50–20 BCE)

Introduction

In marked contrast to the copious scholarship on Mathura sculpture of the Kuṣāṇa period stands the dearth of studies on pre-Kuṣāṇa sculpture of the mid-first century BCE to late first century CE, a period sometimes referred to as the 'Kṣatrapa' or 'Śaka-Pahlava' period. According to recent studies by Harry Falk and Richard Salomon,[1] a date of 127 CE marks the beginning of the reign of the Kuṣāṇa king Kaniṣka. We are fortunate to have quite a few sculptures dated to the reigns of Kaniṣka and his successors at Mathura, but it seems that this abundance has led scholars to attribute most early Mathura sculpture to the Kuṣāṇa period. Commonly, either implicitly or explicitly, early Mathura sculpture is equated with Kuṣāṇa period sculpture. This historiographical trend has led to the misconception that the school of sculpture at Mathura arose and matured from the time of Kaniṣka. However, a careful examination of the evidence reveals that the early Kuṣāṇa mode of sculpture evolved gradually and seamlessly from an already mature and prolific tradition of stone sculptural production.

We examine the objects that I attribute to the pre-Kaniṣka periods of ca. 50 to 20 BCE in this chapter, of ca. 15 CE in Chapter Six, and of ca. 50 to 100 CE in Chapter Seven, continuing the development of the relative chronology of early Mathura sculpture begun in Chapters Two and Three. The attribution of styles to a relative chronology in this obscure period of Indian art history is based on a series of comparative analyses. Some objects are dated by inscription to the time of the *mahākṣatrapa* Śoḍāsa, who, according to the preponderance of available evidence, ruled in the beginning of the first century CE. We are already familiar with the styles of ca. 150 to 75 BCE, described with multiple examples in Chapters Two and Three. Furthermore, the consistent style of stone sculpture prevalent at Mathura at the beginning of the Kuṣāṇa period under Kaniṣka is already well known. These three styles can function as anchors, and they fall roughly one hundred years apart. The degree to which sculptures display a juxtaposition between two of these anchor styles informs the date at which they were most likely produced. Thus, the sculptures that I date to ca. 50 to 20 BCE (discussed in this chapter) continue the trend towards softness and naturalism of the early first century BCE on the one hand, while foreshadowing the styles of the time of Śoḍāsa (Chapter Six) on the other. Similarly, sculptures that display transitional elements between the styles of the Śoḍāsa period and

[1] Harry Falk, "The *Yuga* of Sphujiddhvaja and the Era of the Kuṣāṇas." The recent discovery of the Greek era of 186 BCE, first discussed by Richard Salomon, indicates that Kanishka's grandfather, Vima Takto, ruled in 93 CE, which would eliminate 78 CE as a possibility for the accession of Kaniṣka while supporting a date in the 120s CE. See Richard Salomon, "A Kharoṣṭhī Reliquary Inscription Dated in the Azes Year 73 and the 'Yoṇa' (Greek) Year 201," (especially pp. 26–28).

the time of Kaniṣka are attributed to ca. 50–100 CE in Chapter Seven. Of critical importance is the defining of the stone sculptural style during the time of Śoḍāsa, which has not previously been worked out. The results of this basic comparative method are bolstered and confirmed by some material dated by inscription and by the chronological framework of the *āyāgapaṭa*s discussed in Chapter Four. The difficulties of attributing works of art to this period surpass those of dating objects to the preceding period (ca. 150–75 BCE), for there are fewer monuments from any region of India that are relatively securely dated to this time for comparison. The difficulties are further exacerbated by our sketchy, at best, knowledge of historical events. Nevertheless, our examination of dated objects and the comparative analysis of styles brings us closer to an understanding of the history of art straddling the turn of the common era than has been put forth before.

With this study, a coherent chronology of styles emerges. Many sculptures that previously were either attributed to the better known "Śuṅga period" (ca. 180–80 BCE) or, more frequently, to the Kuṣāṇa period (127–256 CE), or vaguely dated to the first century BCE or first century CE without firm reasoning, now can be re-dated with greater confidence. Many precursors of the familiar Kuṣāṇa styles are evident in the pre-Kaniṣka sculpture of the first century CE, as we saw in Chapter Four.

When works of art can be accurately dated, they can then be used as documents that shed further light upon the historical and cultural developments that took place during the time. An important implication of this is that the actual presence of Kaniṣka in Mathura appears to have affected the production of art very little. Further, since many high-quality sculptures of diverse types and distinctive styles survive, it is evident that Mathura was an active, cosmopolitan, multicultural artistic center during the late first century BCE and first century CE. This period coincides with a time of economic prosperity and religious ferment. Mathura was one of the major trade emporia connecting the seaports of western India with the cities of the Silk Road to the north. The late first century BCE to the third quarter of the first century CE was the period of most intensive trade with the Mediterranean world, especially during the reigns of the Roman emperors from Augustus to Nero (i.e. 26 BCE–69 CE). Among the vast quantities of Roman coins found in India, the greatest proportions were those of Augustus and Tiberius, found primarily in the south.[2] Clay copies primarily of Augustan and Tiberian coins have been found in Uttar Pradesh.[3] The Roman historian Pliny the Elder, writing during the time of the emperor Nero, emphasized the flourishing nature of trade with India.[4] Thus, inhabitants of Mathura would have had the resources and wealth to be able to support artists and religious foundations.

In this chapter the focus is on works of stone sculpture that I attribute to ca. 50–20 BCE. The rulers of Mathura during this period were the predecessors of Śoḍāsa, most notably his father, the *mahākṣatrapa* Rajūvula, who appears to have been the first ruler of Mathura to use the foreign title of *kṣatrapa* (satrap); although it is possible that he had one or two predecessors who may have done so as well. Some coins of other *kṣatrapa*s have been found

---

[2] R. E. M. Wheeler, A. Ghosh, and Krishnadeva, "Arikamedu: An Indo-Roman Trading-station on the East Coast of India," especially distribution map, Fig. 48.
[3] S. B. Deo, "Roman Trade: Recent Archaeological Discoveries in Western India," p. 40.
[4] *Natural History* of Pliny, trans. H. Rackham, p. 417; Book VI.xxvi.101.

in archaeological contexts that suggest their chronological priority to Rajūvula. These other *kṣatrapa*s, the elusive Hagāna and Hagāmaṣa, are known only from coinage, and their dates—or even their very existence—is not corroborated by any extant epigraphical evidence.[5] It is also possible that the reigns of the early *kṣatrapa*s in Mathura overlapped to some extent the reigns of local kings of the Datta dynasty, so-called because all of their names, such as the *rāja* Rāmadatta, end with -datta. Little more is known about the political history of Mathura during the middle to late first century BCE, although it is interesting to recall the inscription discussed in Chapter Four dated to the Year Twenty-One (Appendix II.9). If related to the Azes era, as is most likely, then a surviving date from this period is reckoned to the reign of the Śaka king Azes. Azes, a Scythian, was probably the overlord of Rajūvula, and thus, during the reign of Rajūvula, the era of Azes could understandably have been used at Mathura.

In discussing the *āyāgapṭa*s datable to the second half of the first century BCE[6] in the previous chapter, we noted some salient characteristics held in common. In particular, they share a soft and rich quality in the carving, a diversity in patterning, sensitive renditions of textiles, crowding of elements, and indications of an overall interest in naturalism. The figural styles as seen in the celestial and mythical beings on the Dhanamitra and Mātharaka *āyāgapaṭa*s display the characteristic segmented torso in the female figures and the broad faces with short necks and corpulent bellies of the male figures. These stylistic guides assist in attributing other sculptures to the late first century BCE, sculptures whose styles do not correspond to those of any other period.

Architectural Sculpture

Male Figure Riding a Griffin (Fig. 181)

A corner pillar articulated as a rearing griffin with a male rider on its back (GMM I.13) seems to date to around 75–50 BCE. The rider exhibits a greater unity of form and contours than is seen in any of the male figures from the second century BCE. In contrast to the riders on the centaur architrave (Figs. 22–24), for example, his gestures are less angular, and he even appears to respond slightly to the rearing movements of his mount. His own actions—the pulling of the reins with his left hand and the raising of his right arm—project a sense of movement in the sculpture. The expressions on the faces of the griffin and the rider are both less frozen than those of the second century BCE images. The ears and eyes of the animal are rendered with a degree of sensitivity and naturalism unseen in the more abstract depictions in earlier sculptures. There is less emphasis on incised linearity overall in this sculpture, but some stylized features are identifiable, as in the repetitive representation of the locks in the griffin's mane. By around 20 BCE, however, in a relief of a woman riding a griffin (Fig. 202), the softness and sense of naturalistic, responsive movement is evident to a greater extent than in this sculpture.

---

[5] For a fuller discussion of the succession of *kṣatrapa* rulers at Mathura, see Chapter Six.

[6] These are the Year Twenty-One Āyāgapaṭa of 36 BCE (Fig. 133), the Āyāgapaṭa Fragment with Aśoka Flowers (Fig. 139), the Ferenc Hopp Museum Āyāgapaṭa (Fig. 146), the Dhanamitra Āyāgapaṭa (Fig. 140), and the Mātharaka Āyāgapaṭa (Fig. 143).

The sculpture of a griffin with a male rider represents a transition from the linear and angular styles of the second century BCE to the softer, more naturalistic styles of ca. 20 BCE. It is valuable for recognition of an unbroken continuity in stone sculptural production beginning in the mid-second century BCE, and that the styles gradually changed without sudden turns or inexplicable gaps.

Architrave with Makara, *Dragon-Legged Composite Figure, and Lotus Rhizome (Figs. 182–183)*
A fragment of a *toraṇa* architrave from Mathura (GMM M.2), along with the coping stone discussed in the next section, embodies the stylistic traits current during the second half of the first century BCE at Mathura. The rounded left end of the architrave fragment has a *makara* with curled tail and open mouth and a richly carved lotus rhizome at the broken right end. In the central, square panel (Fig. 183) is a fanciful composite figure with a male head and torso and serpentine bifurcate legs that coil three times, ending in protomes of winged dragons. These dragons are embraced by the figure's arms, and their mouths open over the figure's projecting, fin-like ears, which resemble those of a *makara*. The figure, clad in a loincloth of curling palm leaves, much resembles the *naramakara* atlantes so often found in the spandrels of diagrammatic *āyāgapaṭa*s (Figs. 140, 143, and 160). We also encounter dragons, unusual in Indian art, in the border of the Shimla Museum *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 131), dated in Chapter Four to around 75 BCE and as the armlet of the devotee of Pārśvanātha in Figs. 102–104. These dragons may suggest an early acquaintance with the art of China, in which the dragon was commonly represented from Neolithic times on, and examples of which could have entered India by way of the trade routes that were thriving between China and Rome, via India, by the late first century BCE.[7] Variegated shapes, such as curved triangles, circles, and teardrops are incised on the bodies of the dragons and the coiling serpentine legs of the composite figure in this architrave fragment and on the head of the *makara* at the left. These distinctively whimsical shapes are also incised on the dragon of the Shimla Museum *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 131) and on the bifurcate legs of the *naramakara*s and *narīmakara*s in the spandrels of the Dhanamitra and Mātharaka *āyāgapaṭa*s (Figs.142a and 144). These variegated incised decorative shapes found on animal bodies are characteristic of early Mathura sculpture, particularly in the late first century BCE, and to a somewhat lesser degree in the first century CE. Their popularity was revived in the late Kuṣāṇa period, but with little variation in the shapes and with drier, more scratchy application.[8] They do not, however, seem to have been popular prior to the late first century BCE, and it is possible that they were also inspired from textiles[9] or lacquer and bronze inlay work on sculptures from China or Scythian metalwork, all of which could have gotten to India via the Silk Road. Such incised shapes are not as popular in other regions of India; Mathura is the southernmost region where the motif was regularly in use.

---

[7] With the successful conquests of the Han Dynasty emperor Wu-ti (reigned 141–87 BCE) in Central Asia, China's participation in Silk Road trade was assured. See M. Rhie, *Early Buddhist Art of China and Central Asia*, pp. 5–10.

[8] See, for example, the *nāga* in the Asian Art Museum, San Francisco, dated to the late Kuṣāṇa period, with the repetitive incised circles on the serpent coils (Fig. 197).

[9] Marylin M. Rhie, *Early Buddhist Art of China and Central Asia*, Pl. XVI. In a silk textile datable to around the third century CE (later Han Dynasty, 25–220 CE), the bodies of composite animals (chimeras?) have a pattern of rings.

A sense of softness and organic vitality pervades the swelling forms of the architrave fragment. The fleshy quality of the torso was foreshadowed by the male figure riding a griffin of ca. 75–50 BCE (Fig. 181), and the serpentine legs are similar in quality to those of the *narīmakara* on the Dhanamitra *āyāgapaṭa* of the late first century BCE (Fig. 142a). The lotus rhizome at the right displays the surging organic vitality in the intertwined stems and flowers in varying stages of bloom noted on the Year Twenty-One *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 133) and reminiscent of the carvings from *Stūpa* I at Sanchi (Fig. 138). Slightly wavering, irregular, parallel incised lines within raised rounded bands compose the textured articulation of the *makara*'s snout, providing it with a softness that is matched by the graceful rendering of its caudate fin and ear. The sense of inner vitality and softness that suffuses the curving forms lends this architrave an overall impression akin to that of the *āyāgapaṭa*s datable to the late first century BCE. The rich, organic quality of the carvings on this piece is not found in the art of the Kuṣāṇa period. Thus, it appears that this fragmentary architrave in the Mathura Museum represents an example of the type of *toraṇa* crossbar that would have adorned a sacred monument at Mathura in the middle to late first century BCE. From the surviving carvings, it is evident that this was a non-narrative architrave, its images conveying the ideals of the water cosmology. It is possible that Śrī Lakṣmī, the goddess of good fortune, may have stood in the center of the architrave, grasping the stems of the lotuses. The beautiful lotus rhizome and fanciful aquatic creatures would have symbolically purified those who passed beneath it to visit the site.

Coping Stone with a Seated Couple and a Walled Garden (Fig. 184)

Another architectural fragment that displays stylistic features of the middle to late first century BCE is the coping fragment with walled garden shown in Fig. 184.[10] This is a piece of a coping stone that originally surmounted a *vedikā* surrounding a sacred site. The spotted red sandstone identifies its original provenance as Mathura. This coping fragment is divided into two horizontal registers, both filled with bas relief carving of high quality. The upper register contains a motif common on coping stones from all over India: an undulating garland being carried upon the shoulders of running *yakṣa*s. The garland itself is richly textured, with gently twisting rows of alternating teardrop-shaped petals and square-dot jewels, reminiscent of the twisted garlands on the Dhanamitra and Mātharaka *āyāgapaṭa*s (Figs. 140, 143, and 144). Details in the form of rosettes with strings of pearls issuing from the centers adorn the garland where it meets the floor of the register. Almost no blank ground space was allowed to remain; each of the interstices between the garlands is filled with a spray of rosettes and a cluster of grapes with leaves. The rosettes, with cross-hatched centers, have a thick, soft quality, and are akin to the rosettes near the ends of the fish-tail *svastika*s of the Year Twenty-One *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 133) and the Dhanamitra *āyāgapaṭa* (Figs. 140 and 142a).

The *yakṣa*s pulling the garland in opposing directions have the broad faces and torsos, short necks, hair combed back with parallel striations, corpulent bellies, and deep navels that are features of the male figures seen on the *āyāgapaṭa*s attributed to the late first cen-

[10] A photograph of this architectural fragment appeared in an advertisement for the art and antiquities dealer Spink & Son in *Artibus Asiae*, vol. 35, no. 3, 1973, at the end of the issue. Its current whereabouts are unknown.

tury BCE, such as those in Figs. 140, 142a, and 143. The degree of angularity in their poses is also consonant with that of the flying male celestial beings in the outer ring of the Dhanamitra *āyāgapaṭa* (Figs. 140 and 142a). Their lower garments are articulated with wide, parallel-line striations and the characteristic broad swath of cloth between the legs (Fig. 142a).

The lower tier depicts an unusual scene, which probably formed part of a larger composition. An elaborate gateway (*toraṇa*) at the far right forms the portal through a low wall. Despite its small size, this *toraṇa* is elaborately carved with two horizontal architraves, each provided with a different pattern; a lattice pattern fills the space between them. The *toraṇa* also has three acroteria and curved brackets. The superstructure rests upon two fluted pillars. Both this type of gateway and the penchant for diversity in detailing are pre-Kuṣāṇa traits, and the *toraṇa* is not unlike those found at Sanchi, at Bharhut, on the Śivayaśā *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 165), or on the Vasu *śilāpaṭa* (Fig. 168).

Inside the gateway are a male and female figure seated side by side. The male figure's left leg is pendant and his right leg raised; both of the woman's legs are pendant, and her feet rest upon a footstool, a posture that is reminiscent of the Jhingki-Nagara *yakṣī* (Fig. 98). Although the man's right arm is held akimbo, with his fist on his right knee, and his left arm is held out at a right angle, his mien is not particularly aggressive. He has the very short neck, broad face, fleshy torso, and overall softness to the rendering of the body that are characteristic of male figures of ca. 20 BCE. He is adorned with heavy earrings and bracelets, and a short, broad garland-like necklace, also commonly worn by male figures of this period. His large turban with an ornamental plaque in front and three string-like elements over which the cloth bulges prefigures the types of turbans worn during the Kuṣāṇa period. The female figure is, unfortunately, somewhat effaced, but her hairstyle, a high chignon in back with a curved row of pearls connecting it to the circular ornament above her brow, is visible. This mode of hair dressing is the same as that found on the *aṣṭadikpalikā*s (female divinities of the eight directions) of the Mātharaka *āyāgapaṭa* (Figs. 143 and 144).

To the left of the seated couple is a grove of trees and a latticed wall; the section of the wall behind the couple is surmounted by a raised barrel-vaulted element, and a *candraśālika* niche is visible behind the head of the male figure. The extraordinary detail and the naturalistic representation are noteworthy with regard to the wall, which convincingly conveys a sense of recession into space, despite the small scale of this relief. The wall is solid at the bottom, but has latticework at the top, and it is divided into panels of varying widths that project and recede in sections. In front of one of the deeper recessions is carved a plantain tree with sensitively articulated trunk and leaves. The tops of two more trees are visible behind the wall; the leaves have a soft quality, as though they were carved from a wax-like substance, a trait noted in connection with *āyāgapaṭa*s of the late first century BCE, such as the Dhanamitra *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 140). The overall softness of forms, attention to detail, and interest in naturalistic modes of depiction point to a date of ca. 50–20 BCE for this bas relief, with its rare and charming depiction of a walled garden.

The scene as a whole is probably part of a narrative scene that was carved on the coping stone of the *vedikā*, as on the coping from Bharhut or on the later coping stone with the *Romaka Jātaka* from Mathura (Fig. 288). The narrative scenes on the copings from Mathura were carved in a continuous frieze, uninterrupted by jewels or other ornament, in contrast to the monoscenic narrative vignettes on the coping from Bharhut.

Kaṭhika Pillar Relief Panels (Figs. 185–187)
An important railing pillar that once formed part of a *vedikā* from Chaubāra-Ṭīlā (GMM J.7) has a large-scale male figure on the obverse (Fig. 188), discussed below in the context of other larger scale figural imagery. On the reverse are three small bas relief panels (Fig. 185) that are stylistically consonant with the GMM M.2 architrave fragment (Fig. 182), the coping fragment with walled garden (Fig. 184), and the *āyāgapaṭa*s attributed to ca. 50–20 BCE. This pillar has a donative inscription between the top and central panels; it records the gift of Kaṭhika, the *antara upastāyaka*, or 'servant of the interior' (Appendix I.16).

The topmost panel of the reverse side of the Kaṭhika pillar depicts two male figures venerating a *caitya* tree (Fig. 186). The figure on the left is shown in three-quarter view, bending at the knees and offering a garland, while the figure on the right offers a lotus flower. V. S. Agrawala has identified these two figures as hermits,[11] although this is doubtful since they wear earrings, bracelets, *dhoti*, and *uttarīya* and are beardless, unlike the many other early representations of hermit ascetics (Figs. 198, 241, 242, and 288). Their headdresses are unusual, consisting of a textured domal cap worn over their brows, secured by a band around their heads.

The central panel of the Kaṭhika pillar (Figs. 185 and 187) represents what A. K. Coomaraswamy has identified as a quail fight (*varttikā-yuddha*), observed by two seated and two standing male figures who urge the quails on.[12] The two seated men are in the foreground, and the two standing onlookers are convincingly portrayed in a background plane. This interest in a naturalistic representation of space can also be noted in the perspectival rendition of the square railing (*vedikā*) surrounding the *caityavṛkṣa* in the top panel, and it was a characteristic noted in the carving of the coping fragment with walled garden (Fig. 184) as well. Moreover, the postures of all the figures are varied and suggest interaction.

The man seated on a large chair at the left of the central panel (Fig. 187) can be compared with the seated man in the garden wall coping, for their postures are similar and they share the soft fleshiness that is particularly characteristic of male figures of this period. Neither figure can be conclusively identified as a king, for no royal insignia, such as the *cauri* or *chattra*, accompany them. All the male figures of the Kaṭhika pillar display the slightly corpulent bellies, cinched by a rope-like girdle, in which the broad end of the *dhoti* is tucked and allowed to fall between the legs. The depiction of the textiles, including the garments and the pleated cloth that covers the chair, is naturalistic, with parallel pleat lines of irregular widths, like those observed on the flying celestial beings on the Dhanamitra *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 142a). The looped end of the *dhoti* on the seated male figure falls softly and heavily as though in response to gravity. Although the male figures in the central panel wear *dhoti*s and jewelry that are familiar in the repertoire of early Indian sculpture, they wear neither *uttarīya* nor turban, presumably because the scene takes place in a domestic interior setting. Their hairstyles are unusual, consisting of short bangs and a swath of hair combed straight back over the top of their heads. These seated figures also had mustaches, traces of which are still visible, particularly on the three figures at the right of the panel. The unusual hairstyle is also worn by the only surviving male head in the broken lower panel, depicted in profile.

---

[11] V. S. Agrawala, "Catalogue of the Mathura Museum: Architectural Pieces," p. 10.
[12] A. K. Coomaraswamy, "Early Indian Architecture: III. Palaces," Fig. 43, p. 211. He cited a passage in the *Mṛcchakaṭika*, IV.29, in which quails are being prompted to fight in a palace.

The soft and rounded faces of each of the male figures on the reverse of the Kaṭhika pillar have tranquil expressions and almond-shaped eyes with double-lined lids. Despite the excitement of a quail fight in the central panel, there is an overall sense of calm—a salient characteristic of carvings datable to the late first century BCE, in contrast to the more aggressive and dynamic appearance of Kuṣāṇa reliefs.

Each panel is framed by two octagonal pillars surmounted by a tripartite capital consisting of an *āmalaka*, a winged lion, and a voluted capital filled with square cross-hatching—a type seen on many reliefs from this period. At the top of the central panel is carved a row of latticework, which seems to have been a popular architectural element at that time, as it is found in several other contemporaneous carvings, including the coping fragment with walled garden (Fig. 184).

Although the story remains unidentified, it is probable that the panel with the quail fight was the first in a series of narrative panels, as on a pillar from Govindnagar (Fig. 239) of a slightly later date (see Chapter Six). In the topmost panel, the Govindnagar Pillar also features a generic worship scene, the adoration of the Buddha's turban (Figs. 239 and 240); the worship of the *caityavṛkṣa* at the top of the Kaṭhika pillar is analogous (Fig. 186). In a series of three panels arranged vertically below, is the story of the Brahmin boy Ṛśyaśṛṅga couched as a Buddhist *jātaka*. I suspect that the panels on the Kaṭhika pillar were originally similarly laid out with three narrative panels plus one scene of veneration at the top. Unfortunately, only one complete narrative panel survives, and the story, perhaps a *jātaka*, remains unidentified. This pillar is Buddhist, as another pillar from the same railing (Fig. 189), also given by the donor Kaṭhika, mentions that it is for the Buddhist sect called the Mahāsaṅghikas.[13]

Añjalī *Pillar Fragment Relief Panels (Fig. 190a)*

A fragmentary railing pillar depicts five men, all facing to the left in *añjalī-mudrā*; four of them are standing, and one is seated upon a low cushion. The remains of a female figure on the obverse (Fig. 190b) is discussed below with other larger scale sculptures. The men on the reverse have the same corpulent and fleshy body type as the male figures in the Kaṭhika railing pillar, particularly in the topmost panel (Fig. 186). Their mode of wearing clothing is also almost identical; the *dhoti* is fastened by a soft, rope-like girdle, with a fairly wide swath of cloth falling between their legs, and one short end is tucked over the girdle and rests on the thigh. The pleats of cloth are rendered with the wavering parallel incised lines, and widely spaced diagonal fold lines are drawn over the upper thighs. The upper garment is stretched diagonally across the torso, just as in the Kaṭhika pillar *caitya-vṛkṣa* worship panel (Fig. 186). The turbans of the figures in the *añjalī* pillar fragment, however, are of the more usual type for this period, with string elements around which the cloth of the turban bulges. The crest of the turban, which is similar to the type worn by the seated male figure in the coping fragment with walled garden (Fig. 184), is supported by semicircular elements that are seen on other turbans of this period. The

[13] I wish to express my sincere gratitude to the owners for their hospitality in allowing me to study this sculpture and for generously providing me with photographs. I also wish to thank Gouriswar Bhattacharya for sending me a copy of his unpublished paper, "Two donations in favour of the Mahāsāṅghikas of Mathura," in the H. Sarkar memorial volume, pp. 3–4.

placement of overlapping figures conveys recession into space, since the background figure is carved in a shallower relief, a technique also used in the quail-fight panel of the Kaṭhika pillar (Fig. 187). Although the *añjalī* pillar fragment is somewhat more crudely rendered, with less attention to detail than is discernible on the other objects discussed in this section, the similarities in the male figural types and the overall softness of the carving suggest that it is contemporaneous and datable to ca. 50–20 BCE from Mathura.

This pillar also shows that the panels on the reverse of *vedikā* pillars not only depicted series of narrative scenes, but also repetitive scenes of worship, like those on the Norton Simon pillar (Fig. 249). If the *añjalī* pillar fragment is analogous to the Norton Simon pillar, then it is possible that the topmost panel, which is now missing, contained a single narrative scene, and all the other panels below were sculpted with more generic scenes of veneration. This arrangement is the inverse of that on the Kaṭhika pillar (Fig. 185) and the Govindnagar Ṛśyaśṛṅga pillar (Figs. 239–248), which has one scene of veneration at the top and a series of narrative panels below.

Gāyatrī-Ṭīlā Doorjamb (Fig. 191)

A fragment of a doorjamb (GMM 17.1343) with the remains of a vertical ornamental frieze abutting two panels was found during the excavations at Gāyatrī-Ṭīlā in Mathura in 1917. It is comparable in format to the doorjamb fragment with *mithuna*s from the second century BCE discussed in Chapter Three (Fig. 51), but it is carved in the style of the late first century BCE at Mathura.[14] In the lower panel stands a couple; the woman on the left has her arm around the shoulders of her consort, who grasps her left hand with his at his shoulder and has his right arm around her waist. They gaze into one another's eyes with a tranquil mien and expressions that denote emotional communication, unlike the *mithuna*s of the second century BCE who stare directly ahead (Fig. 51).

The male figure's bare torso is rendered with the softness and fleshiness characteristic of sculptures datable to around the middle to late first century BCE (Fig. 191), as noted above in connection with the composite figure on the architrave (Fig. 183). As is expected for figures of this period, his somewhat corpulent belly protrudes over a cinching girdle, and part of the familiar broad swath of pleated cloth is folded over the string-like girdle and falls between his legs. An unusually large and thick garment, probably an *uttarīya*, is loosely tied about his hips with a distinctively huge, textured knot jutting to the side. It stretches over the whole right side of his lower body with naturalistic, irregularly spaced pleat lines and broad hems with the same texturing as that which covers the large knot. This unusual type of garment is also worn by a male figure in a relief panel on the Balahastinī pillar (SML J.532; Fig. 238), which I date to the early first century CE, not far removed in date from the Gāyatrī-Ṭīlā doorjamb. The texturing of the broad hems and the large knot resembles a fur trim and may be foreign in origin. It is interesting to note that this type of garment is not found again in the subsequent history of Indian art, as far as I am aware. It could be the kind of garment worn by foreigners who came to Mathura at this time period, and it fell out of fashion quickly as they assimilated

[14] V. S. Agrawala considered this fragment to date to the Gupta period, but he gave no reason for this attribution (V. S. Agrawala, "Catalogue of the Mathura Museum: Architectural Pieces," p. 99). Vogel offered no suggestion for a date for the Gāyatrī-Ṭīlā doorjamb (J. P. Vogel, *La Sculpture de Mathura*, p. 126, Pl. LIX b).

indigenous mores. That this man is already wearing an indigenous Indian *dhoti* underneath the large fur-trimmed garment suggests the beginnings of assimilation. His hair is cut short and rendered with distinctive curls, much like the hair of the male celestial beings on the Dhanamitra *āyāgapaṭa*, which we dated to the middle to late first century BCE (Fig. 192). This hairstyle could be foreign in origin or inspiration, for other examples of this short-cropped, curly hairstyle are found on men who are dressed in non-Indian clothing. The Greeks (*yavana*s) and Śakas who worshipped the *stūpa* at Kushinagara—a town known to have been populated by foreigners—are pictured in a relief at Sanchi with this type of hair style.[15] If the strange, fur-trimmed garment and the short, curly hair do indicate that this man is a foreigner, then this *mithuna* shows that foreign men were at this time paired with Indian women.

His female consort stands with most of her weight resting on her left leg, and her right foot is crossed over in front; unfortunately, the sculpture is mostly broken below her knees. Her lower garment is diaphanous and held up by a girdle composed of four rows of small round disks. The emphasis on the nude female form seen in this work is a characteristic of the late first century BCE. Around her shoulders, she wears a distinctive shawl-like ornament, which is formed of rows of beads and clasped in the middle with short, pendant ends. This distinctive type of ornament is also worn by the male figure on the Kaṭhika pillar (Fig. 188), the Mora torsos (Figs. 276 and 278), the Akrūr-Ṭīlā *yakṣī* (Figs. 271 and 272), the central figure of the Amohini *āyavati* (Fig. 273), and other figures of the late first century BCE to first century CE. Her hair is arranged with a puffed roll at her brow adorned with an ornament, like many of the female figures on the Dhanamitra *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 142a), and a coif with a beaded border is draped over her head. On her forearms are the long coiled bracelets that are the usual accouterments of women in early Indian sculptures. Her torso is of the characteristic segmented type: her hips abruptly flare from her waist in a sharp angle.

A faceted *vedikā* above the couple forms the demarcation from the surmounting fragmentary panel, which is filled with well-executed architectural carvings. The doors and windows with latticework, barrel-roofed halls topped with rows of finials, heavy roll cornices, and balconies with *vedikā*s provide a clear picture of architectural structures of this time. As we noted in connection with the walled garden coping (Fig. 184) and the Kaṭhika pillar panels (Fig. 186), naturalistic presentation of perspective is a trait of Mathura sculpture dating to around 20 BCE, and it is also evinced in the upper panel of the Gāyatrī-Ṭīlā doorjamb.

The distinctive vegetal ornamentation carved on the vertical frieze of the Gāyatrī-Ṭīlā doorjamb is consonant with the ornamental style of ca. 20 BCE. Its complex carvings fill every space, as is characteristic of reliefs of this period. In the spaces formed by the undulating rhizome are found inventive vegetal motifs as well as a small *sthāpana* (one of the eight auspicious symbols of the stylized empty seat, also known as the *bhadrāsana*) that seems to grow from the foliage. The softness of the supple curving forms is much like the vegetal motifs on the Ferenc Hopp Museum *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 146) and the ornament carved on the Jankhat doorjambs (Figs. 193 and 196), all of which are attributable to around

[15] See H. Zimmer, *The Art of Indian Asia*, Vol. II, Fig. 10.

the second half of the first century BCE. The Gāyatrī-Ṭīlā doorjamb thus stands as part of a long tradition of doorjambs that feature loving couples as a major ornamental component, a tradition that began at Mathura as early as the second century BCE (cf. Fig. 51).

Jankhat Doorjambs (Figs. 193–196)

Two sections of doorjambs were found at Jankhat in Farrukhabad District, among a heap of stones, which included figural sculpture of the early Gupta period. Jankhat is about one hundred and fifty miles (241.4 kilometers) south of Mathura, and it lies in the ancient region of Pañcāla, which is the eastern neighbor of Śūrasena, the region of which Mathura was the capital. Though very little is known about the Pañcāla school of sculpture of this period, it seems to have followed stylistic trends of the school at Mathura, as these two doorjambs and other sculptures testify. I have chosen to incorporate them in our discussion of the Mathura school of sculpture of the late first century BCE, because the inscription on one of the jambs and their closely related sculptural style convey important and relevant information on the art of this time in general.

Both of these fragmentary doorjambs are double-sided, and in terms of imagery they are nearly identical, so much so that it is likely that they formed the two jambs of the same doorway. One of them (KAM 79/218; Figs. 195 and 196) retains almost all of the curved, double-sided *śālabhañjikā* bracket that would have supported an architrave or lintel above. The other (KAM 79/219; Figs. 193 and 194) originally had a curved bracket with a *śālabhañjikā* on both front and back, but it has broken off at the level of the *śālabhañjikā*s' ankles, so that only their feet and the protomes of their *makara* mounts survive. Although KAM 79/219 is more fragmentary, its extant carvings are richer and of a higher quality. The *makara* faces are particularly fine in Figs. 193 and 194, and the bending of the *śālabhañjikā*s' toes is less exaggerated and the feet not as disproportionately large as those of the complete figures shown in Figs. 195 and 196. These brackets are in the same tradition as the *śālabhañjikā* figures from Kaṅkālī-Ṭīlā discussed in Chapter Three (Figs. 39–41) and are part of the long, pan-Indian tradition of placing goddesses connected with the Water Cosmology at the doorways of sacred precincts.

The *yakṣī*s themselves (Figs. 195 and 196) stand with their weight on one leg and their other leg crossed over it at the shin. With one hand they grasp the bough of an *aśoka* tree; the other hand rests on the hip. They are both bejeweled with bracelets, heavy roll anklets, pearl necklaces, and other ornaments worn by women of the first century BCE and first century CE. Despite damage, we can discern that above her *channavīra* one of the *yakṣī*s wears a garland slung across her shoulders (Fig. 196); this distinctive type of ornament is common on figures carved during the mid–first century BCE and first century CE (as in Figs. 184, 188, 191, 271, 273, 276), and only rarely on figures of the Kuṣāṇa period.[16] The *śālabhañjikā*s from Jankhat are a bit provincial, but charming nonetheless. Their soft, disproportionately large hands and feet, in particular, impart a somewhat naïve impression, but their degree of fleshiness and their lack of dynamic extroversion accord with the other sculptures attributed to this period.

[16] One of the *yakṣī*s from Bhuteśvar wears this type of ornament, but it is carved in the much tighter style of the Kuṣāṇa period, standing out emphatically from the thorax of its wearer (see R. C. Sharma, *Buddhist Art, Mathura School*, Fig. 18).

The jambs themselves comprise five vertical rows (*śākhā*s) of ornament. On one side of both jambs is a broad vertical frieze of *aśoka* flowers with their spear-shaped leaves arranged along an undulating branch (Figs. 194 and 195). The leaves are flat and overlapping, similar to those on the *toraṇa* fragment dated to the time of Śoḍāsa (ca. 15 CE; Fig. 217). The centers of the jambs are articulated as engaged round pilasters, wrapped with flat, leafy garlands and flanked by bead-and-reel motifs. The engaged pilasters are topped with versions of lotus bell capitals surmounted by crouching lions. Vegetal motifs with curling fronds fill a voluted element that crowns the composite capital as a whole. The band that would have formed the innermost *śākhā* of the doorjamb is carved with stylized overlapping palmette and rosette patterns carved with shallowly incised lines. The opposite sides of the jambs are very similar, except that the wide outermost *śākhā*s contain rhizomes of stylized palmettes, rather than *aśoka* leaves and flowers. The imagery on these doorjambs from Jankhat is similar to that of the Vasu doorjamb dated to the time of Śoḍāsa (Fig. 264), but their style is softer, thicker, and coarser, which in this case is indicative of their slightly earlier date.

In previous publications these two doorjambs (Figs. 193–196) have been considered to be products of the third century CE, primarily because of an inscription that appears on the inner face of one of them (KAM 79/219). This inscription records the name 'Svāmi Vīrasena' and a date: the fifth day of the fourth fortnight of summer in the Year Thirteen (Appendix I.18). The remainder of the inscription is illegible. Although the name Vīrasena is known from coins that belong to a king of the Nāga dynasty of Pañcāla dating to the third century CE,[17] there is no proof that the Vīrasena of the Jankhat doorjamb inscription is to be identified with the third century CE Nāga king. On the coin legends, the Nāga king Vīrasena is given the title of *mahārāja* (great king), whereas in the Jankhat doorjamb inscription Vīrasena is given only the honorific title of *svāmin*, which does not necessarily imply kingship. Indeed, there is some evidence of the existence of another, earlier Vīrasena. P. L. Gupta has argued that some of the coins of an untitled Vīrasena, which have been found at Mathura and surrounding regions, cannot date later than the beginning of the first century CE, because of their square shape and the early paleography of their legends.[18] Hence, it is possible that the *svāmi* Vīrasena of the Jankhat doorjamb inscription is to be identified with the Vīrasena of these early, ca. first century BCE–early first century CE square coins, instead of the *mahārāja* Vīrasena of the third century CE Nāga dynasty. Furthermore, the paleography of the Jankhat doorjamb inscription does not display the pre-Gupta tendencies seen in other inscriptions of the third century CE, despite the efforts of scholars to attribute it to this late period.[19] The form of the letters, like the sculptural style, is in harmony with that of others datable to the first century BCE or first century CE. Nevertheless, if some future evidence were to compel us to concede that the *svāmi* Vīrasena of the Jankhat doorjamb inscription can be identified with a third century CE Nāga king, the way in which the inscription is carved on the doorjamb does

[17] K. P. Jayaswal, *History of India, 150 AD to 350 AD*, pp. 19–21, Pl. I.

[18] P. L. Gupta, "Early Coins of Mathura Region," in *Mathura: The Cultural Heritage*, Doris Meth Srinivasan ed., pp. 130–131 and Pl. 14.I.3.

[19] It also has been thought that there were two Nāga kings named Vīrasena, thus contributing to the confusion of the king's identity. K. P. Jayaswal, *History of India, 150 AD to 350 AD*, p. 22, fn. 1 and p. 23. See also F. E. Pargiter, "Jankhat Inscription of the Time of Virasena," pp. 85–86.

not preclude the possibility that it was added to the doorjamb centuries after the jamb itself was carved and erected. In sum, both the inscription and the sculptural style of the Jankhat doorjambs are best attributed to a date ca. 50–20 BCE, regardless of the coincidental identity of the name Vīrasena with a later monarch.

In previous discussions on these sculptures, attention to the badly damaged inscription has taken primacy over the evidence provided by the much more extensive figural and ornamental sculptures on the doorjambs and brackets. This has led to the Jankhat doorjambs' being attributed to what I consider an erroneous date in the third century CE. In her 1982 publication, Joanna Williams, solely on the grounds of this inscription, asserts that the style of the Jankhat doorjambs must be characteristic of the third century CE transitional style that prefigures the forms of the Gupta period.[20] However, other sculptures more securely dated to the third century CE, such as a *nāga* in the Asian Art Museum, San Francisco (Fig. 197) dated to 271 CE,[21] show that sculptures of the third century CE are carved in the dry, fully developed Kuṣāṇa mode as continued from the styles of the second century CE.[22] This mode is completely unrelated to that of the figural and ornamental carvings on the Jankhat doorjambs, which display the richness of textures and softness of volumes that concur with the other sculptures of ca. 50–20 BCE, such as the relevant *āyāgapaṭa*s discussed in Chapter Six and the other pieces discussed in this chapter, including the Ferenc Hopp Museum *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 146), the Gāyatrī-Ṭīlā doorjamb (Fig. 191), and the *āyāgapaṭa* fragment with overlapping rosette and palmette border (Fig. 147). In particular, the naturalism seen in the sensitive rendition of the *makara* on both sides of one of the doorjambs (Figs. 193 and 194) is similar to the style attributable to sculptures of the middle to late first century BCE. In Figs. 195 and 196 the *śālābhañjikā* does not display the complexities of dynamic postures, the heavy linearity, or powerful limbs with smooth, taut contours that characterize the female figures of the second or third centuries CE. For these and other reasons, the carvings on the Jankhat doorjambs are best attributable to around the second half of the first century BCE, and they represent rare and fine examples from the neighboring and closely related Pañcāla school of sculpture.

We cannot be sure exactly who *svāmi* Vīrasena was, nor to which era the Year Thirteen should be reckoned, but such is the state of our knowledge of the history of the Śūrasena and Pañcāla regions as a whole during the middle to late first century BCE. If the Year Thirteen of the Jankhat doorjamb inscription were to be attributed to a well-established era of this general time period, the Azes or Vikrama era of 57 BCE, then the year in the inscription on the Jankhat doorjambs would yield a date of 44 BCE, which would be entirely acceptable from the point of view of the sculptural style.

Yakṣa *and* Yakṣī *on the Railing Pillars of Kaṭhika (Figs. 188 and 189)*

In the remainder of this chapter, we examine of relatively large-scale figural sculpture from Mathura attributable to around 50–20 BCE. Although they are carved primarily on

[20] Joanna Gottfried Williams, *The Art of Gupta India*, p. 17, Fig. 8.

[21] The most recent analysis of the date is in Harry Falk, "Some Inscribed Images from Mathura Revisited," *Indo-Asiatische Zeitschrift* 6/7 (2002–03), pp. 41–45.

[22] This standing *nāga* sculpture (Asian Art Museum, San Francisco, no. 138654) is dated to the Year One Hundred Seventy during the reign of Vāsudeva II, who was the last of the Kuṣāṇa emperors at Mathura, ruling in the mid–third century CE (B. N. Mukherjee, "A Mathura Image Inscription," Figs. 1 and 2).

architectural elements, such as railing uprights, the figures are in such high relief that they all but qualify as sculptures in the round. Several of the small-scale bas reliefs that we examined earlier in this chapter are carved on the reverse sides of pillars, and these pillars have contemporaneous larger scale figures on their obverse sides. Generally about three to four feet (0.9 to 1.2 meters) in height, these sculptures allow us to analyze the stylistic features of full-scale figural art of ca. 50–20 B.C.E. at Mathura, an analysis that has not previously been attempted. The traits of softness in form, richness of texture, inner organic vitality, and a sense of external tranquillity are the same as those noted in connection with the *āyāgapaṭa*s and the small bas reliefs. Many of the figures discussed below have previously been attributed to the Kuṣāṇa period of the second century CE, despite the absence in these works of dryness, refinement, or aggressive dynamism that characterize the sculptures of the Kuṣāṇa period.

Two excellent examples are the pillars from Chaubārā-Ṭīlā donated by Kaṭhika.[23] One is housed in the Government Museum at Mathura (Fig. 188), and the other is in a private collection in Switzerland (Fig. 189). We have discussed the panels on the reverse of the former (containing the quail fight and two male figures venerating a *caitya-vṛkṣa*; Figs. 185–187). The front side of the Kaṭhika pillar is carved with a male figure who is quite well preserved, despite the fact that the bottom one-third of the pillar has broken off at the point of his knees (Fig. 188). This pillar has been known for a long time, and scholars have offered various opinions on the identification of the figure on it. J. P. Vogel describes the figure as being of faun-like appearance, suggesting that he might be a *yakṣa* of a fashionable type or, because of his gesture, he might be a version of the Hellenistic god, Harpokrates.[24] Coomaraswamy identified this figure as the god of erotic love, Kāmadeva, because of his youthful beauty.[25] V. S. Agrawala suggested that this figure depicts the young Brahmin hermit Ṛśyaśṛṅga when he first encountered the maidens sent by King Lomapāda to tempt him. V. S. Agrawala made this identification because of the horn-like projection in the turban (because his mother was a deer, Ṛśyaṣṛṅga was born with a single horn growing from his forehead). V. S. Agrawala interpreted the hand gesture as evoking surprise (*vismaya*) and reflection (*vitarka*) and his eyes as upturned (*ūrdhvadṛṣṭi*) and rolling (*vighūrṇamāna*). He explained the unusual presence of jewelry on the hermit as being adornments given to him by the maidens.[26] Gouriswar Bhattacharya suggested that this figure represents the donor Kaṭhika himself, whom he interpreted as being a eunuch of the harem, a translation of the epithet *abhyantara upasthāyaka* found in the inscription.[27] R. Sengupta argued that this figure should be identified with the Hellenistic child-god Harpokrates, and that his unusual type of turban is an interpretation of the composite

[23] The sculptures of a male and a female figure on two rail posts from Chaubārā-Ṭīlā (GMM J.7) are here identified by the name of their donor, Kaṭhika, found in inscriptions on their reverse sides (Appendix I.16 and I.17).

[24] J. P. Vogel, *Catalogue of the Archeaological Museum at Mathura*, p. 143, and *La Sculpture de Mathura*, p. 102.

[25] A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Yakṣas*, p. 32, fn. 4.

[26] V. S. Agrawala and B. S. Upadhya, "A Relief of Ṛśya Śṛṅga in the Mathurā Museum," 1936, p. 63; V. S. Agrawala, "Catalogue of the Mathura: Architectural Pieces," p. 8, and *Studies in Indian Art*, pp. 160–161.

[27] G. Bhattacharya, "The So-Called Ṛśyaśṛṅga," Correspondence.

crown of upper and lower Egypt worn by Harpokrates.[28] Heinrich Lüders stated with characteristic perspicacity:

> The figure probably represents one of the minor deities, but it seems to me that this half feminine being was selected on purpose by the 'servant of the royal harem' for the carving of this pillar, just as at Bhārhut the horseman (*asavārika*) Suladha had his pillar adorned with the figure of a horseman accompanied by his horse and his groom . . .[29]

Let us turn to a closer look at the figure before suggesting his most probable identity.

This controversial figure, which has been dated by most scholars to the Kuṣāṇa period,[30] is carved in high relief and is shown standing beneath a blossoming mango tree in a relaxed, almost slouching posture, with his head tilted to one side. His left arm is held casually at his side, while his right arm is raised, with his index and middle fingers touching his chin. The remarkably soft and fleshy quality of his body and hands is consonant only with the styles of the middle to late first century BCE and distinct from the taut, powerful body type that is characteristic of the Kuṣāṇa period. His somewhat sagging, corpulent belly is cinched by a soft, rope-like girdle, and his navel is deep and wide. Sensitive modeling characterizes the rendering of his slightly chubby face. His eyes are almond-shaped, with a double lid above and double rim below, and his eyebrows are smoothly depicted as the meeting of two planes without any of the strong linearity seen in the raised ridges of the brows sculpted during the Kuṣāṇa period (see, for example, Fig. 137). Overall, his posture and mien are relaxed and tranquil.

The male figure on the Kaṭhika pillar wears an *uttarīya* loosely tied around his hips and a lower garment with the broad swath of cloth falling between his legs; it is naturalistically looped up and tucked into his girdle, and the end is carefully knotted. The pleats in the fabric are depicted with almost parallel lines that are carved with just enough irregularity, gentle swellings, and undulations to approximate the natural modulations found in a soft piece of cloth of that type. The sensitive detailing of the small, tight knot further emphasizes the interest in naturalistic detailing that is characteristic of the middle to late first century BCE. A wide garland-like necklace is draped over his shoulders and clasped in front with at least three clasps, rendered naturalistically, conforming to the body as though it falls with its own weight. It is richly textured with rows of small beads, and it appears to be the same type of ornament worn by the seated male figure of the coping fragment with walled garden (Fig. 184).

The turban is of the type seen on the *añjalī* pillar fragment (Fig. 190a), with four regularly spaced strings between which the textured cloth of the turban gently swells. The large crest ornament is supported by the same type of semicircular element at the sides, and a rounded, conical projection is mounted upon an oblong plaque carved with leaf-like ornamentation. The detailed texturing, gentle swelling, and overall softness of the carving of the headdress accords with the stylistic characteristics of the middle to late first

[28] R. Sengupta, "On the Identification of Ṛśyaśriṅga and Egyptian Crowns," pp. 139–144.

[29] Heinrich Lüders, *Mathura Inscriptions*, pp. 56–57.

[30] J. C. Harle, *The Art and Architecture of the Indian Subcontinent* (New York: Penguin Books, 1986), pp. 66–67; V. S. Agrawala, "Catalogue of the Mathura Museum: Architectural Pieces," p. 10; and L. Bachhofer, *Early Indian Sculpture*, fig. 98, p. xxxv are representative examples of scholars who date the Kaṭhika pillar to the second century CE.

century BCE, as does the heaviness with which the complex, large earrings hang. This type of turban is not altogether unusual, for it is found in several sculptures of the first and second centuries CE (Figs. 222 and 223 spandrels, 235, and 240).[31] It appears to have been a fashionable kind of ornament during this period.

The leaves of the mango tree above his head are rendered with skill and relative naturalism; the rubbery, modulated surfaces of each leaf convey the sense of a living plant, recalling the trees of the coping fragment with walled garden (Fig. 184). The treatment of leaves in the Kaṭhika Pillar relief contrasts with the harder, flatter, regularized shapes with sharper lines seen in the vegetation carved during the Kuṣāṇa period (Fig. 137).

The soft, fleshy forms of the body are rendered with quiet, organic unity, having no stiffness. The naturalistic depiction of the textiles, the interest in detailed texturing, the languid posture, and the rubbery, modulated rendition of the vegetation are all characteristics held in common with other sculptures datable to the middle to late first century BCE. This appears to be the appropriate date for this sculpture, for it is stylistically anomalous in the context of sculptures from the Kuṣāṇa period, which exude more dynamism and power and reveal little interest in detail or the naturalistic depiction of textiles.

It is unlikely that the male figure on the obverse of the Kaṭhika pillar depicts Ṛśyaśṛṅga, for in an identifiable representation of Ṛśyaśṛṅga in a narrative sequence from Mathura, he is shown with the typical accouterments of hermits, such as the grass skirt and matted locks (Fig. 243). A bas relief in a medallion from Bharhut also depicts a Buddhist adaptation of the story of Ṛśyaśṛṅga, called the '*Isisiṃgiya Jātaka*' in its inscription. Therein he is dressed in the garb of an ascetic, with a small horn projecting from amid his coiled, matted locks (Fig. 198). The figure on the Kaṭhika Pillar wears princely clothing, like *yakṣa*s, and the 'horn-like' projection in his turban is not unlike the turban crests worn by many male figures from at least as early as the beginning of the first century CE. Moreover, it is unlikely that the male figure on the Kaṭhika pillar depicts a portrait of the donor Kaṭhika himself, for we have no evidence of a tradition in India during this period of the representation of donors on the *vedikā* pillars of a sacred site. These spaces are reserved for minor divinities or narrative or worship scenes, as the label inscriptions from early sites such as Bharhut explicitly state.

As for the idea that this figure may be a Mathura version of the Hellenistic child god Harpokrates, we cannot be entirely certain, but it is not impossible. The late first century BCE was apparently a time of extensive trade relations between the Mediterranean world and India, given the large quantity of coins of the emperor Augustus found in numerous hoards in India. Contact with Egypt was especially close, as the primary ports from which ships from throughout the Roman Empire sailed were Berenike and Myos Hormos on the Egyptian coast of the Red Sea.[32] Moreover, there is evidence that small figurines of popular Hellenistic divinities were brought from the Mediterranean world to India, and two bronze statuettes of Harpokrates have been discovered, one in Begram

[31] Some of the many examples of the 'horn' turban in Gandhāra sculpture are in Isao Kurita, *Gandhāran Art*, vol. I, Pls. IV and XIII and Figs. 212 and 558.

[32] See *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, vol. 1, I.1–4; and Lionel Casson, "Ancient Naval Technology and the Route to India," p. 8. R. Sengupta concisely listed much of the evidence for Indian and Egyptian contact in "On the Identification of Ṛśyaśriṅga and Egyptian Crowns," p. 139.

and one in Taxila.[33] Sengupta's suggestion that the unusual type of turban may be a reinterpretation of the composite crown of Upper and Lower Egypt is intriguing. V. S. Agrawala objected to the identification of this figure as Harpokrates, because Harpokrates places only one finger to his lips indicating silence, but the Kaṭhika pillar figure places two fingers.[34] However, the sculptors of Mathura did not reinterpret Hellenistic iconography with precision, as is seen, for example, in the depiction of Hercules fighting the Nemean lion while characteristically 'anachronistically' wearing the lion skin.[35] The relaxed stance of the Kaṭhika pillar figure could be considered a reinterpretation of the childlike slouching posture seen in the Begram figurine. Divinities from non-Buddhist traditions were incorporated into the Buddhist sphere, and they would appear on the uprights of railings surrounding *stūpa*s or other sacred sites, as the Kaṭhika pillar did. Numerous folk divinities, such as *yakṣa*s and *nāga*s, both in foreign and Indian dress, were incorporated into the statuary at Buddhist and Jaina sites. The male figure on the Kaṭhika pillar could be a representation of the popular Hellenistic god of children and childbirth—aspects of fertility that are frequently associated with *yakṣa*s and other nature divinities—who has been conceived and reinterpreted as a *yakṣa*, because he stands beneath a flowering tree in the same manner as a fertility *yakṣa*. His pose and turban are generalized and not literally copied directly from its source, in the same way that other Hellenistic subjects were reinterpreted and subsumed within the Indian artistic repertoire. Nevertheless, even if the Kaṭhika pillar figure derived from the figure of Harpokrates, he has been converted into a *yakṣa* and functions as such on the *vedikā-stambha*, wearing indigenous Indian clothing and acting like other voyeuristic figures peering at *yakṣī*s.

Since the male figure on the Kaṭhika pillar is carved on the obverse of a *vedikā* upright, and he is depicted beneath a flowering tree, it seems most appropriate to identify him as a *yakṣa* or other minor divinity, similar to those found on railing pillars from as early as the mid-second century BCE through at least the Kuṣāṇa period. His gesture is probably similar to that of other figures shown peering at beautiful *yakṣī*s,[36] who would have been carved on the neighboring pillars of the railing. The *yakṣī* at whom he is staring is possibly the very one on the rail post in Fig. 189. She is, in all probability, carved on what would have been the adjacent pillar of the same railing as the Kaṭhika pillar with the male figure. The same donor, the domestic servant named Kaṭhika, donated both of them (Appendix I.16 and I.17), and the style of carving is identical on both pillars. It is certain that the Kaṭhika pillars were produced for a Buddhist site, because the inscription on the pillar in Fig. 189 states that it was donated for the acceptance of the teachers of the Buddhist Mahāsaṅghika sect (See Appendix I.17). This inscription, along with the Mathura lion capital inscription of the last two decades of the first century BCE,[37]

[33] O. Kurz, "Begram et l'Occident Gréco-Romain," *Nouvelles Recherches Archeologiques a Begram*, ed. J. Hackin, 1954, no. 153, p. 147 Figs. 322 and 324. *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1912–13, Pl. XX, Figs. f, g, h for the statuette of Harpokrates from Taxila.

[34] V. S. Agrawala, "A Relief of Ṛishya Śṛiṅga," *Studies in Indian Art*, 1965, p. 160.

[35] J. P. Vogel, *La Sculpture de Mathura*, Pl. XLVII b.

[36] See, for example, the female figure peering over the fence at the top of the Los Angeles County Museum pillar in Fig. 200. Although she puts only one instead of two fingers to her lips, the gesture is likely to have a similar meaning as that of the male figure on the Kaṭhika Pillar.

therefore confirms the presence and activity of the Mahāsaṅghikas in Mathura during this time.

The Kaṭhika pillar with the *yakṣī* is finely executed (Fig. 189), measuring more than four feet (1.2 meters) in height, and having four small bas reliefs on the reverse, all of which exhibit the characteristic traits of ca. 50–20 BCE.[38] On the front of the pillar is carved a *yakṣī* standing beneath an *aśoka* tree, holding a flower up in her right hand. Her form is softly and sensitively modeled, and her hands seem padded, as though gloved, and her fingers are short. She has a tranquil expression, with tapering eyes and double lids similar to those of the male figure on the Kaṭhika pillar (Fig. 188). The end of her lower garment is looped in a wide swath that falls between her legs, and it is carved with delicate, wavering, uneven pleat lines. The cloth conveys the impression of hanging heavily and naturally, with a rounded fullness as though in response to gravity. The folded bottom edge is not straight across; instead sections of it are staggered and fall to variable lengths, thereby adding to the sense of naturalism. Depictions of cloth on sculptures attributable to the late first to early second century (a period to which this sculpture might often be attributed, c.f. Figs. 305 and 307) appear stiffer as though with a life of their own in defiance of gravity. The segmented torso, padded rope at the top of her diaphanous skirt, and gentle stance are all in line with the other stylistic elements of sculpture discussed as part of this period. The trefoil design on the base is also common during this period.

The bas relief panels on the reverse depict the worship of a *caityavṛkṣa* in the top panel, a much-worn *abhiṣeka* (ritual lustration) scene, a male figure chopping a tree with a monkey, and an eroded scene with only a tree and rocky landscape elements surviving. The corpulence of the male figures, the mode of dress, and the form of the framing pilasters are all in keeping with the traits of the Kaṭhika pillar in the Mathura Museum. The emphasis on landscape elements is also akin to the treatment of landscape in reliefs dating to ca. 50–20 BCE. They also show that a domestic servant had sufficient means to donate at least two pillars of a *vedikā* embellished with sculptures of exceptionally high quality. The relief panels on the reverses of both pillars contain scenes from what presumably should be Buddhist narratives, but they remain unidentified.

Yakṣī *on a Rail Post in the Bharat Kala Bhavan (Fig. 199)*

A *yakṣī* on a railing pillar in the Bharat Kala Bhavan of the Banaras Hindu University is similar to the *yakṣī* on the Kaṭhika pillar (Fig. 189), and it exhibits the traits we have identified in sculptures of ca. 50–20 BCE. She stands in a relaxed, bending posture, with all her weight on one leg, in a manner similar to the Kaṭhika *yakṣa* and *yakṣī* (Figs. 188–189). She has the segmented torso, as seen in the female figures on the Dhanamitra *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 142a) and the Mātharaka *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 144), soft fleshy forms, and a placid smiling expression, with almond-shaped eyes delineated by double lids. In her right hand

[37] Sten Konow, *Kharoshṭhī Inscriptions with the Exception of those of Aśoka*, pp. 48–49; and D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions Bearing on Indian History and Civilization*, pp. 114–119.

[38] The small panels on the reverse of the Kaṭhika pillar with the *yakṣī* will be published in forthcoming G. Bhattacharya, "Two Donations in Favour of the Mahāsāṅghikas of Mathura." The *yakṣī* on the obverse, however, will not appear in that publication.

she carries a narrow-necked water pitcher, grasped with thick, short fingers; she appears to hold a bunch of flowers, now broken, in her upraised left hand. The end of her lower garment is tucked in a looped swath that hangs between her legs, and it falls softly and heavily with naturalistic, irregular pleating. The leaves on the *aśoka* tree behind her have a rubbery texture like those in the coping fragment with walled garden (Fig. 184), but they are less naturalistically modeled than those of the mango tree on the Kaṭhika pillar (Fig. 188), and they foreshadow the rendition of vegetation of the early first century CE.

Añjalī *Pillar* Yakṣī *(Fig. 190b)*

The obverse of the *añjalī* pillar reveals the remains of a female figure who displays the traits associated with art of ca. 50–20 BCE at Mathura. These traits include soft, fleshy modeling, hands with short, thick fingers, and the wide, irregularly pleated cloth that falls in a broad swath between the legs. She bends rather awkwardly at the knees like the *caityavṛkṣa* worshipper on the reverse of the Kaṭhika pillar (Fig. 186). Compared with other productions of this time period, the carvings on this rail post seem relatively coarse. (The style of every time period is executed in a range of quality, according to the talents of the sculptors working within the particular style.)

Yakṣī *in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (Fig. 200)*

The *yakṣī* on a railing pillar in the collection of the Los Angeles County Museum of Art, the relief of a woman riding a griffin relief (Fig. 202), and the female votary from Faizabad (Fig. 203) represent examples of female figures rendered with higher quality, more accomplished workmanship on a par with that of the Kaṭhika pillar figures. They can be dated to the middle to late first century BCE by virtue of their stylistic characteristics, and they rank among some of the finest sculptures in the history of Mathura art.

The fragment of a pillar from a railing or balustrade, now in the collection of the Los Angeles County Museum of Art, depicts a female figure, broken below the level of the breasts. In her surviving hand she holds up a fluted wine cup, the form of which may be traceable to Hellenistic sources. Pratapaditya Pal added that the grooved wine cup makes reference to the *bakula dohada* ritual, in which a young girl sprays the *bakula* tree with wine from her mouth in order to increase its capacity to bear fruit.[39] She stands beneath a flowering tree, which suggests that she is a *vṛkṣadevatā* or a *yakṣī*. A man and a woman peer at her with wonder and amazement over the railing above (Fig. 200).[40] The image as a whole makes reference to the beauty of abundance and productivity in line with the tenets of the water cosmology, whose imagery filled the exteriors of sacred monuments of traditional India.

The *yakṣī* stands at an angle to the viewer, her head tilted gently to one side, like the male figure on the Kaṭhika pillar (Fig. 188), a posture that seems to have been popular during this period. Her form is pervaded by a sense of naturalism in the gently swelling, soft volumes of her cheeks and breasts and in details such as the slight swinging of the hair ornament over her forehead in response to the tilting of her head. Her facial features

---

[39] P. Pal, *Indian Sculpture*, p. 178.
[40] Ibid.

are smoothly integrated with the surfaces of her face; the eyes are delicately curved, and the eyebrows are formed of softly arching ridges similar to those of the male figure on the Kaṭhika pillar (Fig. 188). Her expression and mien are tranquil and introspective, and her posture is languid. She is bedecked with a variety of ornaments: the double rows of threaded beads strung down the right side of her head, a flower garland on the left side, embroidered cloth strips tying her hair at the nape of her neck, a loop earring in her right ear, and a square earring in her left. On her raised right forearm she wears two fancy bangles together with six plain bangles, which have slipped over one another in response to gravity. A choker of large pearls adorns her throat, and a longer necklace composed of three flat, embroidered cords falls between her breasts. Each detail of ornament is rendered with the careful attention characteristic of the style current in the middle to late first century BCE at Mathura.

The depiction of the tree shares the naturalism of the figure of the *yakṣī*. Its organically bulging trunk and branches, gently rippling leaves that overlap one another, and deep undercutting all recall the mode of depiction of the mango tree on the Kaṭhika pillar (Fig. 188). Stella Kramrisch insightfully explained the likeness of swelling tree limbs to the soft limbs of *yakṣī*s:

> The flowering tree joins (as a sister to its form), these female figures, which bow the most gracious surrender. The legend says that it began to flourish when it was touched by the foot of a woman. So strong is the fullness of life of one of them that she can give it away even to another. Art makes them bloom and grow together. The woman's knee and elbow seem as if they were tender joints of the tree. An inborn feeling of life's community makes the artist from Bharhut and Sanchi form the stems of plants and the arms of man in the same way not regarding their physical appearance or their organic structure. The relation and connection of forms is more intimate than the isolation of the individual.[41]

The onlookers at the top of the pillar have softly modeled, round faces with tranquil expressions and short-fingered hands that are so soft they appear gloved. These features are consistent with the styles noted in the other sculptures of the middle to late first century BCE discussed in this chapter. Flanking the heads of the onlookers are two eight-sided pilasters topped by a composite, three-part capital consisting of a grooved *āmalaka*, crouching winged lion, and voluted, cross-hatched capital. These architectural elements, particularly the soft, quilted appearance of the voluted capital, are parallel in form and style to those on the reverse of the Kaṭhika pillar (Figs. 185–187).

The rich detail, soft, heavy volumes, overall sense of calm, and depiction of forms receding into three-dimensional space are characteristics of sculptures from Mathura dating to the second half of the first century BCE, and they pervade the carving of the pillar in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art. Its style lacks the dynamic vigor and the abbreviated, dry, or schematized qualities of sculptures dating to the Kuṣāṇa period (Fig. 201), the time to which this sculpture is generally attributed.

---

[41] Stella Kramrisch, "The Representation of Nature in Early Buddhist Sculpture," p. 126. The same comments can apply to the early sculpture of Mathura, such as the *yakṣī* on the railing pillar in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art.

Woman Riding a Griffin (Fig. 202)

The fragmentary relief carving of a woman riding a griffin in the collection of the Bharat Kala Bhavan shows the bust of a woman (the bottom of the stone slab is broken) in profile and the head and neck of a griffin (*vyāla*), a leonine creature with a bird's beak. This piece may have served as an ornamented *toraṇa* bracket, like the more fully preserved male figure riding a griffin (Fig. 181).[42] It is likely that she is a minor female divinity, since she rides a mythical creature. Her plump, round face is sensitively modeled, particularly around her mouth, and the gentle ridge of her eyebrow is subtly curved, adding to her expressiveness. An interest in naturalistic portrayal is notable in this sculpture, as in the others I have attributed to the middle to late first century BCE. This is especially apparent in the depiction of her posture. Her torso leans back, and her head nods forward, as though her body is being rocked by the motion of her mount, in contrast to the stiffer rendition of the male figure riding a *vyāla*, discussed at the beginning of this chapter, which probably dates to a bit earlier in the early first century BCE (Fig. 181). Furthermore, her rounded bosom swells gently beneath her stringed necklace; her embroidered coif and hair fall heavily at the nape of her neck as actual hair would, and the double row of pearls drapes in a subtle wave over her head. The texturing of the coif recalls that of the turban and shawl-like ornament of the male figure on the Kaṭhika pillar in the Mathura Museum (Fig. 188), as does the soft treatment of her short-fingered hand clasping an *aśoka* blossom. The rather tentative and uneven carving of her coiled bracelets recalls the quality of line found on the Year Twenty-One *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 133), in that it is not sharp and refined. Cross-hatched patterning, which very commonly appears in sculptures of this period, fills the broad bracelet. The wavering quality of line is akin to the mode of representation of textiles during this period, such as the pleated cloth covering the chair of the seated figure on the reverse of the Kaṭhika pillar (Fig. 187).

The entire face of the griffin is visible, for it forms the corner of the piece, and it is being driven by the woman, who probably grasped its reins in her left hand. Although the carving of the griffin is more abstract than that of its rider, the vitality in the curves and counter-curves of its head and face, and the lack of any hard, sharp, or dry lines suggest that it too is datable to ca. 50–20 BCE.

Female Votary from Faizabad (Figs. 203–206)

A full-length sculpture of a female figure, often called the "Faizabad *yakṣī*," perhaps qualifies as the most accomplished and well-preserved example of Mathura sculpture from the second half of the first century BCE (Fig. 203). Although this sculpture was found at the village of Deokali, near Faizabad (also known as Ayodhya and Saketa), the plump features and the mottled red sandstone indicate that it was produced at Mathura and exported or removed to Faizabad, about two hundred and seventy-five miles (442.57 kilometers) to the east. The figure is carved almost in the round, with her back attached to a pillar, on the top of which has been carved a stone bowl. This sculpture was probably set up outside the entrance to a *stūpa* or other *caitya*, and the bowl may have been used for the

[42] The male figure riding a griffin was identified as a bracket by J. P. Vogel in *La Sculpture de Mathura*, Pl. XI a, p. 96.

cleansing of the hands or feet of the worshippers before entering a sacred precinct, as A. K. Coomaraswamy suggested.[43]

The image of a young woman carrying a pitcher in a lowered hand and a covered basket in a raised hand seems to have been an early pan-Indian mode of portraying an ideal devotee. Many iconographically similar female figures were created in many regions of India. Examples from Mathura include the *yakṣī* in the Bharat Kala Bhavan of the late first century BCE (Fig. 199), a female figure from Kaṅkalī-Ṭīlā dating to the early second century CE (Fig. 207), and the *yakṣī* from Sanghol dating to the late second century CE (Fig. 201).[44] Goddesses carved on a *vedikā-stambha* (rail post) from the southern Indian *stūpa* at Amaravati are depicted with a narrow-necked pitcher in their lowered right hands and a large bowl in their raised left hands (Fig. 208). A relief on a coping stone from Besnagar in central India, dating to ca. late second century BCE, depicts a female devotee in the act of bringing a spouted pitcher and covered basket to a *stūpa* (Fig. 209). Near Besnagar, at Sanchi, the central architrave of the north *toraṇa* of *Stūpa* I contains a depiction of a female figure identified as Sujātā, the maiden who brought to Siddhartha his last meal before his enlightenment. Sujātā carries a narrow-necked pitcher similar to that of the Faizabad *yakṣī* in her lowered right hand and a covered basket of food in her raised left hand, and she is shown standing by the *bodhi* tree, beneath which is carved an altar that indicates the seat of the Buddha.[45] Sujātā may be interpreted as an ideal alms-giving devotee, for the pure rice and milk that she brought to Siddhartha allowed him to break his fast and to achieve enlightenment. The iconographically similar Faizabad *yakṣī* can be identified as a representation of a young woman[46] bringing offerings to a *stūpa* or other *caitya*. She seems to serve as an auspicious adornment to the cleansing bowl, an accouterment of a sacred site, depicted with the iconographic features of the archetypal devotee, like Sujātā, who brings alms that can precipitate the attainment of enlightenment, or at least the success of one's devotions at the site.

The figure of the young woman on the pillar from Faizabad stands in a relaxed pose, with her weight on her left leg and her right leg slightly bent at the knee; this tranquil mien is consistent with that of the other figures attributed to ca. 50–20 BCE above. Although her upper chest and breasts form an organic, smoothly unified area like those of the female figures from *Stūpa* I at Sanchi (Fig. 117), probably dating to around 50 BCE, her abdomen and hips are of the segmented type noted in the female figures of the Dhanamitra *āyāgapaṭa* and the Mātharaka *āyāgapaṭa* (Figs. 142a and 144). The contours of her waist form two straight parallel lines, which abruptly flare to her broad hips, thus forming a corner at the junction between the waist and hips. This segmented abdominal

[43] A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Yakṣas*, 1993 reprint, p. 167, for his discussion of bowls at sacred sites.

[44] A *yakṣī* with the same iconography is illustrated in H. F. E. Visser, *Asiatic Art in Private Collections of Holland and Belgium* (New York: Beechhurst Press, 1948), p. 187, no. 320. I thank Dr. Jan Fontein for drawing my attention to this publication.

[45] Vidya Dehejia, *Discourse in Early Buddhist Art*, 1997, Figure 91; and idem. *Unseen Presence*, frontispiece.

[46] Coomaraswamy suggested that the Faizabad *yakṣī* is a form of the goddess of abundance, Śrī Lakṣmī, citing the aspect of Śrī who brings food and drink in the *Taittirīya Upaniṣad* I.4 (A. K. Coomaraswamy, "Early Indian Iconography: II. Śrī Lakṣmī," pp. 175 and 182). This identification is plausible, but the contents of the basket appear to be garlands rather than food, and since there are so many examples of female worshippers as well as *yakṣī*s and river goddesses bearing the same type of pitcher and basket, it is equally plausible that she represents a devotee or a *yakṣī*.

type was carried on in female figures of the first century CE, but it was out of fashion by the advent of the Kuṣāṇa period.

Her face is round, as seems to be characteristic of sculptures of Mathura women in general, and her gentle smile forms a placid, pleasing expression (Fig. 204). Like the Kaṭhika pillar *yakṣa* (Fig. 188) and the woman riding a griffin (Fig. 202), the eyebrows of the Faizabad pillar figure are formed by delicate ridges. The left eyebrow is long and thin and fairly straight, whereas the right brow is gently curved; this subtle variation in the depiction of her eyebrows lends vitality and expressiveness to her face, and it is one example of the sculptor's fastidious attention to detail. Her eyes are slightly downcast and introspective, and they were carved with keen sensitivity. The longer, slightly raised line of the upper lid curves to meet the lower one more heavily at the inner end and more finely at the outer end. Her mouth is skillfully modeled, especially where it interfaces with her cheeks, and all her facial features form a smooth, coherent unity with the soft planes of her face.

Subtly naturalistic elements abound in the details of the Faizabad sculpture. Her upper garment, loosely twisted and tied around her hips, conveys a sense of weight as it falls to the side. It is exquisitely carved, with irregularly spaced narrow pleats of varying thickness that provide the cloth with a texture much like that of creased muslin. One end of her upper garment hangs down the side of her left leg; the other end is stretched across her left thigh, presses under her girdle, and comes to rest over her upper right thigh, where it is tied with a tight little knot, similar to the one on the Kaṭhika pillar figure (Fig. 188). By the depiction of stretching, gathering, and puffing in various places, this garment is shown to respond to every kind of force exerted upon it; nowhere is it schematized in design, dry in its lines, or hard in its surfaces. It also provides slightly more coverage, as is characteristic of pre-Kuṣāṇa sculpture, than the garments of most sculptures datable to the Kuṣāṇa period (Figs. 201 and 207). The nude form of her upper body is more revealed, however, than that of sculptures of ca. 100 BCE, such as the *yakṣī* tying her sash (GMM J.2, Fig. 52). The interest in naturalistic depiction of textiles has been noted throughout our discussion of sculptures attributed to ca. 50–20 BCE.

Other elements that seem to have been carefully observed by the sculptor from natural objects include the quality of weight and fullness in the garlands held over the pitcher in the sculpture's right hand (Fig. 205). The uneven texturing of the garlands recalls the carving of the borders of the *svastika* on the Year Twenty-One *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 133), and the undulating softness of the forms is much like the depiction of the twisted cloth on the Kaṭhika pillar figure (Fig. 188). Her right hand, which grasps the garlands and the pitcher, is soft and fleshy, with gently articulated bending. The bracelet on her upraised left hand is shown as having slipped in response to the elevation, like the bracelets on the *yakṣī* in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art (Fig. 200). The woven basket is covered with textured patterning, and its lid has popped off slightly because of the overflowing of its contents (Fig. 204), thereby subtly underscoring the importance of the idea of abundance in early Indian sculptural imagery.

The pillar behind her back is of the composite type seen in miniature on several of the reliefs discussed, such as the reverse of the Kaṭhika pillar (Fig. 185) and the *āñjalī* pillar (Fig. 190a). It has an octagonal shaft that narrows towards the top, resting on a base composed of flaring palm fronds beneath a pot (Fig. 206). A short pot-shaped capital is

surmounted by yet another capital composed of addorsed crouching, winged leonine creatures with human heads. Yet another capital rests on their backs; this one has crooked volutes and is covered with diagonal cross-hatching. The planes of the voluted capital are softly and irregularly modulated, giving it a soft, sagging appearance. As noted above, cross-hatching is a common filler motif used during this period, particularly in capitals. The warped, cross-hatched appearance of the capital recalls the *aśoka* flowers on the *āyāgapaṭa* fragment with *aśoka* flowers (Fig. 139), which dates to around the mid–first century BCE. The bowl atop the column, the short, pot-shaped capital, and the pot base are all decorated with horizontal bands of varying widths with patterns that include beads, lotus petals, twisted garlands, and palm leaves.

The Faizabad pillar sculpture is not generally attributed to the middle to late first century BCE, but when its stylistic characteristics are examined in light of the overall trends in early Mathura sculpture, this period seems to be the most appropriate. The female figure incorporates much of the soft, weighty naturalism characteristic of the sculptures dating to the mid-first century BCE, but she has the segmented torso, the patterning and textures, and evidence of attention to detail that are characteristics shared by *āyāgapaṭa*s of the late first century BCE.

A date in the Kuṣāṇa period seems implausible for the Faizabad figure, for she does not display the salient characteristics visible in the sculptures of the Kuṣāṇa period, such as the complex rhythms in posture, folds of flesh at the waist, the slick tautness of volumes and surfaces, and the tendency to abbreviate details. When the Faizabad figure is compared to the iconographically similar Sanghol *yakṣī* (Fig. 201) of the second century CE, the impression that the latter gives is one of more aggressive power, with emphasis on full, taut volumes with tight, smooth surfaces of the body in a complex, dynamic pose. The soft and gentle qualities of the Faizabad figure are absent in sculpture of the Kuṣāṇa period. In the treatment of the pleated cloth that hangs by their sides, the stylistic differences between the Sanghol *yakṣī* and the Faizabad figure can be encapsulated. The garment of the Sanghol *yakṣī* is less conspicuous, as only the end and one narrow loop are visible off to one side, but the garment end is depicted with a bold and dynamic vertical stroke, which adds to the extroverted energy of the sculpture as a whole (Fig. 201). In contrast, the same garment on the Faizabad pillar figure is emphasized as an important detail, and the soft, puffy, textured fabric is not imbued with its own energy, but instead seems to respond naturally to the forces of gravity and the contours of her body (Fig. 203). For these reasons, the Faizabad pillar sculpture should not be attributed to the Kuṣāṇa period, but to the middle to late first century BCE. The high quality of the carving of this sculpture shows that the school of art at Mathura did not suffer a setback in the late first century BCE, and the sophistication seen in the sculptures of the Kuṣāṇa period is not unprecedented.

The sculptures described above, although representing varying subjects and types and ranging in quality, share characteristics that typify the Mathura sculptural style of ca. 50–20 BCE. Naturalism is pervasively important in the sculptures of this period, as manifested in the depiction of perspective and recession into space, in the complex representations of vegetation, in the soft, sensitive modeling of forms, and in the extraordinary attention paid to textiles and other details. The attention to textiles and detail during this period (middle to late first century BCE) emphasizes their textures and the way they would

drape naturally, as opposed to the different kind of attention to textiles seen in sculptures of the time of Bharhut (ca. 150 BCE), which accentuates sharp and detailed patterning. Despite the infusion of organic vitality and inner life in all the sculptures of this time, the carvings exude a sense of tranquillity; the figures exhibit relaxed, commonly bending or slouching postures and introspective gazes, very unlike the extroverted and dynamic aspects of sculptures of the Kuṣāṇa period. The quality of carving is always soft, be it in the rubbery but delicately modulated leaves on vegetation, in the rounded or sagging voluted capitals, or in the plump figures. Each male figure has a soft fleshy abdomen that protrudes over his girdle, and the female figures have soft, swelling breasts and segmented torsos. Common motifs include the cross-hatching filler, composite columns with three-part capitals, and soft, short-fingered hands that seem padded or glove-like.

Camuṇḍā-Ṭīlā Capital (Figs. 210–212)

A pillar capital found in the mid-1970s at Camuṇḍā-Ṭīlā in the northern section of the city of Mathura (GMM 72.7) seems to represent a transitional style between the soft, naturalistic modes of ca. 50–20 BCE and the firmer and bolder figural style of ca. 15 CE during the time of the *mahākṣatrapa* Śoḍāsa's reign in Mathura. Although slightly broken, the surviving parts of the sculpture are very well preserved and evince a rich and assured style unique to the late first century BCE. Measuring about two and a half feet (76.2 centimeters) in height, this capital is rather flat and two-dimensional in format, and its imagery was meant to be read only from the front and back; the depth of the piece is very narrow in comparison to its width. Originally, it probably surmounted a pillar, and the *yakṣa*, whose arms are upraised, would have supported the crowning element of the *dhvaja*, such as a *cakra*.

Both sides of this capital are carved with almost identical components (Figs. 210 and 211). The bottom part of the Camuṇḍā-Ṭīlā capital consists of a tall, broad palm leaf with a central stem from which issue the curving, narrow, pointed divisions of the frond, rendered with varying lengths and grooved centers, which impart a graphic impression of vitality; the tip of the palm leaf is folded over in a fan-like formation.

Flanking the central palm frond are two lion protomes facing out to each side. These lions (Fig. 212) have small, delicate, round heads—more like those of otters or minks than of lions—with slightly open mouths, simple incised whiskers, and eyes with double upper and lower lids that are similar to those on the slightly earlier and more abstracted *vyāla* in Fig. 202. Their ears are also incised with curved grooves, and the locks that form the mane are depicted in a series of overlapping, long, narrow double V-shapes, which fall over the back of the neck.

The main part of the capital is occupied by a male *yakṣa* who looks as though he is a *naramakara* like those found on the spandrels of some of the *āyāgapaṭa*s, particularly the Mātharaka *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 143). He has a corpulent, distended belly, the smooth surface of which is interrupted only by his navel, which is crescent-shaped on one side but round on the other. Although his breasts evince a flabby softness that one would expect on sculptures of the middle to late first century BCE from Mathura, his abdomen displays a slightly smooth, hard quality that foreshadows the male figural type of the early first century CE (e.g., Fig. 276).

Around his upper chest is a broad, flat torque composed mainly of lotus petal designs, bordered by rows of single pearls. This type of torque is also worn by the *naramakara* in

Fig. 144. The remains of a large pendant earring are visible at the right shoulder in Fig. 210. He wears a loincloth in the shape of a stylized palm leaf, like the *naramakaras* on *āyāgapaṭas*; its pattern is fairly rigid and carved with harder, more schematized lines than those worn by the *naramakaras* on the Mātharaka *āyāgapaṭa* (Figs. 143 and 144).

The legs of this *yakṣa* or *nara-makara* atlante are either swallowed by or formed by *makaras* (one is broken at the neck), the open mouths of which are located at his hips, and their tails curve gracefully out to either side of the capital. The surviving *makara* is masterfully sculpted on both sides in the style of the late first century BCE. Its snout curls with outlined lips; the double lidded eye with raised eyebrow ridge and the fish-fin ears mimic the patterns on the palm fronds. Along the underside of the belly is a ridge of hair carved with parallel, diagonal incised lines. The softly undulating, S-curved serpentine body, ending in a caudate fin over the lion's head, has smooth surfaces covered with the distinctive, fanciful variety of incised shapes—rings, paisley-like teardrops, trefoils, and triangles with concave sides—that decorate the bodies of creatures made during the late first century BCE (Figs. 142a, 145, and 183).

The central atlantean *yakṣa* originally was flanked on each side by striding female figures serving as brackets. Only the lower half of one of them survives on the Camuṇḍā-Ṭīlā capital, but both sides attest to the high quality of workmanship and distinctive style that pervades this ensemble. The surviving half of a figure has a lower garment that clings diaphanously to her legs, but it stretches between her legs, where it is carved with widely spaced, curving incised lines—an articulation of the garment that foreshadows the mode of the early first century CE, as seen, for example, in Figs. 218 and 235. Over the front of the middle of her girdle hangs a broad swath of cloth striated by widely spaced parallel pleat lines, which are also common in sculptures of the late first century BCE to the first century CE. Another item of clothing—probably the upper garment—spans the space between her hip and the belly of the central *yakṣa*, hanging to one side in a bold diagonal that prefigures the dynamism of the Kuṣāṇa period. This piece of cloth is pleated in a somewhat natural and irregular manner that is more akin to sculptures dating to the middle to late first century BCE, such as the female votary from Faizabad (Fig. 203). The small hands and soft, rounded limbs of the Camuṇḍā-Ṭīlā capital female are not unrelated to those of the Faizabad figure, although on a smaller scale. Like the Faizabad votary and the Sanchi *yakṣī* (Fig. 117), the legs of the female figures on the Camuṇḍā-Ṭīlā capital do not have ballooning thighs combined with much narrower ankles, as do the female figures of the Kuṣāṇa period (Figs. 197 and 201). Such a disparity in size between thighs and shins lends the *yakṣīs* of the Kuṣāṇa period a more dynamic and extroverted appearance, in contrast to the tranquility imparted by the female images from Sanchi and Faizabad and the lower bodies of the female figures on the Camuṇḍā-Ṭīlā capital.

The Camuṇḍā-Ṭīlā capital exhibits a rich, plastic quality, both in overall design and quality of detail, that indicates its proximity in date to the middle to late first century BCE. Its soft and rounded forms carved with a sense of inner, surging vitality, confer an impression that reminds us of the *āyāgapaṭas* dating to ca. 50–20 BCE. However, it displays a new flatness of surfaces, tautness of volumes, stiffness of drapery, and the wide, regular pleats that reveal the immanence of styles characterizing the early first century CE. Thus, I consider this sculpture to be a transitional piece that retains elements of late first century BCE styles but has seminal features that foreshadow the characteristics of sculptures dating to the early first century CE.

CHAPTER SIX

SCULPTURE OF MATHURA DURING THE REIGN OF ŚOḌĀSA (CA. 15 CE)

Introduction: The Time of Śoḍāsa

The works of art discussed in this chapter were produced when Mathura was governed by a ruler whose name is actually known—a rare circumstance for the early periods covered in this book. The ruler's name is Śoḍāsa, and he stands out as exceptional in the list of names of post-Mauryan, pre-Kuṣāṇa potentates of Mathura, most of whom are known exclusively from local, faceless coinage. Unlike rulers such as Brāhmamitra, Rāmadatta, Hagāna, and Hagāmaṣa who populate the murky political history of early Mathura, the name of Śoḍāsa is found in several epigraphs, some of which accompany sculpture, as well as in coin legends. In one instance his name is even carved in stone with a date, the Year Seventy-Two, on the Amohini *āyavati* (Fig. 148), and in the Mathura lion capital inscription (Figs. 213–215) his name appears along with the names of other individuals whose dates are known from other sources. This is far more information than we have about any of the other political leaders of Mathura before the Kuṣāṇa emperor Kaniṣka. All of the evidence combines to uphold ca. 15 CE for the date of Śoḍāsa, as most scholars have agreed over the years, in which case we have what is coveted by most historians of early Indian art: a benchmark date. Although the duration of Śoḍāsa's reign is not known for certain, we can be confident that he was in full power over Mathura in 15 CE and that his reign began sometime between 6 CE and 15 CE. Moreover, the reign of Śoḍāsa, falling as it does at the beginning of the first century CE, is just over one hundred years prior to our next benchmark date in the history of early Mathura sculpture: the date of Kaniṣka, whose reign apparently began in 127 CE. This difference of about one hundred years is long enough to produce significant and identifiable changes in sculptural style. In this chapter I present the sculptures dated to the time of Śoḍāsa, define their stylistic features, and apply this definition to other sculptures that display these features, most of which were formerly dated to the Kuṣāṇā period or vaguely to some first century CE date. As we saw in Chapter Four when discussing *āyāgapaṭa*s made during the reign of Śoḍāsa, there was a distinctive and consistent style of art produced at Mathura during the time of Śoḍāsa, and it is readily distinguishable from that of any phase of the Kuṣāṇa period.

Eight surviving inscriptions mention Śoḍāsa. The earliest is the Mathura lion capital inscription (Figs. 213–215), which was carved when his father, Rajūvula, was still in power. In the Mathura lion capital inscription, Rajūvula is given the title *mahākṣatrapa*, or 'great satrap,' whereas Śoḍāsa is given the lesser title of simply *kṣatrapa*, or 'satrap.'[1] The other

[1] Sten Konow, *Kharoshṭhī Inscriptions with the Exception of those of Aśoka*, pp. 48–49; and D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 114–119.

stone inscriptions appear to be later, for they all refer to Śoḍāsa as *mahākṣatrapa* or *svāmi mahākṣatrapa*, with the additional Indic honorific *svāmi*, meaning 'lord' (Appendix I.10–I.15 and Appendix II.15). This advancement from *kṣatrapa* in the Mathura lion capital inscription indicates that by the time the seven inscriptions were recorded, Śoḍāsa had succeeded his father as 'great satrap' (*mahākṣatrapa*) at Mathura.

Śoḍāsa appears to have assimilated into the local Indic culture of Mathurā, unlike his father, who retained more links to the Indo-Scythian regions of greater Gandhāra, with its Hellenistic heritage. Unlike his father, who struck both bilingual coins of debased Hellenistic types with legends in Greek and Kharoṣṭhī (the script used primarily in Gandhāra and Bactria) and coins with more indigenous types and Brāhmī legends (the script used in the remainder of the Indian subcontinent), Śoḍāsa seems to have exclusively struck coins with legends written in Brāhmī. Moreover, Śoḍāsa's coins have been discovered only in the Mathura region, whereas those of Rajūvula also were found farther north, particularly in areas east of the Indus River, such as Jammu. This distribution of coinage and scripts thereon suggests that Śoḍāsa held political sway only over the Mathura region, whereas his father had also controlled other areas. Śoḍāsa's coin issues consistently display the indigenous Indian goddess of fortune and prosperity, Śrī Lakṣmī, on both the obverse and reverse, but on the reverses she is lustrated by a pair of elephants. These coins are a lead and copper alloy, and they were struck in both half *karshapanas* (4.16–4.68 grams) and quarter *karshapanas* (2.08–2.34 grams). Śoḍāsa issued coinage with three different legends: '*kṣatrapa* Śoḍāsa, son of the *mahākṣatrapa*' ('*mahakhatapasa putasa khatapasa śodasasa*' followed by a *svastika*); '*kṣatrapa* Śoḍāsa, son of Rajūvula' (*svastika* followed by '*rajuvula putasa khatapasa śodasasa*'), and '*mahākṣatrapa* Śoḍāsa' (*svastika* followed by '*mahakhatapasa śodasasa*').[2]

Coins and inscriptions mentioning rulers with the title '*mahākṣatrapa*' have been discovered at Mathura from archaeological strata dating to around the end of the first century BCE to the mid-first century CE.[3] These rulers who adopted the Persian system of subsidiary governance by satrapies were ultimately of foreign extraction, apparently being either Scythian (Śaka) or Iranian (Pahlava) or a mixture of both. The dedication of gifts to a Buddhist site by *kṣatrapas* "for the sake of honoring all of Sakastan" in the Mathura lion capital inscription suggests that the homeland of these people was Sakastan, a region also known as Seistan in southeastern Iran.[4] The kings or overlords to whom the *kṣatrapas* of Mathura were to some extent allied, if at all, may have been the Indo-Parthian kings based in the northwestern regions of present-day Pakistan, such as Azes II or Azilises, who were called *mahārāja*, or 'great king.'

The first *kṣatrapa* at Mathura seems to have been Rajūvula, for among all of the coins of *kṣatrapas* found at Mathura, only his have also been found in the northern regions of Chach (near Taxila) and Jammu with bilingual Greek and Kharoṣṭhī legends and imagery common on coins of the Indo-Parthian and Indo-Greek rulers. Major coin types of Rajūvula, with legends that refer to him as a *kṣatrapa* or *mahākṣatrapa* in Kharoṣṭhī, and as *basileos* ('king') or *soteros* ('savior') in Greek have been found from the region of Jammu in the

[2] Michael Mitchiner, *Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythian Coinage*, vol. VII, pp. 608–609.
[3] H. Härtel, *Excavations at Sonkh*, p. 86.
[4] Mathura lion capital inscripton, line P.1–2 *sarvasa sak(r)astanasa puyae*. (Sten Konow, *Kharoshthī Inscriptions with the Exception of those of Aśoka*, pp. 48–49.)

Himalayan foothills. The images on these coins are derived from Indo-Greek prototypes and include a diademed portrait bust of Rajūvula on the obverse and a striding Pallas Athena hurling a thunderbolt or a standing Hercules holding a club and lion skin on the reverse. Rajūvula's coins from Chach depict a king holding a whip mounted on a horse (like the coins of Azes and Azilises), with Zeus Nikephoros on the reverse.[5] Some of the coins of Rajūvula from Mathura are of the indigenous Indian obverse and reverse types picturing the *abhiṣeka* (lustration) of the goddess Śrī Lakṣmī and legends in the local Brāhmī script, as had been used on the coins of the previous Mitra and Datta kings, the local rulers of Mathura from around the second to first centuries BCE.[6] Rajūvula was apparently a *kṣatrapa* under the Scytho-Parthian king Azilises,[7] first in the region of northern Chach and then in the eastern regions of the Punjab and Jammu. He then seems to have captured Mathura and thereafter was known as a *mahākṣatrapa*, and his son, Śoḍāsa, succeeded him there. Rajūvula apparently enjoyed a degree of independence from his overlord, since sometimes he was called both *kṣatrapa* and *basileos* on the same coin.[8] Nevertheless, his connections with the Indo-Scythians of the northwest apparently remained strong even when he was in Mathura, because the city of Taxila and several family members of that region are mentioned by name in the Mathura lion capital inscription.[9] His son, Śoḍāsa, may have been even more independent than his father, as there is no evidence that he was beholden to any other higher power. Almost nothing is known about the other *kṣatrapa*s of Mathura, Hagāna, Hagāmaṣa, Śivadatta, Śivaghoṣa, Toraṇadāṣa (or Bharaṇaḍāṣa), and Vajatatajama (or Vajatama or Vijayatrāta *svāmī*), besides their names known from coinage.[10] Coins of Hagāmaṣa have been found in a slightly older stratum at Sonkh than those of Rajūvula, which might suggest that he, rather than Rajūvula was the first *kṣatrapa* of Mathura.[11] However, viewing Mathuran coinage overall, P. L. Gupta argued that Hagāmasha, who struck coins jointly with Hagāna, must have postdated Śoḍāsa.[12]

---

[5] See Michael Mitchiner, *Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythian Coinage*, vol. VII, pp. 600, 604–606. Mitchiner suggested that Rajūvula was first a *kṣatrapa* in Chach before he was appointed governor in the eastern regions of Jammu. Thereafter he appears to have proceeded to Mathura, after his promotion to *mahākṣatrapa*.

[6] Ibid. p. 607.

[7] In the bilingual Greek and Kharoṣṭhī coins of Rajūvula from areas east of the Indus River, his title is *kṣatrapa*, and the types are closely related to those of Azilises from the same areas. See B. N. Mukherjee, *Mathurā and its Society: The Śaka-Pahlava Phase*, pp. 5–6, 8–9.

[8] M. Mitchiner, *Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythian Coinage*, vol. VII, pp. 604–605.

[9] In the Mathura lion capital inscription, Taxila is mentioned in line R.1 (Sten Konow, *Kharoshthī Inscriptions with the Exception of those of Aśoka*, pp. 48–49) Kharaosta, the *yuvarāja*, or 'heir apparent,' and Patika, the *mahākṣatrapa*, or 'great satrap,' both mentioned in the Mathura lion capital inscription (lines A.4, E.1, and G.1), are known from other inscriptions found in Gandhāra. Kharaosta, the *yagurāja* ('clan king') is mentioned in the silver goblet reliquary of Indravarman. See Richard Salomon, "An Inscribed Silver Buddhist Reliquary of the Time of King Kharaosta and Prince Indravarman," pp. 418–452. Patika, the *kṣatrapa*, wrote a dedication on a copper plate from Taxila dated Year Seventy-Eight of an uncertain era (Sten Konow, *Kharoshṭhī Inscriptions*, pp. 23–29. Cf., *inter alia*, D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 124–125.)

[10] B. N. Mukherjee, *Mathura and Its Society*, pp. 28–32; P. L. Gupta, "Early Coins of Mathurā Region," in *Mathura: The Cultural Heritage*, ed. Doris Meth Srinivasan, p. 131; and A. K. Narain, "Ancient Mathurā and the Numismatic Material," in *Mathura: The Cultural Heritage*, ed. Doris Meth Srinivasan, p. 116. A. K. Narain opined that the *kṣatrapa*s of Mathura belonged to two ethnic groups, Śaka and mixed Scytho-Parthian.

[11] H. Hārtel, *Excavations at Sonkh*, p. 86.

[12] P. L. Gupta, "Early Coins of Mathura Region," in *Mathura: The Cultural Heritage*, ed. Doris Meth Srinivasan, p. 131.

Among the eight inscriptions that mention the name of Śoḍāsa, only one, the Amohini *āyavati* inscription (Appendix II.15), includes a date. This date has been read as either the Year Seventy-Two or Forty-Two of an unknown era. Although several scholars, beginning with Georg Bühler,[13] followed by Vincent Smith[14] and most recently Joe Cribb,[15] favor the Year Forty-Two reading, most epigraphers including Heinrich Lüders, who presented the most convincing arguments, prefer the Year Seventy-Two reading. Lüders gave a lengthy and convincing argument, which concludes that the symbol representing the first digit of the date in the Amohini *āyavati* inscription, which remains clearly legible, should be read as seventy rather than forty, on the basis of comparison with other inscriptions and manuscripts in which the digit appears.[16] Since the Amohini *āyavati* inscription date is not referred to a specified era, we must rely on a confluence of epigraphic, numismatic, and artistic sources for clues as to the most appropriate era to which the year should be reckoned in order to attribute a date to the reign of Śoḍāsa.

Recent epigraphic and numismatic discoveries support the theory that the year in the Amohini *āyavati* inscription, carved during the reign of '*svāmi mahākṣatrapa* Śoḍāsa,' should be read the Year Seventy-Two of the era of Azes, which is identified with the Vikrama era, beginning in 57 or 58 BCE.[17] Therefore, Śoḍāsa would have been "*mahākṣatrapa*" at Mathura in 15 CE.

Three of the inscriptions mentioning the name of *mahākṣatrapa* Śoḍāsa are carved along with sculpted imagery: the Katrā *toraṇa* fragment (GMM 54.3768; Figs. 217 and 218; Appendix I.14), the Vasu doorjamb (GMM 13.367; Fig. 264; Appendix I.15), and the Amohini *āyavati* (SML J.1; Figs. 148 and 149; Appendix II.15). Three more objects—two male torsos (GMM E.22 and E.21; Figs. 276 and 278) and a carved doorjamb from Morā (SMl J.526; Figs. 265 and 266)—were found together with an inscription carved on a stone slab during the time of *mahākṣatrapa* Śoḍāsa (Fig. 267; Appendix I.13), and they can also be considered contemporaneous with the Katrā *toraṇa* fragment, the Vasu doorjamb, and the Amohini *āyavati*, since they accord stylistically with the three inscribed sculptures. The time to which they are dated by association with the reign of Śoḍāsa is the early first century CE, according to my arguments.

These six sculptures, datable by inscription to the time of *mahākṣatrapa* Śoḍāsa, are crucial for the reconstruction of the history of art and architecture at Mathura of the early first century CE, and, surprisingly, they have not been studied together in previous scholarship. We are fortunate to have them at all. They represent a variety of sculptural types, so that we can glean from them the stylistic characteristics of both small-scale bas reliefs and large-scale sculptures in the round. On the basis of an analysis of these dated

---

[13] G. Bühler, *Epigraphia India*, vol. II, p. 199, no. 2.

[14] V. Smith, *The Jain Stupa and Other Antiquities at Mathura*, p. 21.

[15] Nicholas Sims-Williams and Joe Cribb, "A New Bactrian Inscription of Kanishka the Great," *Silk Road Art and Archaeology*, p. 143; and Joe Cribb, "The Early Kushan Kings: New Evidence for Chronology: Evidence from the Rabatak Inscription of Kanishka I," in *Coins, Art, and Chronology*, Deborah Klimburg-Salter and Michael Alram eds., p. 195.

[16] H. Lüders, "Das Zeichen für 70 in den Inschriften von Mathura aus der Śaka- und Kuṣāṇa-Zeit," pp. 721–26.

[17] For evidence leading to the identification of the Azes Era with the Vikrama Era of 57 BCE see Richard Salomon, "The 'Avaca' Inscription and the Origin of the Vikrama Era," pp. 65–68, and B. N. Mukherjee, "An Interesting Kharoshṭī Inscription," pp. 93–114.

sculptures and the framework provided by the *āyāgapaṭa*s in the previous chapter, a significant quantity of diverse types of sculptures can be attributed to the early first century CE, when a distinctive sculptural style arose, which differs markedly from that prevalent during the Kuṣāṇa period of the second century CE.

Architectural Sculpture

As in Chapters Two, Three, and Five, most of the sculptural remains datable to the period discussed here (ca. 15 CE) are bas reliefs carved on stone rail posts, gateway crossbars, jambs, or tympana that demarcate boundaries and entranceways of sacred precincts. Thus, judging from the material that survives to this day, such architectural pieces appear to have been more prevalent than iconic statuary was at this period. We will first consider the bas reliefs, which are primarily carved upon architectural fragments, and then images carved in the round.

Toraṇa *Architrave Fragment from Katrā (Figs. 217 and 218)*

The small stone fragment carved on two sides (GMM 54.3768) once formed a segment of a *toraṇa*, as we know from the surviving part of its donative inscription (Appendix I.14). Its dimensions and the mortise hole in the top of the stone suggest that it probably formed part of an architrave. The importance of this object lies in the fact that the name of Śoḍāsa appears in the inscription, thus indicating that the reliefs were carved during his reign—i.e. around 15 CE. As the inscription states, the gateway itself was caused to be made by a woman, the latter part of whose name is '-itadevi,' and she was probably a relative or spouse of a minister of Śoḍāsa.

I refer to the side with the inscription carved along the bottom edge as the inscribed side (Fig. 217) and the other side as the uninscribed side, since there is no way of knowing which side faced out from or into the precinct of which it originally formed part of the gateway. Two figures and traces of a third are visible on the inscribed side, and they are probably participants in a narrative scene, which is as yet unidentified.[18] Although only remnants of the carvings on this architrave survive, their state of preservation is adequate for us to make a meaningful analysis of their style. In the center of the Katrā *toraṇa* fragment is a male figure who stands with both legs bent at the knees, at about a three-quarter angle to the viewer. He may be identified as a kind of ascetic or renunciate, for he wears no jewelry; the empty holes in his lobes suggest that he has removed earrings in an act of renouncing society. A girdle of twisted rope secures his short *dhoti*, the end of which is folded and tucked over the center of the girdle and hangs in a broad flap striated with vertical parallel pleat lines. The broad flap of cloth hanging between his legs is characteristic of the mode of dress during this period. Softer, more naturalistic versions were noted in the garments of sculptures carved during the late first century BCE, dis-

[18] John Rosenfield suggested that it forms part of a Buddhist *jātaka*, and that it probably illustrates a story in which the Buddha-to-be is threatened by enemies (J. Rosenfield, "An Early Inscribed Sculpture Fragment from Mathura.") However, until the scenes can be identified, neither the inscription nor the carvings on either side can be stated definitively to denote a specific sectarian affiliation.

cussed in the previous chapter (Figs. 187, 188, and 195). By the early first century CE, the rendition of pleated textiles has become simplified, with broader parallel lines; this trend was foreshadowed in the depiction of the garments worn by the female figures on the Camuṇḍā-Ṭīlā capital (Fig. 210). A narrow cloth crosses the front of the male figure's torso diagonally from his left shoulder to the right side of his waist; one end falls over his left shoulder, in a manner similar to a *yajñopavīta*, which indeed it may be. He has a bulbous belly that pushes down his girdle and seems to expand with an inner pressure. Though still soft and full, its smooth surface imparts less of a fleshy malleability than the bellies of his predecessors of the late first century BCE, such as those pictured in Figs. 187–189 and 191. This smoothing of the abdominal surface was also prefigured in the Camuṇḍā-Ṭīlā capital (Fig. 211), and it is one aspect in which the figural style of the early first century CE displays a change from that of the middle to late first century BCE. It continued to change throughout the first century CE until the tighter and more muscular male torso was consistently favored in the figures of the Kuṣāṇa period under Kaniṣka (Figs. 136, 137, and 173).

In his left hand he holds a long staff, which is curved at the top; it may be identified as a long, unstrung bow, or it may simply be an ascetic's *daṇḍa*. His right hand is held up in front of his right shoulder with his palm facing out.[19] The unusual arrangement of his hair may identify him as a Brahmin ascetic, for the hair is closely shorn all over his head, except for two long locks, one hanging forward and resting on his brow and the other draped over the side of his head and resting by his ear. These ridges could be two ends of a tied *śikhā*, the topknot of hair left uncut by Brahmins. In vignettes from a coping stone at Bharhut that show the Buddha in his previous lives as a Brahmin ascetic, he carries the *daṇḍa* over his shoulder (Fig. 219), and the topknot of hair falls in a thick lock over the crown of his head (Figs. 219 and 220), in a manner similar to the hairstyle of the figure on the Katrā *toraṇa* fragment. The presence of two locks, however, is unusual.

Behind the male figure is a stooped female figure (Fig. 217), standing or slowly striding with both legs bent at the knees, shown almost in profile. In her left hand she grasps the end of what appears to be the scabbard of a sword which rests upon her left shoulder. Its shape and vertical striations interrupted by a rosette within a square are similar to the appearance of the long, sheathed sword held in the left hand of the famous portrait image of Kaniṣka in the Mathura Museum.[20] She wears a lower garment fastened by a girdle with the characteristic flap of cloth hanging down between her legs; no pleat lines are carved over her legs themselves, indicating the diaphanous quality of her skirt. Over her head is thrown a coif decorated at the edges with two rows of squares. The typical rolled puff of hair is visible at her forehead.

The distinctive facial features on these two figures consist of high cheekbones, a prominent brow ridge, and short, triangular noses. Their eyes are almond-shaped, with a sharp inner outline surrounded by a softer line that articulates the eye socket. The central line of their mouths is clearly emphasized between pursed lips.

---

[19] John Rosenfield suggested that one finger was originally touching his chin, indicating puzzlement. However, it is uncertain whether the break on the chin was connected with the finger. Since all four fingers are raised, however, it seems unlikely that the gesture is one of puzzlement, which would consist of only one or at most two fingers touching the chin, as in Fig. 200.

[20] J. P. Vogel, *La Sculpture de Mathura*, Pl. I.

Traces of another female figure can be seen in front of the male ascetic figure. Her hair ties in a loose bun resting on the nape of her neck, like the woman riding a griffin in Fig. 202, but the version in the Katrā *torāṇa* fragment is simpler, with less indication of the weight of the bun. Behind the three figures is an architectural structure punctured by a doorway, and at the upper corner of the fragment are the branches of a tree with spear-shaped, flat leaves, similar to those on the slightly earlier pillar with a *yakṣī* in the Bharat Kala Bhavan (Fig. 199) and on the Jankhat doorjambs (Figs. 194 and 195). Other unidentifiable objects, perhaps rocks, originally were carved on the ground.

The composition on the uninscribed side of the Katrā *toraṇa* fragment contains a woman and a male dwarf walking amid plantain trees towards the right and back into the picture plane, throwing their right arms (now broken) up in the air. The leaves of the plantain trees are sensitively rendered with varying degrees of droopiness, and the trunks have a swelling, organic quality. Only the lower half of the female figure on the right survives, and we can identify a two-tiered girdle that fastens her diaphanous skirts. A sash, loosely worn low across her hips, has spaced parallel pleats. On the portion of her garment that is stretched between her legs are also carved broad parallel creases, reminiscent of the dresses worn by the striding female figures on the Camuṇḍā-Ṭīlā capital (Figs. 210 and 211), as are the heavy anklets. The gentle figural style and proportions of her legs are typical of the style of the early first century CE at Mathura. The fat and vivacious dwarf behind her throws back his elaborately coiffured head with enthusiasm. His body is articulated with rippling, almost undulating, rolls of flesh, and, although seen only from a rear-side view, his portly belly evidently hangs pendulously over his simple, rope-like girdle. Unfortunately, we do not know why these two intriguing figures move with such eagerness through a plantain grove.

Although the carvings on the Katrā *toraṇa* fragment are small in scale and quite badly broken, the figures display a close relation with the types of figures discussed in Chapter Five, especially in their tranquil mien, despite their active movements. There is also a degree of simplification and smoothing of planes; the complex interplay of textures seen in the sculptures of the late first century BCE seems to have been replaced by a bolder style by around the second decade of the first century CE, the time to which the Katrā *toraṇa* fragment is dated. On the other hand, the dynamic extroversion and refinement seen in sculptures of the Kuṣāṇa period of the second century CE were not yet present in the sculptures carved during the time of Śoḍāsa.

Brooklyn Museum Ardhaphālakas (Fig. 221)

A sculpture in the Brooklyn Museum of Art (87.188.5; Fig. 221) seems to share the relief style seen in the Katrā *toraṇa* fragment, exhibiting similar changes from the styles of ca. 50–20 BCE. Its surviving dimensions and the plain border at the bottom of the relief suggest that it once formed part of a *toraṇa* architrave. I have been unable as yet to identify the story portrayed in this relief, and its scenes are unique among the corpus of sculptures of which I am aware. It is possible that the scenes are non-narrative, and this fragmentary architrave probably depicts genre scenes at a Jaina temple complex, rather than scenes from a narrative sequence.

At the far left of the panel is carved a tank, or a man-made pool, filled with water depicted by striated semicircles around the stems of large lotus flowers in varying stages of bloom. Three small steps lead down into the water. Unlike the sculptors of ca. 50–20

BCE, those of the early first century CE were less interested in depicting naturalistic perspective. The tank is tilted up so that the viewer can behold the full effect of the lotuses and the swirling waters. The part of a building on the inscribed side of the Katrā *toraṇa* fragment (Fig. 217) also shows an unnatural slanting orientation.

A group of three male figures is carved next to the tank (Fig. 221); two are identifiable as Jaina monks of the *ardhaphālaka* sect, and one is a layperson or a celestial being. The *ardhaphālaka* monk on the left is shown with both legs slightly bent, reaching his outstretched right hand towards the tank. His left forearm is draped with the pleated *colapaṭṭa* that identifies him as an *ardhaphālaka*, like the *cāraṇamuni*s in Figs. 112 and 170, and the attendants of Pārśvanātha in the center of the Pārśvanātha *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 151). As in sculptures of the *ardhaphālaka*s of the first century BCE and the first century CE, the *colapaṭṭa* is held to the side rather than in front of the genitalia, as it would be consistently in sculptures of the second and third centuries CE (see Fig. 177). In his left hand he seems to grasp a *mukhapaṭika*. The seated figure shown in profile at the right of the group is also identifiable as an *ardhaphālaka* Jaina monk, apparently one of some eminence, for he sits under a tree on a square platform ornamented with vegetal motifs on the side. Over his left forearm is draped the *colapaṭṭa*, and he clutches his bowl or water pot in his left hand. He holds the handle of a *rajoharaṇa* in his right hand, and the ends of the broom drape over his shoulder. The faces of these two monks have the high cheekbones, prominent brow ridges, and almond-shaped eyes noted in connection with the figures on the Katrā *toraṇa* fragment (Fig. 217).

Between the two monks stands a non-clerical male figure, who could either be a layperson or, perhaps, a *deva*, with the odd bent-knee stance seen in the depiction of many figures of the late first century BCE and early first century CE (Figs. 151, 186, 190b, 217, and 218). Because the top of the architrave has been broken, only the lower two-thirds of his body remain. The layman or *deva* presses his hands together in a gesture of veneration directed towards the monk seated under the tree. He wears a lower garment, the hem of which is visible below the knees, and the end hangs in a prominent swath delineated by two deep, parallel pleats. The flowing end of his *uttarīya* is seen under his left elbow. His soft, corpulent belly with deep navel expands gently over his girdle.[21]

Behind the seated monk are three trees that demarcate the scene on the left from the one on the right. They include the tall, mushroom-shaped tree with a thick, subtly bending trunk, under which he sits, and two plantain trees with short trunks that swell at the bases. The large rubbery leaves of the plantain trees are reminiscent of those seen behind the garden wall in Fig. 184 and the drooping leaves on the reverse of the Katrā *toraṇa* fragment (Fig. 218).

Rock outcroppings dominate the remaining right one-third of the relief. They are rendered in cubist forms that prefigure the more abbreviated style of rocky landscapes carved on reliefs of the second century CE, such as those on the reverse of some of the Bhutesvar pillars, and the geometric depiction of rocks in the paintings in the cave temples of Ajanta dating to the fifth century CE.[22] The incorporation of prominent landscape elements, such

[21] For a further discussion of this scene in the context of depictions of other *ardhaphālaka* monks, see S. Quintanilla, "Closer to Heaven than the Gods: Jain Monks in the Art of Pre-Kushan Mathura."

[22] For the rocky landscapes of the second century CE carved in the bas relief panels on the reverse of

as rocky terrain and diverse varieties of trees, as well as the bulbous lotus flowers and swirling waters, represents a continuation of the preceeding bas relief tradition of Mathura, as seen in Fig. 184 and at sites such as *Stūpa* I at Sanchi and the Rāṇī Gumphā at Udayagiri, Orissa.[23]

Apparently riding over the rocks on a fantastic serpentine creature is a group of three figures, only the legs of which survive on this fragmentary relief (Fig. 221). The pointed tail of the serpent, covered with incised geometric shapes, can be identified at the far right of the scene, and its curved, snaky body sags under the weight of its three riders. The figure seated in the front of the group, at the left, is an *ardhaphālaka* monk. No trace of a garment is visible on his left leg, thereby indicating his nudity; his left forearm is draped with the pleated *colapaṭṭa*, and in his left hand he clutches his alms bowl. Seated immediately behind him is a layman or other non-clerical figure such as a *deva*; his girdle as well as the pleats and hemline of his *dhoti* are discernible, and his wrist is adorned with bracelets. Behind him dangles the leg of a woman, identifiable by her heavy roll anklet. The presence of the woman suggests that this group is distinct from the male trio by the tank at the left of the panel.

All of the bodies in this relief have a gentle, almost boneless quality that distinguishes them from the tougher, more extroverted figures of the Kuṣāṇa period. Although some softness is retained in the carvings on this relief in the Brooklyn Museum of Art, the increased simplicity—seen, for example, in the rendition of textiles, the smoothed body surfaces, and the slightly formalized shapes of rocks, trees, eddies, and lotus flowers—indicates that the change in style from the first century BCE to the early first century CE had taken place.

For clues regarding the subject matter of this fragmentary scene, we can look to epigraphs and analogous architectural fragments, such as the tympanum in the National Museum, New Delhi (NMD J.555; Figs. 222 and 223) and the centaur architrave (SML J.535; Figs. 21 and 22). The majority of scenes found on tympana and *toraṇa* architraves of this period at Mathura depict worshippers at a sacred site or worshippers in the process of journeying to a sacred site.

The presence of a man-made tank at the left end of the fragment in the Brooklyn Museum suggests that the scene may be set within a temple complex. Several inscriptions from Mathura dating to the time of Śoḍāsa or to the early Kuṣāṇa period record the dedication of a tank (*puṣkariṇī* or *prapā*) along with other temple accouterments.[24] Of par-

railing pillars from Bhutesvar, see J. P. Vogel, *La Sculpture de Mathura*, Pl. XX b and especially XX d. The cubical rocks at Ajanta, such as those in Cave XVII, are illustrated in numerous publications, including Madanjeet Singh, *Ajanta* (New York: Macmillan, 1965), Pls. 31 and 32.

[23] The *kāmaloka* panel from *Stūpa* I at Sanchi, depicting couples disporting themselves in a rocky landscape with trees and pools, amply exemplifies the propensity for depicting disproportionately large lotuses and swirling waters by the sculptors of around mid–first century BCE. See Pramod Chandra, *On the Study of Indian Art*, Fig. 6. For the similar mode of landscape representation dating to around the mid-first century BCE at Udayagiri in Orissa, see H. Zimmer, *The Art of Indian Asia*, Pl. 54.

[24] The Jamālpur-Ṭīlā stele inscription (Appendix I.11) and the Mirjāpur stele inscription (Appendix I.10) dated to the time of *svāmi mahākṣatrapa* Śoḍāsa record the dedication of twin tanks (*puṣkariṇi*) one by a Brahmin and the other by his wife probably to a Vaiṣṇava temple complex, along with a well, a garden, a pillar, an assembly hall, and stone slabs. The inscription of Kulūta from Mathura records the dedication of a tank along with a garden, an assembly hall, a stone slab, and a well to a sanctuary dedicated to 'Maheśvara' (Appendix I.6; Lokesh Chandra, "Stone Inscription of Kuluta from Mathura," pp. 334–338.). Moreover,

ticular relevance among these inscriptions is the one on the Vasu *śilāpaṭa* which includes the dedication of a cistern (*prapā*) in the Jaina temple sanctuary of the Nirgrantha *arhat*s (GMM Q.2; Appendix II.25; Fig. 168). As noted above, the Vasu *śilāpaṭa* includes representations of *ardhaphālaka* monks (Figs. 169 and 170), just as does the Brooklyn Museum architrave fragment (Fig. 221). Hence, from the evidence supplied by the inscription on the Vasu *śilāpaṭa*, we know that *ardhaphālaka* temple complexes of the first century CE at Mathura included man-made tanks. Therefore, it is possible that the scene at the left end of the Brooklyn Museum architrave depicts two monks and a layperson interacting by a tank within a sacred Jaina sanctuary. If this is the case, then we may conjecture that the lost left-hand part of the original architrave might have contained other elements of the *āyatana*, such as a shrine (*devakula*), a *stūpa*, a pillar, or *āyāgapaṭa*s.

At the right of the surviving composition, the *ardhaphālaka* monk and the male and female figures riding the serpentine creature towards the tank and monks at the left are not unlike the figures riding serpentine mounts to pay homage to a Jaina object of worship on the obverse of the tympanum in the National Museum, New Delhi (Figs. 222 and 223). Perhaps they, like the members of the procession on the tympanum in the National Museum and on the centaur architrave (Fig. 22), are arriving at a Jaina sanctuary to pay homage to the sacred objects housed therein. Since they are riding a mythical creature, it is possible that the male and female figures are celestial beings coming to worship the *arhat*, along with the *ardhaphālaka* monk. Similarly, as discussed in further detail below, an *ardhaphālaka* monk leads flying celestial beings in worship in the middle register on the reverse of the National Museum tympanum as well (Figs. 223 and 230). Thus, on the basis of comparison with the National Museum tympanum, in particular, and with evidence provided by inscriptions, the fragmentary architrave relief in the Brooklyn Museum of Art seems to depict worshippers coming to a Jaina *ardhaphālaka* temple sanctuary, complete with a tank and *ardhaphālaka* monks. The possibility that this unique relief illustrates scenes from a narrative should nevertheless remain open; however, a narrative to which the surviving vignettes can be plausibly attributed has not yet been identified, to my knowledge. Since so many architraves and tympana from Mathura display devotees arriving at a sacred site, it is most reasonable to surmise that such a devotional scene is represented on the fragmentary architrave in the Brooklyn Museum as well.

National Museum Tympanum (Figs. 222–232)

In the collection of the National Museum, New Delhi (J.555) is one half of a double-sided tympanum that was reportedly recovered from the Jaina monastic site of Kaṅkālī-Ṭīlā in Mathura. Each side of the tympanum is divided into three arched registers which, along with the spandrels, are replete with figural bas relief carvings depicting scenes of processions and veneration of sacred objects (Figs. 222 and 223). I refer to the sides as

according to the inscription on the Vasu *śilāpaṭa*, a cistern (*prapā*) was dedicated to a Nirgrantha temple sanctuary by a courtesan, together with a shrine for the *arhat*, an assembly hall for an object of worship, and a stone slab (Appendix II.25). A tank (*puṣkariṇi*) was also donated to the temple at Māṭ, along with a shrine (*devakula*), garden, well, assembly hall, and gateway, as is specified in the inscription between the feet of the famous seated statue of Vema in the Mathura Museum (GMM 215; H. Lüders, *Mathura Inscriptions*. P. 135).

side A and side B; there is no indication as to which side of this tympanum faced in or out, so I intend no implication of primacy with this nomenclature. Side A shows the worship of the *stūpa* and *āyāgapaṭa*s in the spandrel (Fig. 222), and side B has devotees and auspicious pots in the spandrel (Fig. 223). On side A are some lines of Brāhmī characters that do not appear to be donative inscriptions. Two of the lines are along the side margin of the tympanum, and they seem to be names; one says *pavatakaja* and the other reads *sardakasa*, or 'of Sardaka.' Along the top margin of the tympanum, oriented upside down with respect to the carvings, the inscription reads: *vasurā(?)sasardakasa*. These casual notations may be notes to the masons, or they could possibly refer to the name of the donor of the tympanum simply in the genitive case.

Since we cannot be completely certain that this tympanum actually was found at Kaṅkālī-Ṭīlā, scholars have not been sure whether it originally belonged to a Buddhist or a Jaina site, for it seemed that there was no specifically sectarian imagery among its carvings. Scholarly presumption has been in favor of a Jaina affiliation solely on the basis of its supposed discovery from Kaṅkālī-Ṭīlā. However, a close examination of the carvings on the tympanum reveals part of a figure of an *ardhaphālaka* monk, at the broken edge of the middle register on side B (Fig. 230). Only the bent left elbow and extended left leg of the figure survive, and he appears to be nude, except for the broad, pleated cloth that can be identified as a *colapaṭṭa*, draped over his forearm and hanging to a level just above his knee. No other cloth would fall to such a length from the left forearm, and it has the widely spaced incised pleat lines and straight hem of all the other representations of *colapaṭṭa*s. Above the shoulder of the figure at the top border of the register is a squarish, striated object that can be identified as a *rajoharaṇa*, which a Jaina monk holds over his right shoulder, as we saw on the seated *ardhaphālaka* on the relief in the Brooklyn Museum (Fig. 221). The presence of this *ardhaphālaka* monk indicates that this tympanum belonged to the gateway of a Jaina site, thereby lending support to the claim that this tympanum was originally part of the Jaina sanctuary at Kaṅkālī-Ṭīlā.

As discussed in Chapter Four, the spandrel of side A contains representations of *āyāgapaṭa*s and worshippers at a *stūpa* complex (Figs. 224 and 225). In the right corner of the spandrel, the *āyāgapaṭa*s are lined up on pedestals next to a *stūpa*, which, like *Stūpa* I at Sanchi, has one railing surrounding its drum and another encircling what may be an elevated circumambulatory path. The *stūpa* is topped by a *harmikā* and a garlanded *chattra*, and thus represents a very common early form of the *stūpa*. This *stūpa* is two-storied, while the one depicted on the centaur architrave (Fig. 21), probably from the same site of Kaṅkālī-Ṭīlā and dating over one hundred years earlier to around the late second century BCE, is three-storied. These two types could indicate the presence of more than one *stūpa* at Kaṅkālī-Ṭīlā, but more likely it is a function of the available space for the carvings.

The *stūpa* and the pedestal of the abutting *āyāgapaṭa* rest on square blocks. It does not seem that these square blocks refer to a square base or platform for the otherwise circular drum of the *stūpa*, because in the other spandrel, the worshipping figures also stand on square blocks. Thus, it appears that the square block is a convention of this period used to give objects a ground plane, so that they do not appear to float.

The flowers above the *āyāgapaṭa*s do not necessarily represent actual flower offerings laid upon the platforms, for they are more likely the rosettes so commonly used as auspicious elements and fill for empty space. One finds such rosettes scattered throughout

the reliefs in otherwise empty spaces not only on this tympanum spandrel, but also on other bas reliefs. See, for example, Figs. 220 and 142a.

Six lay worshippers bring offerings and pay homage to the *stūpa* and *āyāgapaṭa*s. The small male figure at the right, standing in front of the *stūpa*, clasps his hands in *añjalī-mudrā*, and the larger figure immediately behind him holds up a tray of garlands. One garland hangs from his left hand, and it is infused with a sense of bulging softness (Fig. 225). These two figures are dressed in the same way; both wear short *dhoti*s with the almost ubiquitous central swath hanging down the middle. Furthermore, they both have the distinctive hairstyle that we noted on the male figures in the lower panels of the Kaṭhika pillar (Fig. 187); their bangs are combed down over their foreheads, but a raised, pigtail-like segment lies at the top of their heads. This raised lock of hair is also similar to that of the male figure on the inscribed side of the Katrā *toraṇa* fragment (Fig. 217) and to that of the Brahmins in Fig. 219.[25] The relative difference in size between the two figures is probably an accommodation to the space of the spandrel, although it is possible that the small figure depicts a young boy. The third figure from the right in this group of worshippers in the spandrel bears a garland in his right hand. He wears a normal type of crested turban, and his *uttarīya* is stretched diagonally over his torso. Behind him stands a laywoman grasping two lotus buds in her upraised right hand. She wears her upper garment stretched diagonally across her breasts, rather than leaving them exposed, with the garment either lashed about her hips or thrown loosely across her shoulders, as is usually shown on female figures depicted at this time. She is accompanied by two laymen; one has hands pressed together in *añjalī-mudrā* and wears a turban with the horn-like crest; the other carries a vessel but has the bare-headed cap-like hairstyle. All the varieties of turbans and hairstyles noted in our discussion of figural sculptures from Mathura dating to the first century BCE and first century CE are portrayed together in this contemporaneous group, thereby showing that these different types of turbans and hairstyles should not be used as chronological indicators. The languid, slouching style of the figures does concur with the types seen specifically on reliefs from the early first century CE, and like the others they seem to stand firmly upon their ground plane. Below the group of worshippers, in the lower corner of the spandrel, a part of a covered cart is visible; it may have been the vehicle used to transport the pilgrims to this sacred site. Examples of these carts filled with people going to worship are seen in the registers discussed below (Fig. 231).

In the pointed corner of the top register on side A of the tympanum in the National Museum (Fig. 224) lies a *makara*, with soft, double-lidded eyes, textured snout, and a full complement of teeth visible in its open mouth. A *yakṣa* stands before him, examining the underside of his tongue. *Yakṣa*s and other kinds of sprites are frequently shown engaging in some activity at the mouth of a *makara*, perhaps indicating that they are related creatures, both essentially partaking in the water cosmology. Their presence on doorways or

[25] It may be possible that this lock of hair represents the tuft (*śikhā*) worn by all Brahmins, which would indicate that these worshippers may be Brahmin converts to Jainism. Some donors to Jaina sites have Brahmin clan names, which suggests that some conversions took place. (See Appendix II.1, wherein 'Kośiki' is a family name that is also used by Brahmin women, such as the donor in the Mirjāpur stele inscription in Appendix I.10.) Other twice-borns of the warrior and merchant classes also could have the tuft.

*vedikā*s, which demarcate the boundary between sacred and profane spaces, provides a symbolic representation of purifying waters that cleanse those who pass beneath them upon entering a sacrosanct precinct.

Behind the *yakṣa*, two composite creatures proceed towards the original center of the top register. One has the forepart of a dragon and the other that of a lion; both have serpentine bodies covered with incised shapes and ending in a fish tail. The presence of the dragon and their striding postures recall those of the animals on the outer border of the Shimla Museum *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 131) and on the armlet of the Pārśvanātha and attendant (Fig. 104), both datable to ca. 100–75 BCE. The animals on this tympanum are shown in higher relief and are more voluminous and unified in their conception, thus revealing the sculptors' experience of an intervening period of naturalism. The three plain disks surmounting the lion-headed creature (Fig. 227) and the single orb above the curving neck of the dragon suggest that these animals with their male riders may represent planetary or other celestial bodies. The male figure riding the leonine anguipede holds his hands in *añjalī-mudrā*, and both riders exhibit the flabby bellies so characteristic of the male figural style of the early first century CE.

In front of the striding leonine creature is an empty palanquin born by geese (*haṃsa*s), three of which are visible (Fig. 227). The palanquin has a barrel-vaulted roof, at the end of which is carved an arched *candraśālikā* window filled with curving latticework; its broad side is punctured by a square door, and the whole structure rests on a base articulated with a *vedikā*. This palanquin may represent the mode of conveyance of the seated male figure, only about half of which remains visible at the broken edge of the tympanum. His divine status is indicated by the garlanded *chattra* held over his head by a standing female attendant. He sits cross-legged on a low dais, and he turns towards his left, his bent right arm extending across his chest, which suggests that his hands may have been held in *añjalī-mudrā*, as he honors the lost central figure of the register. This arrangement mimics that seen on an unbroken tympanum dating to a later period, probably the early third century CE (SML B.207; Fig. 233), wherein the central object of worship—a *stūpa, tīrthaṅkara*, or goddess in the top, middle, and lower registers, respectively—is flanked by two equally large, seated, attendant monks or divinities in *añjalī-mudrā*. The fragmentary deity at the edge of the top register on the tympanum in the National Museum (Fig. 227) might be identifiable as the god Brahmā, whose mount is the goose, or a chariot driven through the air by seven geese.[26] Moreover, the mode of wearing his upper garment is similar to that of Brahmins (Brahmā is the paradigmatic Brahmin), and it may actually be interpreted as a cloth *yajñopavitā*, for it is narrow and looped diagonally under his right arm, across his chest and over the left shoulder, as seen, for example, in the inscribed relief from Bharhut (Fig. 220). Furthermore, his seat has an extra cushion, striated with parallel lines, which may represent the mat of long grass (*kūrchāsana*) on which Brahmā is supposed to sit. Hindu gods were often subsumed within the Jaina and Buddhist pantheons as attendants to Jinas and Buddhas.[27] Hence, the central object of worship to whom the

[26] T. A. Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, II, Delhi, 1993 (first published Madras, 1914), pp. 503 and 505.

[27] Jaina texts and monuments, mostly of the medieval period, confirm the inclusion of Brahmā within the Jaina pantheon of celestial devotees. See, for example, P. O. Sompura and M. A. Dhaky, "The Jaina

riders of the composite animals (who may be planetary divinities) and the deity (who may be Brahmā), come to pay homage is probably the figure of a *tīrthaṅkara*, a *stūpa*, or another sacred object such as those pictured in the outer concentric rings of some diagrammatic *āyāgapaṭa*s (Figs. 140 and 160). If the surviving seated figure can be identified as Brahmā, then it is possible that Indra would have been the other flanking attendant, since Indra and Brahmā are usually paired attendants, particularly in Buddhist contexts of this early period and into the Kuṣāṇa period.[28]

The middle register on side A of the tympanum in the National Museum depicts the same type of *makara* and *yakṣa* vignette and fish-tail dragon with rider as was seen in the top register (Fig. 224), the only major difference being that the dragon does not have the orb over his arched neck in this register. In front of the dragon is carved a cart pulled by two high-stepping horses attended by two grooms, identifiable by their 'wrapped heads,'[29] and in the cart ride two male figures with their hands clasped in *añjalī-mudrā*.

In front of the horses stand two female figures who attend another seated divinity, carved on the broken edge of the tympanum (Fig. 224). One of the women holds a *chattra*, while the other carries a *cauri*, thus signifying the divine or royal status of the seated god or king (Fig. 224; unfortunately damaged). The figural style of these two women foreshadows that of the Kuṣāṇa period, for their garments had begun to take on a life of their own, extending with bold strokes down the sides of their bodies. More of the nude body is revealed than in most female sculptures of this period; the swath of cloth that usually falls from the middle of the girdle is absent here. Less segmentation is noted on the figure of the woman immediately flanking the seated male figure; hence, she represents a progressive figural style, even among the depictions of other female figures on this same tympanum.

Architecture and Iconography in the Vāstuśāstras of Western India," p. 14; and S. Settar, "The Classical Kannaḍa Literature and the Digambara Jaina Iconography," p. 26. It is interesting to note that the *śāsanadevatā* of the Jina Śītalanātha, the tenth *tīrthaṅkara* of this eon, is a *yakṣa* named Brahmā (B. C. Bhattacharya, *The Jaina Iconography*, p. 46).

[28] In scenes such as the Buddha's descent from the Heaven of the Thirty-Three gods at Saṃkāśya, Indra and Brahmā accompany the Buddha down the heavenly ladder, turning towards him in *añjalī-mudrā*. See R. C. Sharma, *Buddhist Art, Mathura School*, Fig. 168. Indra and Brahmā are shown in *añjalī-mudrā* on the pedestal of a Buddha image (SML B.18) datable to the mid-first century CE (Fig. 302). On this pedestal Brahmā is also shown on the left while Indra is at the right, and they both turn towards the center, in a fashion similar to that of the figure on the tympanum in the National Museum (Fig. 227). The figure of Brahmā does not wear the narrow *yajñopavīta*-like upper garment on this Buddha pedestal, however.

[29] The soft cap with broad band under the chin seems in this context to identify its wearer as a groom who tends horses (see also Fig. 231). In his discussion on the subject, J. C. Harle concluded that the 'wrapped heads' do not indicate a specific occupation or ethnicity, for these distinctive headdresses appear on figures of hunters, soldiers, grooms, and servants. However, he does note the similarity between this headgear and the types seen from ancient western Asia. The conclusion at which Harle arrived is that such wrapped heads identify those who are engaged in violent, cold, or dusty activities. (J. C. Harle "The Significance of Wrapped Heads in Indian Sculpture," pp. 406–407.) However, many grooms, soldiers, and hunters in Indian sculpture are depicted without wrapped heads, and the similarity with the Persian prototypes is remarkable. Since the majority of figures with wrapped heads do seem to be horse grooms, we may postulate some association with the people from Arachosia, Aria, or Drangiana, who were renowned horsemen. However, the earliest example of which I am aware of a figure with a wrapped head was not noted by Harle and is seen on a bas relief panel from Bhaja (Fig. 120) in western India, dating to around 150 BCE. Therein, the figure with the wrapped head is an attendant of the king, riding behind him on an elephant. It is still possible that such attendants were foreigners from one of these regions.

Little can be gleaned about the identification of the fragmentary male figure seated on a low dais at the broken edge of the middle register on side A of the tympanum in the National Museum. The remains of his head reveal that his hair is arranged in the matted locks of a Brāhman ascetic, and the shape of the break seems to suggest the original presence of a beard. An unidentified object is carved next to his head. Like the seated figure, possibly of Brahmā, at the broken edge of the top register, the figure in the middle register holds his bent right arm across his chest, and he appears to be turning towards a central object of worship (now missing), his hands probably held in *añjalī-mudrā*. He has a billowing *uttarīya* that gracefully snakes around his shoulder and arm, and the pleat lines and the double hem of his lower garment are visible over the remains of his crossed legs.

The bottom register of side A of the tympanum in the National Museum (Fig. 222) begins at the corner again with a *yakṣa* examining the open mouth of a *makara*; the remainder of this register is filled primarily with a procession of fish-tail composite creatures, each of which carries a single male rider. The first animal, again, has the protome of a dragon and the second that of a goose carrying a bunch of lotus flowers in its beak (Fig. 228); the third has a perky leonine protome. The curves and countercurves formed by the serpentine bodies, the long billowing *uttarīya*s, and the languid forms of the riders contribute to an undulating sense of motion in this procession of anthropomorphic and theriomorphic worshippers. Two male figures at the edge stand in postures of veneration towards the missing central deity or sacred object. The figure at the left has a unique cap carved with incised lozenge shapes, while the one on the right has a soft headdress fastened by a broad band running under his chin, reminiscent of possible Achaemenid prototypes, as we have just seen. The stylistic characteristics that typify the bas relief sculpture carved during the time of Śoḍāsa pervade the carvings of all these registers, including the fanciful incised shapes on the bodies of the animal figures, their naturalistic sense of grounding, the soft and slightly corpulent bodies, and the pleated garments articulated with widely spaced incised parallel lines.

The scenes on side B of the tympanum in the National Museum also depict worshippers bringing offerings or coming to pay homage to a sacred site or image (Fig. 223). In the spandrel, an empty cart, like the one on side A, is carved in the lower corner; above it, lay devotees of diverse sizes crowd the space, bearing garlands or standing in *añjalī-mudrā*. Their boneless, slouching quality is comparable to that of the *lokapāla*s on the Īsāpur railing (Fig. 262), and their mode of dress is typical for this period, as seen, for example on the relief panels of the Balahastinī doorjamb (Fig. 234) and the Govindnagar Ṛśyaśṛṅga pillar (Figs. 240 and 243), discussed below. At the upper left corner of the spandrel, auspicious vessels containing food and garlands as well as a pot of abundance fill the narrow space.

In the upper register of side B, two covered carts drawn by a pair of bulls reveal the heads of devotees arriving at the scene, while a figure with a wrapped head drives the bulls. These ancient 'buses' are charmingly depicted with care and attention to detail, as are the ones on the lower register. Three women bearing trays of garlands are carved at the edge of the top register. These figures may depict pilgrims coming to a sacred site, like the ones on the centaur architrave discussed in Chapter Three (Figs. 22 and 23).

Filling most of the space of the middle register of side B are three male celestial beings in flying postures, carrying bunches of lotus flowers and leaf baskets containing flower gar-

lands (Fig. 229). They are reminiscent of the *deva*s in the outer circles of the *āyāgapaṭa*s (e.g., Fig. 142a). The sense of movement in flight is accentuated by their flowing upper garments which seem to flutter about their bodies in broad ribbon-like bands. Their slightly swollen bellies sagging over their girdles with the typical pleated central swath of cloth are akin to the figural style seen on other sculptures of the first century CE, including the dated Katrā *toraṇa* fragment (Fig. 217). The fact that the *ardhaphālaka* monk on the broken edge of the middle register (Fig. 230) is depicted closer to the central missing object of veneration suggests that monks occupied a more important position than the gods. This hierarchy is noticeable in other sculptures where the monks are depicted consistently in more prominent positions than the celestial beings (Figs. 151 and 168).[30]

Along the broken edge of the bottom register on side B, in front of the two covered wagons drawn by a pair of bulls and horses, respectively, attended by their grooms with wrapped heads (Fig. 231), is a figure on a low seat, next to whom a female figure holds a garlanded *chattra* (Fig. 232). This standing female figure thrusts her hip out to one side in an exaggerated fashion, as if to counterbalance the weight of the umbrella that she holds over the head of the central divinity. The seat on which the divinity sits is raised by means of short legs carved with moldings, and under it is a vessel, like one of the *maṅgala*s.[31] The considerably damaged divinity on the low seat is identifiably female, for she wears heavy anklets and coiled bracelets (Fig. 232). She sits hieratically, with her left foot drawn up onto the seat and her right leg pendant. Her left arm is held squarely akimbo, and her hand rests on her left thigh. We can assume that her right hand was originally in *abhaya-mudrā*, like that of the goddess on the Amohini *āyavati* (Fig. 148), in the niche on the Vasu *śilāpaṭa* (Fig. 171), and in the center of the bottom architrave of the Jaina tympanum dating to the Kuṣāṇa period (Fig. 233). The goddess on the center of the last mentioned tympanum is being worshipped by two flanking divinities, one of whom is identifiable as the goat-headed Naigameṣin, as well as by six laywomen and five laymen. Her placement in the center of the tympanum, on the bottom register, in line with a seated Jina image and a *stūpa* in the upper registers, reveals the importance of particular goddesses, probably *śāsanadevatā*s (female divinities who serve as messengers between devotees and Jinas), in the sphere of Jaina devotion at Mathura. The evidence provided by this intact tympanum, although it is of a later date, implies the existence of a preexisting tradition of the worship of Jaina goddesses in the pre-Kuṣāṇa period, and it is borne out

---

[30] Jaina monks are among the *pañcaparameṣṭhin*s, or the five most sacred beings, second only to *arhat*s, while the celestial beings, including *kinnara*s, *gandhārva*s, and *dikpāla*s, have a lesser status. As U. P. Shah wrote: "Various gods and goddesses could be classified under one or the other of the sub-divisions of the above-mentioned four main classes. But with their store of merit exhausted, these gods and goddesses had to be reborn on this earth. They are not the highest objects of worship. They are mere celestial beings or Devas, but the Devādhidevas, Lords of even the celestial beings, objects of worship for all, are the Emancipated souls, the Siddhas and such Siddhas who during their life-time have founded a Tīrtha, i.e. propagated Jaina Faith having established orders of śrāvakas, śrāvikās, sādhus and sādhvīs. These are the highest objects of Jaina worship . . . Next to the Tirthaṅkaras or Arhats and Siddhas are the other ascetic souls, the Jaina monks of three main grades of Ācārya, Upādhyāya and Sādhu, these five constituting what are known as *Pañcaparameṣṭhin*s, the Five Chief Divinities." See U. P. Shah, *Jaina-Rūpa-Maṇḍana*, p. 60. See also S. Quintanilla, "Closer to Heaven than the Gods: Jain Monks in the Art of Pre-Kushan Mathura."

[31] Placing a vessel of food or garlands beneath a seat seems to have been a convention, as it is seen in the lower panel of the obverse side of the Balahastinī doorjamb (Fig. 237) and under the seat of the god Naigameṣin in Fig. 291.

by the fragmentary remains of the figure of a goddess on the bottom register of the tympanum in the National Museum. Because the stone is broken, this seated goddess is the only surviving central figure of veneration on the tympanum. It is interesting to note, however, that she seems to occupy a lesser status than the other (missing) central objects of worship, for the figures in her register are not in postures of worship, either in *añjalī-mudrā* or bearing offerings, whereas all the others are.

The ornamental carving on the spaces between each register is shallow and repetitive, lacking the richness and organic dynamism of the vegetal reliefs dating to the middle to late first century BCE (Fig. 182). The motifs are seen on other objects of this general time period; the zigzag leaf pattern above the upper registers of the tympanum (Figs. 222 and 223), for example, closely approximates the frieze along the left side of the Pārśvanātha *āyāgapaṭa*, which is datable to around the time of Śoḍāsa (Fig. 150).

An analysis of the high-quality, complex relief carvings on this tympanum in the National Museum, New Delhi reveals much information regarding modes of worship among lay-people and celestial beings as envisioned by the Jaina communities of Mathura during the reign of Śoḍāsa. Without the visual evidence provided by the bas reliefs on this tympanum, we would be less confident about how *āyāgapaṭa*s were worshipped and set up in relation to a *stūpa*. Moreover we would not have such early evidence for the probable incorporation of major Hindu gods among the devotees of Jinas or sacred Jaina objects. The sculptures also provide further support for the worship of the goddess by the *ardha-phālaka* Jainas, and they afford information about the hierarchy of monks and gods as viewed by this little known sect. Finally, from the point of view of the art historian, the bas relief sculpture on the National Museum tympanum is one of the finest examples of the distinctive stone sculptural style of Mathura during the time of Śoḍāsa.

Balahastinī Doorjamb (Figs. 234–238)

Another architectural fragment, a doorjamb carved with bas relief panels on both sides (SML J.532) also originated from a Jaina site. According to the inscription that survives on this double-sided doorjamb, the whole *toraṇa* was dedicated by a woman named Balahastinī, a lay pupil of the Jaina ascetics, along with members of her family (Appendix I.19). The inscription opens with the typical Jaina invocation of 'Adoration to the *arhat*s,' thereby indicating that this piece belonged to a Jaina foundation. The subject matter of the four surviving sculpted relief panels on this Jaina doorjamb remains unidentified.

Each panel on both sides of the Balahastinī doorjamb (Figs. 234 and 237) is set within an architectural framework, bordered on the bottom by a *vedikā* and on the top by a heavy cornice ornamented with *candraśālikā* motifs. Framing the panels on both sides are composite pilasters with square bases that transition to hexagonal shafts. The tripartite capitals consist of an *āmalaka*, surmounted by an abacus on which crouches a winged lion topped by a voluted capital filled with cross-hatching. When compared to the architectural arrangement framing the panels on the reverse of the Kaṭhika Pillar, which I attributed to ca. 50–20 BCE in Chapter Five (Figs. 185 and 186), the same types of pillars, cornices, and *vedikā*s on the Balahastinī doorjamb are carved in a lighter, crisper, and more attenuated style with less curvature to some of the elements. The carvings on the Balahastinī doorjamb lack both the softness and the naïveté of the style represented by

the Kaṭhika pillar. However, they do not achieve the refinement and formalization seen in the same architectural elements dating to the second century CE, such as those on the reverse of the railing pillars from Bhutesvar, wherein the crouching winged lion, for example, is replaced by an ornamented block.[32]

The top panel of the Balahastinī doorjamb pictures a female figure flying through the air, shown at a three-quarter angle to the viewer (Fig. 235). Her legs are sharply bent at the knees in a flying posture, her feet seem suspended in the air,[33] and in her arms she carries a seemingly unconscious male figure who sits listlessly in her lap with his eyes closed; she supports the back of his head with her left hand. The female figure may be identified as a *yakṣī* or a goddess, since she is endowed with the powers of flight. She is dressed in the customary manner of women of this period, wearing a diaphanous skirt fastened by a girdle, and the part of the skirt stretched between her legs is carved with widely spaced incised creases, which we also noted on the figure on the uninscribed side of the Katrā *toraṇa* fragment (Fig. 218). Around her ankles are the familiar heavy roll anklets, and coiled bracelets ornament her wrists; large plug earrings and a short necklace of round beads complete her ensemble. Her hair is tied in a large, loose knot at the nape of her neck, but it lacks the naturalistic weightiness and attention to detail seen in the figures dating to ca. 50–20 BCE, such as the woman riding a griffin in Fig. 202. Over her forehead, her hair is arranged in the familiar looped puff worn by many women from as early as the third century BCE until at least the second or third century CE.

The unconscious male figure wears a *dhoti* fastened by a thin girdle, bracelets, and plug earrings. His turban has the same type of horn-like crest worn by the large male figure on the Kaṭhika pillar (Fig. 188). An unconscious male figure being carried off by a flying female figure occurs in a relief panel on the reverse of one of the Bhutesvar railing pillars (GMM 11.151) dating to ca. mid-second century CE. Therein, the male figure wears the same type of horn-like turban crest, but the pair flies through a barren rocky landscape rather than a wood.[34] Hence it is possible that these two examples depict the same scene, in which case it was common to both the Jaina and the Buddhist traditions at Mathura, since the Bhutesvar pillars are from a Buddhist site, while the Balahastinī pillar is evidently from a Jaina site.

Both the male and female figures in this panel of the Balahastinī pillar (Fig. 235) have the smooth body contours and the light, almost pneumatic quality to their limbs that were

---

[32] J. P. Vogel, *La Sculpture de Mathura*, Pl. XX.

[33] A similar scene, if not the same story, is on the reverse of a pillar from Bhutesvar of the Kuṣāṇa period (see ibid.). For other flying postures with the bent leg, see Figs. 112, 142, 144a, 169, and 170, among others.

[34] J. P. Vogel, *La Sculpture de Mathura*, Pl. XX d. Vogel stated that the content of the scene is unknown. V. S. Agrawala described the scene on the Bhutesvar pillar as follows: "In the lower panel we see the same two figures, but here they are seen in an amorous attitude. The male figure has a horn-like appendage projecting from the forehead. The female figure who is more active has seized him in her embrace. The rocky background is shown again . . . The person with the projection in his turban may be identified as Ṛśyaśṛinga. In the lowermost panel we see the princess hugging the young recluse to her bosom in order to excite his passion. A similar scene occurs in the upper panel on the reverse of railing pillar no. J.532 in the Lucknow Museum" (V. S. Agrawala, "Catalogue of the Mathura Museum: Architectural Pieces," p. 31). However, the couple is not actually shown in an erotic embrace, because the male figure is unconscious and is being carried off by the female figure, who is flying. The horn-like projection is actually a type of turban crest worn by men during this period (e.g., *inter alia*, Figs. 259, 222), and therefore it does not always serve as an identifying characteristic of Ṛśyaśṛṅga.

noted in the figures of the *ardhaphālaka* relief in the Brooklyn Museum (Fig. 221). Their facial features are not unlike those of the figures on the Katrā *toraṇa* fragment (Fig. 217); their brows are formed by the meeting of two planes, their cheekbones are high, and their eyes are articulated with sharp inner lines. Reduced interest in the depiction of naturalistic weight and complex textures is evident, in comparison to the style of sculptures from ca. 50–20 BCE.

Like the relief depicting the *ardhaphālaka* monks in the Brooklyn Museum (Fig. 221), the action in this panel on the Balahastinī doorjamb takes place in a wooded setting (Fig. 235). The two short plantain trees display the rubbery, rippling appearance of their leaves and trunks with swelling bases that indicate the proximity in date of this bas relief to the carvings on the Katrā *toraṇa* fragment (Fig. 218) and the Brooklyn Museum relief (Fig. 221). In addition, a larger tree (perhaps a custard apple tree) is shown, with a prominent, softly curving trunk that supports its foliage, which is circumscribed within a geometric ball shape, shallowly carved with spear-shaped leaves and large, round fruits filled with simple grid patterns.

The figures in the other three surviving panels on the Balahastinī doorjamb exhibit the smooth and gentle figural style that appears to characterize the sculpture from Mathura of the early first century CE. The lower panel on the inscribed side contains three figures (Fig. 236). Dressed in princely fashion, wearing a crested turban and a full complement of jewelry, is the main central figure, a man who stands at a three-quarter angle to the viewer and raises his left arm in an unusual gesture, touching his wrist to his chin. Flanking him are two diminutive figures raising torches high above their heads, recalling the gestures of the woman and the dwarf on the reverse of the Katrā *toraṇa* fragment (Fig. 218). The female figure at the left appears to be a dwarf, with small breasts, pendulous belly, loose, uncoifed hair, and a short lower garment with the pleated flap hanging from the center of her girdle. She seems to grasp a conch shell in her right hand.

The upper panel on the reverse side of the Balahastinī doorjamb is filled with four figures (Figs. 237 and 238). The taller male figure at the left stands with his left hand behind the small of his back and holds a bowl in his right hand. Remarkably, he wears the same unusual garment wrapped about his lower body as does the male figure on the Gāyatrī-Ṭīlā doorjamb (Fig. 191) discussed in Chapter Five and attributed to ca. 50–20 BCE; although here it is depicted in a less naturalistic style, and it reveals more of the body beneath. Its broad, fur-like borders and the enormous knot projecting to the side are similar, but the depiction of the textures on the Balahastinī doorjamb is coarser, thus revealing the stylistic trend towards simplification. It may be an example of a heavy, fur-trimmed cape that has been removed and tied around the hips in the same manner as the *uttarīya* is tied loosely about the waist when not worn over the shoulders. Neither figure with this unusual 'cape' wears an Indian turban (Figs. 191 and 238); we may only speculate that this mode of dress could have been worn by foreigners from northern regions who settled in Mathura by the mid-first century BCE. The central swath of cloth of the *dhoti* that hangs between his legs is narrow at the top, and it extends to the floor, where it is significantly broader. This mode of rendering the *dhoti* was used sporadically in sculptures throughout the first century CE; it became the norm in the second century CE. During the first century CE, however, this arrangement was used interchangeably with the short, broad pleated form common in the dress of male figures of the mid-first century BCE to early first century CE.

A female figure at the right side of the panel stands in a relatively lively pose (Fig. 238), presaging the more dynamic depictions of figures carved during the second century CE. Her left arm is held akimbo, and with her right arm she seems to lean on the large knot created by the male figure's unusual garment. Some segmentation is seen on her torso, and the ends of her skirts are tied and fall to one side. The fabric is articulated with the widely spaced incised pleat lines that are typical for this period. Her posture is more active than that of the female figure on the Gāyatrī-Ṭīlā doorjamb (Fig. 191), thus indicating the beginning of a trend away from the languid tranquillity that characterized the sculpture of the middle to late first century BCE. Two other minor figures occupy the scene: at the left a boy holds up a bowl to the larger male figure, and a woman peers over the couple's shoulders.

The lower panel on the uninscribed side depicts a male and female figure seated on a bench, with two female onlookers behind them (Fig. 237). The male figure has the broad flap of cloth hanging from under his corpulent but smooth belly. He holds a bar-like object up to his mouth, perhaps making music to which the three women appear to be listening. Overall, the reverse side of the Balahastinī doorjamb seems to exhibit more progressive elements that foreshadow the stylistic trends of the late first century CE, and it may have been executed by a different hand than was the inscribed side. Nevertheless, the contents of all four panels of the Balahastinī doorjamb can be considered paradigmatic examples of small-scale relief sculpture dating to the early first century CE at Mathura.

The panels on the Balahastinī doorjamb and the frieze on the architrave from the Brooklyn Museum reveal that the gateways leading into Jaina precincts were embellished with narrative art. Unfortunately, like the Jaina narratives depicted in most of the reliefs in the Udayagiri and Khandagiri caves in Orissa, the stories themselves remain unidentified. Nevertheless, the sculptures bear testiment to an early flourishing Jaina literary tradition, and to a strong tradition of narrative sculpture at Mathura about one hundred years prior to the advent of Kaniṣka's reign.

Govindnagar Ṛśyaśṛṅga Pillar (Figs. 239–248)

Several sculptures from Mathura, including the large male figure on the Kaṭhika Pillar, the figure in the upper panel on the inscribed side of the Balahastinī doorjamb, and a similar figure on a railing pillar from Bhutesvar, have been inaccurately associated with the story of the hermit boy named Ṛśyaśṛṅga. However, we can positively identify the story of Ṛśyaśṛṅga in a series of narrative relief panels carved on a pillar that originally served as an upright for a Buddhist *vedikā*. It was discovered in 1976 at the site of Govindnagar in Mathura (GMM 76.40).[35] Because Ṛśyaśṛṅga was the son of a Brahmin ascetic and a doe, he was born in the form of a human boy, but with a single horn projecting from his forehead. He was raised in an isolated hermitage by his father, Vibhāndaka Kāśyapa, and consequently he should be depicted—as he is on this pillar—as a young ascetic with the identifying horn growing from his forehead. Many versions of the story

[35] R. C. Sharma identified the depictions of the story of Ṛśyaśṛṅga on this pillar, and he suggested that the date of its carvings should be the first century BCE or the early first century CE (R. C. Sharma, *The Splendour of Mathura: Art and Museum*, p. 128 and color plate XXII, and *Buddhist Art, Mathura School*, pp. 95–96, Fig. 28).

exist in early Indian literature, including the *Mahābhārata* and the Buddhist *Jātaka*.[36] The story itself is related to myths about the unicorn of the ancient world; medieval Christian representations of the fenced unicorn are Western visual cognates.[37] This pillar depicts the story of Ṛśyśṛṅga in a Buddhist context, but, as we shall see, the imagery reveals a conflation of versions from two different *Jātaka*s as well as the popular *Mahābhārata*.

Four panels are carved on each side of the Govindnagar Ṛśyaśṛṅga pillar, and every panel is framed by the same arrangement of architectural elements as those that framed the panels on the Balahastinī doorjamb (Fig. 236). One side of the pillar is heavily eroded; the other is well preserved. The pillar retains no trace of an inscription.

The only indication that this pillar belonged to a Buddhist site is found in the top panel of the well-preserved side. It contains a scene of the veneration of the Buddha's turban (*cuḍa*) that he removed after his renunciation of his princely life (Fig. 240). In this panel, the elaborate turban is similar to the type worn by the male figure on the lower panel of the inscribed side of the Balahastinī doorjamb (Fig. 236), and it is this type—with the rounded rather than horn-like crest—that became most popular for later sculptures of male figures dating to the Kuṣāṇa period of the second and third centuries CE. This type of turban, often referred to as the Kuṣāṇa type, should not be considered as an innovation of the Kuṣāṇa period, because by the turn of the second century CE it had already been worn by male figures for more than one hundred years. The sacred turban is shown enthroned on an altar, and visible in shallow relief behind the turban is a scalloped halo, the points of the scallops representing rays of light. This type of scalloped halo also will became commonplace in the Buddhist art of the Kuṣāṇa period, but its earliest known usage was during the time of Śoḍāsa in this panel.[38] A. K. Coomaraswamy astutely observed that the halo may represent a solar disk.

> In Vedic ritual a golden disc was placed on the fire altar to represent the sun; it may well be that in other cases such a disc was placed behind the altar, at any rate this would naturally tend to be so in the case of smallar altars bearing cult objects. Radiance is a quality

---

[36] The story is found in the *Mahābhārata* (*Vanaparva*, Adhyaya 110–113), the *Rāmāyaṇa* (*Bālakāṇḍa*, Sarga 10), and in the *Bodhisattvāvadāna* of Kṣemendra (Pallava LXVI, 18), as well as in various collections of the *Jātaka* stories. Its different versions in the *Jātaka* can be called the *Alambusā Jātaka* (no. 523), the *Isisingiya Jātaka* (both of which apparently can be traced to the *Mahāvastu*), or the *Naḷinikā Jātaka* (no. 526). See R. C. Sharma, *Buddhist Art, Mathura School*, pp. 95–96; A. K. Coomaraswamy, *La Sculpture de Bharhut*, p. 76; and Heinrich Lüders, "Die Sage von Ṛśyaśṛṅga."

[37] For a discussion of the Babylonian origin and significance of the unicorn legend, Coomaraswamy cited W. F. Allbright, "Gilgamesh and Engidu," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, XL, pp. 307–335. Coomaraswamy insightfully observed: "The basic theme is preserved in the Naliṇikā-jātaka (*J.* V, 193 sqq.): drought ravages the earth, and it is only once the seduction of the ascetic is completed that at long last the rain begins to fall again. It is by virtue of this same principle that a ritual union is fulfilled on the occasion of the Vedic *mahāvrata*, the rite that in much the same way is for the sake of ensuring rain and fertility. In the Sumuqan-Engidu version, the hero is the son of the solar god and a gazelle; it is doubtless that Isisiṃgiya was a deity of fecundity, analogous to Naigameṣa (who is a gazelle divinity, but with two horns). We understand without difficulty that the unicorn finally becomes assimilated to Christ; it is the Spirit, divine Love, that deigns to enter the womb of a virgin; and it is just this very union of Sky and Earth that is implicit in rainfall; rain that has either a physical or a spiritual sense, or both at the same time, according to the text. The Indus Valley civilization offers us images of unicorns, which can be dated to the third millennium B.C." (A. K. Coomaraswamy, *La Sculpture de Bharhut*, p. 76, fn. I. Translated from the French by the author).

[38] See also the same type of halo behind the almsbowl on the obverse of the tympanum in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts; that sculpture probably dates to around the second quarter of the first century CE (Fig. 284).

> associated with all the Devas, and we might expect that when an anthropomorphic image took its place upon the altar, once empty or occupied by a symbol, the disc would remain—just as the Bodhi-tree remains behind the Vajrāsana when the visible Buddha takes his place upon it. At any rate we do in fact find representations of altars bearing symbols (the bowl relic . . .), having behind them just such a hemisphere as we might expect with the usual scallop edge of the Kuṣāṇa nimbus; a similar half-disc appears (with rays) behind a seated Sūrya type (D 46 in the Mathurā Museum) of the Kuṣāṇa Period. It seems to me very likely that we have before us a direct traditional continuity.[39]

The altar is of the type that was common during this period; its base consists of three stepped, square moldings, topped by a narrower high middle segment, which is decorated with abbreviated three-pronged floral elements arranged in a random pattern. The top section of the altar is formed by three more inverted stepped moldings that mirror the base. P. Pal drew attention to the significance of this type of altar as derived from the Vedic high altar (*uttara-vedi*), which represents the heavenly realm, as well as evoking the symbolism of Mt. Meru.[40] Flanking the altar are two male worshippers waving *cauri*s high over the turban in veneration. Their gentle, smooth figural type is like that seen on the panels of the Balahastinī doorjamb (Fig. 236) and the relief with *ardhaphālaka*s in the Brooklyn Museum (Fig. 221). The worshippers may be identified as gods, for it is in Indra's heaven that the turban of Siddhartha Gautama is kept and venerated. This panel on the Govindnagar Ṛśyaśṛṅga pillar depicts a particularly fine and clear early example of the scalloped halo and the hourglass-shaped pedestal from Mathura in the context of the worship of the Buddha's turban in heaven.

In the second panel from the top on the well-preserved side of this pillar from Govindnagar is the first of three scenes from the story of the life of Ṛśyaśṛṅga, depicting the moment of his conception (Fig. 241). According to the *Naḷinikā* and *Alambusā Jātakas*, the Buddha Śakyamuni in a past life was born as the sage Vibhāndaka Kāśyapa. When he gazed upon the nymph Urvaśī, he ejaculated, and his semen was promptly lapped up by a grazing doe. By this unusual means, the deer became pregnant with the son of the sage. In this panel (Fig. 241) the sage Kāśyapa is shown squatting at the left, holding his genitals, looking at the deer that laps his semen from the ground. The bearded sage wears the garb of a hermit ascetic; he is dressed in a skirt made of bark, and his hair is arranged in matted locks, coiled like an *uṣṇīṣa* atop his head. The scene is set in a Brāhmanical hermitage; the modest hut behind Kāśyapa is depicted with a domed roof articulated with overlapping semicircular shingles, and in the upper right of the composition are some outdoor fixtures of the hermitage, including an altar with the sacred fire. Two pyramidal objects surmount what appears to be another altar or platform at the right; a square plot covered with a grid pattern at the top of the panel has not been identified with certainty.

The scene portrayed in the next panel, the third from the top (Fig. 242), is set in the same location, but the hut and the three outdoor objects, including the fire altar, are reversed in the composition—the hut appearing at the right instead of the left. The dramatic action taking place in the bottom half of the panel is the birth of the infant Ṛśyaśṛṅga.

---

[39] A. K. Coomaraswamy, "The Origin of the Buddha Image," p. 306. The depiction of the sun god Surya carved on a pillar from Bodhgaya (ca. 100 BCE) also has, on a disk behind his head, rays of light with a similar scalloped appearance (K. K. Chakravarty, *Early Buddhist Art of Bodhgayā*, Pl. 5).

[40] P. Pal, "A Pre-Kushana Buddha Image from Mathura," pp. 12–14.

The deer is portrayed realistically, her forelegs stretched forward and her haunches flexed in the process of giving birth; she strains her neck to look back at the sage who eagerly but carefully receives the child in his hands. The infant is depicted in the same manner as most newborns in sculptures dating from the first to second centuries CE, with his hands pressed together in front of his chest, and his knees bent out to either side, feet touching.[41]

The sage is shown bending vigorously, intent upon his role in the birth of his son. He wears the same bark garments, beard, and matted locks coiled upon his head. In this panel, the familiar style that characterizes male figures of the early first century CE at Mathura is discernible, with the almost boneless contour of his back and the soft, smooth corpulence of his belly, which puckers over his girdle. Despite the coarse bark material of his lower garment, the broad flap characteristic of this period hangs down the middle. The scenes of the conception and birth of Ṛśyaśṛṅga are also carved in a roundel on the *vedikā* from Bharhut dating to the mid-second century BCE, but there they are depicted in continuous narrative rather than in two separate sequential monoscenic panels (Fig. 198).[42]

The subsequent scene in this sequence of narrative panels on the pillar from Govindnagar is carved in the bottom panel of the well-preserved side (Fig. 243), and it depicts the meeting of Ṛśyaśṛṅga with his seductress[43]—the first time he has ever beheld a woman, and he mistakes her for a unique type of *brahmacārin*. The setting is in the same remote hermitage of Kāśyapa, where Ṛśyaśṛṅga has grown into a youth, raised by the sage who is the only other human being he has ever encountered. The hut and the same square, gridded plot seen in the preceding two panels are carved in the background. Ṛśyaśṛṅga is shown standing at the right of the composition, dressed in a bark skirt with the wide

---

[41] For other representations of infants during the first and second centuries CE, see the infant held by the goddess in Fig. 293 and by the goat-headed god Naigameśin in Fig. 172.

[42] The story of Ṛśyaśṛṅga is carved in a roundel dating to ca. 150 BCE from Bharhut, wherein a continuous narrative sequence relates the story in the Buddhist context of a *Jātaka* (Fig. 198). The inscription above the roundel reads "*isisiṃgiya jātakam*." In the Bharhut roundel, Coomaraswamy identified the bearded ascetic figure pouring oblations into the sacred fire in the upper left of the composition as the Buddha himself in a previous life (*La Sculpture de Bharhut*, p. 76). However, this figure is depicted with the horn emerging from his matted locks, which identifies him as Ṛśyaśṛṅga. In the *Jātaka* stories of Ṛśyaśṛṅga, however, the Buddha-to-be was consistently Ṛśyaśṛṅga's father, the sage Vibhāndaka Kāśyapa, not Ṛśyaśṛṅga himself. Thus, the Bharhut roundel may represent a version of the story wherein Ṛśyaśṛṅga either grew to maturity before the seduction episode or resisted the efforts of his seductress and remained in the forest as a sage. The Bharhut carving may then represent the version of the story related in the *Alambusā Jātaka* (XVII.152–161), wherein the nymph Alambusā, sent by Indra to distract Ṛśyaśṛṅga from his austerities, confesses that she was ordered to seduce him. Ṛśyaśṛṅga then remembers the admonitions of his father, the sage Kāśyapa, warning him against the dangerous wiles of temptresses, and repents of his dalliance with the nymph. Thereafter Ṛśyaśṛṅga forsakes all sensual desires and enters into the life of ascetical virtue (*The Jātaka*, ed. E. B. Cowell, vol. V, no. 523, pp. 79–84). Thus, the continuous narrative sequence in the medallion from Bharhut depicts the conception and birth of Ṛśyaśṛṅga in the lower two-thirds of the composition, while the old bearded, horned ascetic performing oblations in the upper left side seems to represent the conclusion of the story, wherein Ṛśyaśṛṅga remains a virtuous hermit sage until old age, because of the admonitions given to him by his father, the Bodhisattva. The pivotal seduction scene is absent altogether. There is also some indication in the *Alambusā Jātaka* that Ṛśyaśṛṅga had grown into maturity even prior to the arrival of the nymph.

[43] Depending upon the version of the story followed in these panels, she may be identified as the nymph Alambusā according to the Buddhist *Alambusā Jātaka*, the Banarsi princess Naliṇikā according to the Buddhist *Naliṇikā Jātaka*, or the Banarsi princess Śantā according to the epic *Mahābhārata*. Since it is uncertain exactly which text or conflation of textual traditions the sequence on this pillar follows, I simply refer to her as 'Ṛśyaśṛṅga's seductress' or 'Ṛśyaśṛṅga's temptress,' rather than by a name that implies a specific textual basis.

central flap. His hair is in loose locks, not yet coiled up into a topknot like those of his father in the upper panels. Although it is rather worn, close examination of the relief reveals the remains of a horn protruding from the boy's head. Over his right forearm is draped a cloth that may be identified as the black antelope skin,[44] an attribute of Brahmins, which in other early sculptures was shown similarly draped over the left forearm, as seen in a relief of the *Mahābodhi Jātaka* from Bharhut (Fig. 219).[45] In the Ṛśyaśṛṅga panel, however, the legs and snout of the antelope are no longer visible, but these details may either have been worn off or originally painted on the sculpture.

Ṛśyaśṛṅga tilts his head towards the lady facing him, standing in the center of the panel. Iconographically she is similar to the female votary from Faizabad (Fig. 203), for she carries a tray of food upon her raised left hand, while she pours water from a pitcher upon the outstretched right hand of the hermit boy. She wears a diaphanous skirt fastened by a broad girdle of beaded strings over the center of which drapes the ends of the garment, as is typical for female dress of this period. The fabric between her legs is carved with broad parallel pleat lines, like that of the woman on the reverse of the Katrā *toraṇa* fragment (Fig. 218) and the flying female figure on the Balahastinī doorjamb (Fig. 235). Her hair is worn with the characteristic puffed roll above her brow and is tied in the typical loose knot at the nape of her neck.

Although the scenes on this pillar are apparently in a Buddhist context, thus indicating that they depict a version of the stories from the collection of *Jātaka*s, the versions in the *Alambusā* and *Naliṇikā Jātaka*s do not portray Ṛṣyaśṛṅga's seductress bearing offerings of food.[46] In the *Mahābharata*, however, Śāntā, the daughter of King Lonaśobhika of Banaras, greets the ascetic boy with fruits and liquor:

> But rejecting all that he offered, the woman
> Presented him with the costliest viands,
> Exquisite of taste and beautiful-looking,
> Which gave Ṛśyaśṛṅga pleasure aplenty.

[44] This cloth worn by Ṛśyaśṛṅga, a *brahmacārin*, is not worn by other Brahmin ascetics, such as his father. It is remarkably similar to the *colapaṭṭa* worn by the *ardhaphālaka* monks (Figs. 112, 151, 169, 170, 177, and 221). In form it differs from the *colapaṭṭa* only in that it has fewer parallel pleat lines, and it is slightly more flared, thus mimicking the shape of the black antelope skin with central head and flanking feet. Such a similarity between the *ardhaphālaka*s' mode of wearing the cloth *colapaṭṭa* and the way the antelope skin is worn by Brahmin ascetics suggests that the Brahmanical accouterment may have formed the basis on which the *ardhaphālaka*s modeled their wearing of the *colapaṭṭa*, the attribute that distinguishes them from other types of nude or fully clothed Jaina monks. The antelope skin and the *colapaṭṭa* served distinct functions, however; the former was laid on the ground to provide a ritually pure surface on which the Brahmin could sit, while the *colapaṭṭa* was used at least by the second century CE by the *ardhaphālaka*s to cover their genitalia. That the *ardhaphālaka*s probably did not sit on their *colapaṭṭa*s is indicated in the relief in the Brooklyn Museum of Art depicting a seated *ardhaphālaka* monk (Fig. 221). See S. Quintanilla, "Closer to Heaven than the Gods: Jain Monks in the Art of Pre-Kushan Mathura."

[45] By the second century CE, the black antelope skin was shown draped over the left shoulder of Brahmins and was no longer shown over the left arm. See, for example, the life-size sculpture of a standing Brahmin ascetic (GMM 77.4) in Doris Meth Srinivasan, "Vaiṣṇava Art and Iconography at Mathura," Pl. 36.X.

[46] In the *Alambusā Jātaka* the nymph Alambusā simply appears to Ṛśyaśṛṅga and coyly runs off, causing him to chase her (*The Jātaka*, vol. V, ed. E. B. Cowell, pp. 81–82). In the *Naliṇikā Jātaka*, the princess Naliṇikā was disguised as an ascetic, and played with a ball upon meeting Ṛśyaśṛṅga (*The Jātaka*, vol. V, ed. E. B. Cowell, pp. 101–103).

She gave very fragrant garlands to him,
And colorful and flamboyant clothes,
And the finest liquors; and then she laughed
And happily played about, making merry.[47]

In the Govindnagar pillar relief, the woman is pouring water from a pitcher, as though she were cleansing his hand rather than presenting him with the 'finest liquor.' Thus, I do not know of a surviving literary version that accords perfectly with the reliefs. As A. Foucher observed in the context of his discussion of the *Śaddanta Jātaka*, the sculpted depictions surviving in art may represent a stage in the development of the story which is lost from the textual record.[48] Perhaps the sculptures depict an oral version of the narrative which conflates elements from various traditions. The sculptors seemed to have been more inclined to portray types of figures with basic iconographic features; narrative representation is often propelled more by pictorial tradition than by the minutiae of one text or another. The scene of the meeting of Ṛśyaśṛṅga is indicated, rather than literally illustrated, by the woman who, like Sujātā, honors the ascetic with an offering of food and pure water upon first encountering him, despite the fact that she is the visitor, while in the texts he offers the food and water to her in accordance with the rules of hospitality. The frequent disjunction between pictorial and textual representation of narratives is a crucial feature to be noted in the interpretation of visual imagery in ancient India.[49]

Overseeing the encounter is the god Indra, shown standing at the left of the panel and depicted in larger size than the Ṛśyaśṛṅga and the woman; he is identifiable by a high, flat-topped crown. A conspicuous *uttarīya* billows about his shoulders and dramatically flutters down both his sides, as though celestial breezes accompany him. The prominent presence of Indra in this panel suggests that the narrative reliefs on this pillar were intended to represent scenes from a Buddhist *Jātaka*, for in both versions of the Ṛśyaśṛṅga story in the *Jātaka*s, Indra personally sends the temptress to the forest to seduce Ṛśyaśṛṅga, whereas Indra figures only incidentally in the *Mahābhārata* version of the story.[50] Indra's presence in the panel serves to represent the cause of the action taking place at the right: the meeting between the woman and Ṛśyaśṛṅga; he is not actually present at the meeting. This is a narrative device often used in early bas reliefs, such as the scene from *Stūpa* I at Sanchi depicting Prince Siddhartha's departure from the palace at Kapilavastu, where the rose apple tree, under which Siddhartha achieved the first meditation and decided to

---

[47] *Mahābhārata* III.111.13–14 (*The Mahābhārata*, vol. 2, trans. and ed. J. A. B. van Buitenen, p. 435).

[48] A. Foucher, "The Six-Tusked Elephant," in *The Beginnings of Buddhist Art*, ed. A. Foucher (Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1917), pp. 185 ff.

[49] Otherwise, narrative scenes can be misinterpreted simply because the sculpted versions are not in perfect accord with textual versions. It is unlikely that sculptors were given specific, detailed textual accounts that they were supposed to illustrate accurately and literally. It seems that the surfaces of panels were given simple notations to remind the sculptors which general scene should take place in which panel (see Vidya Dehejia, "Aniconism and the Multivalency of Emblems," fn. 43). This is technique is much like the use of scribal notation documented in medieval Jaina and Deccani manuscripts by John Seyller. He observed that the non-explicit nature of the scribal notations resulted in a discontinuity between the illustration and the accompanying story in the manuscript (John Seyller, "Scribal Notes in Deccani Painting," paper read at the American Council for Southern Asian Art, Symposium VII, October 31, 1998).

[50] R. C. Sharma has identified this scene as the marriage of Ṛśyaśṛṅga and the daughter of the king of Banaras. However, the marriage took place in the city, while this scene is set in the hermitage (R. C. Sharma, *Buddhist Art, Mathura School*, p. 95).

renounce the world, is carved in the middle of the departure scene, and it refers to the cause of the rest of the action in the relief.[51]

Stylistically, all the figures in these four panels on the well-preserved side of the Govindnagar pillar realistically interact with one another within an architectural setting, and they seem to be firmly planted on their ground planes. Some foreshortening is successfully applied, as seen in the feet of the woman in Fig. 243, for example, which adds to the overall naturalistic quality of the panels. The carvings exhibit a degree of understanding and ease in the convincing depictions of figures in awkward and dramatic poses, such as the deer straining to give birth and the tension felt in the posture of the sage receiving the child (Fig. 242). The broadly spaced parallel pleats of Indra's wide, flat, and billowing *uttarīya* recalls the depiction of the upper garments worn by the flying celestial beings in the *āyāgapaṭa*s of the late first century BCE (Figs. 140 and 143). The consistent placement of figures at a three-quarter angle vis-à-vis the viewer, the smooth corpulence of their bellies, and the seemingly boneless quality of their bodies are stylistic traits that the carvings on the Govindnagar Ṛśyśṛṅga pillar share with others produced during the early first century CE. Despite the drama of the scenes, the figures have a relatively tranquil comportment, which links them with the sculptures of the middle to late first century BCE. They all lack the boldness, power, and aggressive extroversion of the figures datable to the Kuṣāṇa period of the second and third centuries CE.

The other side of the Govindnagar Ṛśyaśṛṅga pillar is badly eroded and is in much worse condition than the obverse side (Fig. 244). The topmost of the four panels contains a barrel-vaulted edifice (Fig. 245), which is not depicted with the same degree of interest in naturalistic perspective as was seen in the reliefs of the previous generation dating to ca. 50–20 BCE (Fig. 191). This tendency to ignore perspective was also noted in connection with the lotus tank on the *ardhaphālaka* relief in the Brooklyn Museum (Fig. 221). R. C. Sharma identified this building as an "apsidal shrine with a big *caitya* window on the main gate." He continued: "The building being conspicuous by the absence of any human figure should be taken to be the *gandhakuṭī* of the Buddha. Thus his presence has been conveyed by his chapel for meditation (*gandhakuṭī*)."[52] This intriguing identification is not supported by specific sculptural evidence, however. It could simply be a barrel-vaulted building that relates to the unidentified scenes in the lower panels.

The second panel from the top is badly damaged; only the worn remains of a tree with curving trunk in the center, a lion at the lower left corner, and clusters of rocks survive (Fig. 246). The form of the tree and the overall landscape setting recall the panel on the Balahastinī doorjamb (Fig. 235), the relief in the Brooklyn Museum (Fig. 221), and the Katrā *toraṇa* fragment (Fig. 218), all of which I consider to be approximately contemporaneous. The broad, rubbery leaves of plantain trees that also were noted in connection with those three objects can be seen in the bottom two panels (Figs. 247 and 248), their distinctive leaves waving above walls, reminiscent of the plantain trees in the walled garden coping (Fig. 184). The second panel from the bottom depicts an intimate interior scene of a couple lying in bed beneath a coverlet. The male figure, lying on his side, his head propped up on his right arm, does not appear to be Ṛśyaśṛṅga, for no

---

[51] Vidya Dehejia, *Discourse in Early Buddhist Art*, p. 16, Fig. 11.
[52] R. C. Sharma, *Buddhist Art, Mathura School*, p. 96.

trace of a horn is seen protruding from his cap-like hairdo. A woman lies by him, her arm resting on his left shoulder. Above the wall behind them peer a man and a woman, only the much-worn heads of whom can be detected. This voyeuristic motif was noted in the reliefs dating to the second and first centuries BCE (e.g. Figs. 46c, 68, 107, and 200); it continued to be popular throughout the Kuṣāṇa period. The lowermost panel depicts the exterior of a garden wall topped by a heavy coping stone and provided with a closed doorway articulated with interlocking geometric patterns.

This pillar depicting scenes from the life of Ṛśyaśṛṅga in clearly legible sequential order is one of the earliest surviving Buddhist narratives from Mathura, if I am correct in attributing it to the beginning of the first century CE. The story of Ṛśyaśṛṅga is not the most prominent among Buddhist *Jātaka*s; it is not found in the art of Amaravati, Ajanta, or Gandhāra. However, it was a pan-Indian story that would have been recognized by Buddhists and non-Buddhists alike. Such emphasis on a popular Indian story that was only superficially recast as Buddhist on one of Mathura's earliest major Buddhist monuments suggests that perhaps at this time Buddhism at Mathura was only beginning to grow and gain sizeable numbers of converts. The inclusion of this story may also point to the importance of the Kāśyapa Brahmins as a non-Buddhist audience of potential converts in central India and the Gangetic plain. The prominence of the conversion of the Kāśyapa Brahmins in the Uruvela sequence of panels on the east gate of Sanchi *Stūpa* I also supports their importance to the early Buddhists of these regions. Like the incorporation of *yakṣa*s and *yakṣī*s into the sculptural program of Buddhist sites, this narrative sequence familiar to non-Buddhists was prominently displayed on the *vedikā* of the Govindnagar monument. For this time and onward, we find more and more examples of Buddhist sculpture; by the end of the first century CE Buddhist art rivaled Jaina art in quality and quantity at Mathura, until it became dominant in the Kuṣāṇa and Gupta periods. Perhaps the Buddhist patronage of the family of the Śaka *mahākṣatrapa*s Rajūvula and Śoḍāsa—who were known to have made major donations of Buddhist relics, *stūpa*s, and monasteries at Mathura as stated in the Mathura lion capital inscription—, contributed to the upsurgence of Buddhist art during the time of Śoḍāsa. In fact, there is more evidence of Śaka *kṣatrapa* patronage of Buddhism at Mathura than there is evidence of Kuṣāṇa patronage of Buddhism at Mathura. The rise of Buddhism and Buddhist art in Mathura may be more accurately traced to the house of Śoḍāsa rather than to that of Kaniṣka. The Buddhist art of Mathura under Kaniṣka was a continuation of the crescendo already set in motion in the early first century CE.

Corner Pillar in the Norton Simon Museum (Figs. 249–261)

A corner pillar from a *vedikā* in an impressive height of more than seven and a half feet (2.3 meters) is in the South Asian gallery of the Norton Simon Museum in Pasadena, California (F.1975.05.S). Like the Govindnagar Ṛśyaśṛṅga pillar, it originally belonged to a Buddhist site, since two of its sculpted panels depict Buddhist scenes. The pillar as a whole is square in section, and its shaft is carved with four superimposed panels of relief sculpture on two adjacent sides; three of the four panels contain couples bearing offerings and showing gestures of veneration. The topmost panels on the shaft contain specifically Buddhist scenes; one is the Rāmagrāma *stūpa* being guarded by serpents, and the other, most remarkably, is the *parinirvāṇa* of the Buddha, depicting him just before his death,

when the monk Upavana is fanning him, but the Buddha's body is not shown. Each of the other two adjacent sides of the shaft has three lens-shaped mortise holes that would have received the ends of *vedikā* crossbars (Fig. 250). The shaft is surmounted by an unusual capital, which rests upon a narrow octagonal neck. Overall, the pillar is in excellent condition, having only minimal abrasions. It was purposefully broken in two places during modern times, and therefore is divided into three short segments; one cut was made carefully between the top two sculpted panels, and the other was made below the lowest panels, so that none of the sculpted imagery was damaged. The reliefs on this pillar stylistically cohere so well with others that are datable to the period when Śoḍāsa was in power that I am confident in attributing it to this time, despite its having been previously considered a product of the Kuṣāṇa period of the second century CE.[53]

The structure of this corner pillar is unique among the surviving examples because of its capital (Figs. 251–253). The shape of the four-sided capital is unparalleled among surviving architectural pieces of which I am aware, but none of its motifs is incongruous or unknown for this period. At its apex is a cushion-like element with a hole in the top to receive a finial, which is missing (Fig. 253). Below that is a rounded entablature ornamented at the center of each side with an arched window motif (*candraśālikā*), at the center of which has been incised a square with rounded, concave sides. The finial of the *candraśālikā* is in the form of a *nandyāvarta*-and-lotus motif (Fig. 252). This entablature is supported by composite pillarettes, one on each corner. These pillarettes have the same elements as those carved on the Balahastinī doorjamb (Fig. 234), the Govindnagar Ṛśyaśṛṅga pillar (Fig. 239), and the Kaṭhika pillar (Fig. 185): a square base that transitions to an octagonal shaft by way of a semicircle, surmounted by a tripartite capital consisting of an *āmalaka*, a crouching winged lion, and a voluted capital filled with cross-hatching. Between the pilasters is a curious vacant niche framed by an archway and latticework walls. The function of this niche is not known for sure. Perhaps it held a small, movable image or sacred object, such as a votive *stūpa*.[54] On two of the sides, a pair of birds flanks the niche (Fig. 252).

Below the level with the pillarettes and niches on each of the four sides is a *vedikā* motif that wraps around the entire capital (Fig. 251). In form, this railing is of the same type as we saw on the Balahastinī doorjamb and the Govindnagar Ṛśyaśṛṅga pillar, whereon each upright has a semicircular medallion at the top and bottom and a medial incised line connecting them down the center. A row of dentil-like joist ends is found beneath the railing. The carved level below the *vedikā* is also articulated as an architectural story, but on this level, crouching atlantean *en face* lions are carved on the corners, their haunches protruding to either side of their bodies. Their manes lie in a flat bib under their chins in a manner similar to the mane to that of the griffin in Fig. 202. Between the lions are latticework walls punctured again by an arched niche, but instead of being left empty, they were filled with carved representations of a male or female worshipper in *añjalī-mudrā*, shown from the hips up. The slouching figural style of these small worshippers accords

[53] Janice Leoshko, "Buddhist Art of Northern India," *Norton Simon Museum*, published in association with *Orientations*, P. Pal, ed., pp. 8–9.

[54] When I asked his opinion in a conversation in August of 2000, Dr. Pratapaditya Pal suggested that a small *stūpa* may have been placed in each of these niches.

with that of other sculptures we have discussed from the time of Śoḍāsa, the female figures with their segmented torsos, and the males with their soft, corpulent bellies cinched by a rope girdle. The wide swath of cloth falls between their legs, and their hairstyles, with the short bangs on the men and puffed bun for the women, are also familiar. The latticework and their placement within such niches, which may more accurately be read as arched balcony windows, recall the male and female figures on the coping stone formerly in the Doris Wiener Gallery, which also belongs to this period (Fig. 274) (see discussion below). The niches are flanked by slender pilasters of the usual composite type, except that the winged lion was omitted between the *āmalaka* and the voluted capital. On one or two sides, a striped squirrel or a bird is perched in front of the lattice wall and peers towards the worshipper in the niche.

The base of the Norton Simon pillar capital is formed by three plain, inverse pyramidal steps, the four corners of which are embellished with palm leaves (Fig. 252). These palm leaves are of the same type as on the Camuṇḍā-Ṭīlā capital discussed in Chapter Five (Fig. 210). Each leaf has a stiff, tapered central stem carved with a herringbone pattern, and the tip of the whole leaf is folded over forward. The narrow, radiating leaves are of varying lengths, and in places they are relieved with texturing that looks like small beads. Such similarity in these types of leaves suggests that the Camuṇḍā-Ṭīlā capital and the Norton Simon pillar are close in date.

Despite the unusual aspects of the capital of the Norton Simon pillar, namely the empty niches and the cushion-like crown, numerous details of the composition—especially the folded palm leaves, the figural style of the worshippers, and the types of pillars and railings—adhere so closely to the previously undefined style of the late first century BCE or early first century CE at Mathura that we can confidently date it to that time. It can be interpreted as a fancy crowning element of one of the corners of a square *vedikā*. No others quite like it are known, but in this it is not alone. When discussing works of art and architecture of a time period from which relatively few objects survive, it is not surprising that some one-of-a-kind examples would come to light. The shape of the Norton Simon pillar, its capital situated atop a narrow neck, is somewhat similar to the silhouette formed by the end of the wall in the fragmentary coping stone with walled garden (Fig. 184). This is the closest parallel to the shape of the Norton Simon pillar of which I am aware.

Connecting the capital with the main shaft of the Norton Simon Pillar is a narrow neck with eight concave sides. The topmost section of the square shaft has been left plain and smooth, as though the carving of the pillar had been left unfinished (Fig. 249). There is enough space for another whole panel with surmounting entablature and demarcating *vedikā*. A groove has been incised over the topmost carved panels, delineating where their missing surmounting entablatures would have been carved. The presence of this groove further suggests that the pillar was left unfinished.

Of especial interest is the topmost of the four panels on the left of the two adjacent carved sides (Fig. 254). It depicts a scene immediately before the Buddha Śakyamuni's death, or *parinirvāṇa*. The version of this scene on the Norton Simon pillar is remarkable in that it is the earliest one of its kind, and the only one I have encountered that omits the human figure of the reclining Buddha altogether. I consider this pillar to have been carved during a time when the inauspicious figures of monks began to be represented, but the even more inauspicious sick and dying body of the Buddha was still omitted.

Inauspicious elements were frequently left out of early Buddhist art of the second and first centuries BCE; therefore, scenes such as the Buddha's fasting are not to be found. Similarly, his hair (*cūḍa*) is depicted as a turban, not as hair, when it is worshipped in Indra's heaven. By the early first century CE, however, Buddhism was beginning to gain more stable patronage, and texts were beginning to be canonized. Art, then, began to include more details from the stories in literature. The death of the Buddha is an inherently inauspicious theme, and it is not to be found among the corpus of known reliefs dating from the second and first centuries BCE, such as those at Bharhut, Sanchi, and Amaravati. This first known example in Mathura marks the beginnings of a flourishing period of Buddhism at Mathura that would last through the sixth century CE. The impetus for the rise in prominence of Buddhism occurred during the time of Rajūvula and Śoḍāsa; it is reflected in the earliest surviving record of extensive donations to Buddhist monasteries as recorded in the Mathura lion capital inscription.

The absence of the anthropomorphic image of the Buddha in the Norton Simon panel further supports an early date for this pillar. After the first century CE, the *parinirvāna* became a commonly represented scene in the art of Gandhāra, and it is encountered with some regularity in the Kuṣāṇa sculpture of Mathura of the second and third centuries CE, but it remained fairly rare in the art of other regions of India.

The *parinirvāna* panel on the pillar in the Norton Simon Museum depicts the Buddha's deathbed, probably originally a type of altar set up in a grove to receive offerings to the nature divinities inhabiting the trees around it. The altar is shown covered with a large cloth, with pleats hanging down the sides, and a roll pillow has been placed under the cloth at one end of the couch. Two trees are depicted behind the bed, although they do not appear to be the *śāla* trees mentioned in textual accounts of the Buddha's death. Instead their leaves more closely resemble those of a fig tree, which is the type associated with the Buddha Śakyamuni's enlightenment. Hence, in this early Mathuran sculpture the iconography of the specific tree associated with Śakyamuni takes precedence over the literal depiction in textual accounts. Two *yakṣī*s, one in each tree, have manifested themselves in human form for this momentous occasion. They are depicted from the hips up, and they both hold, in upraised left hands, a bowl made of broad leaves and filled with flowers, and they toss the floral contents with their right hands onto the bed below, thereby indicating the sanctity of the spot. Incised depictions of flowers and other auspicious vegetal offerings are scattered over the top of the bed. A twisted flower garland hangs from each of the trees over the place where the Buddha's body would lie, were it depicted. These female divinities, who manifest themselves only on special occasions, are honoring and venerating the body of the Buddha, as they bear witness to his passing into final *nirvāna*, a blessed and auspicious event. A line in a section of Aśvaghoṣa's *Buddhacarita* describing the events surrounding the *parinirvāna* evokes this scene: "Then the *śāla* trees that grew nearby bent down and showered beautiful flowers, growing out of due season, on to the Buddha's body to rest on the golden column (?) of His form" (xxvi.98).[55] Thus, in this sculpture, the *yakṣī*s are identified as personifications of the trees themselves.

[55] *Buddhacarita* of Aśvaghoṣa. *Buddhacarita or Acts of the Buddha*, Part III, trans. E. H. Johnston, p. 103.

Rare examples of pre-Kuṣāṇa Buddhist monks are found in front of the couch (Fig. 254). They would have been two of the disciples gathered at the Buddha's deathbed, and would have been listening to his last words. One kneels on the ground with his hands pressed together in *añjalī-mudrā*; the other sits on a low stool holding a fan, which was probably intended to make the Buddha more comfortable before his death. The monks are dressed in long, loose robes, their left shoulders covered and their right shoulders bare. The garments are articulated with broadly spaced incised pleat lines that bend and curve slightly over the contours of their bodies. The dress of these monks differs from that depicted in the tympanum in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts; the latter have patched robes (Fig. 285). Nevertheless, unlike the early Buddha images from Mathura, both sets of monastic garments, although worn differently, are loose and do not reveal the bodies beneath.

The topmost panel on the right-hand adjacent side of the Norton Simon pillar depicts a visually stunning example of serpents guarding the Rāmagrāma (or Rāmapura) *stūpa* containing the relics of the Buddha (Fig. 255). The *stūpa* was the eighth of the originial eight *stūpa*s housing the relics of the Buddha, and it was the only one that was not opened by Aśoka. A line in Aśvaghoṣa's *Buddhacarita* refers to this *stūpa*: "The eighth of the original *stūpa*s, situated in Rāmapura, was guarded at that time by faithful *nāga*s, and the king therefore did not obtain the relics from it; but thereby his faith in them was much increased" (XXVIII.66).[56] The Rāmagrāma *stūpa* was established in the watery realm of the *nāga*s, and the water is shown at the bottom of the composition, depicted by parallel lines swirling around bulbous lotus flowers in varying stages of bloom, much like the depiction of water in the tank on the Brooklyn Museum architrave with *ardhaphālaka* monks, discussed at the beginning of this chapter (Fig. 221). The *stūpa* itself, standing in the waters, has a high, cylindrical drum on top of which has been carved a *vedikā*. The plain, hemispherical drum is topped by a *harmikā*, with an inverted stepped pyramid topped by a row of stepped merlons. Dominating the scene is an arrangement of serpents, tied together in a knot, their bodies tautly and gracefully curved out towards either side, extending to the edges of the panel. Their ribbed underbellies form a dramatic pattern and contrast with the smoothness of their backs, which have small incised rings arranged in groups of three. Four heads are visible, with round eyes that keep unblinking vigil over the *stūpa*; two more heads are probably underwater, as two bodies are shown plunged into the waters at the base of the *stūpa*. Each of them sticks out a forked tongue menacingly, and they all have small auspicious symbols incised into the tops of their heads.[57] There are probably two five-headed *nāga*s involved in the composition, but this is unclear, since the artistic arrangement of this scene takes precedence over legibility. The guarding of the Rāmagrāma *stūpa* by the *nāga*s took place after the Buddha's *parinirvāna* and the division of his relics, and thus this panel can be read as subsequent to that on the adjacent side which depicts the *parinirvāna* itself.

The remaining six panels on the Norton Simon pillar, three beneath the *parinirvāna* scene and three beneath the Rāmagrāma *stūpa* scene, are all very similar in content. Each panel

[56] Ibid. p. 123.
[57] Cf. Fig. 275, which depicts the Rāmagrāma *stūpa* flanked by a *nāga* and a *nāginī*, but they are depicted anthropomorphically, with serpent hoods above their heads. The hoods in this sculpture also have auspicious symbols incised on them.

depicts a man and a woman making gestures of veneration or bearing offerings of flowers or garlands (Figs. 256–261). However, each one is slightly different—types of turbans, postures, and whether the woman is on the right or left—such that the reliefs do not seem formalized and repetitive. All of the figures wear the broad, billowing shawls with wide parallel pleats that are so characteristic of the sculpture of the first century CE, and they lend a particular liveliness and grace to the overall impression of the panels.

The style of the relief carvings on the Norton Simon Museum pillar is so similar to that of the Govindnagar Ṛśyaśṛṅga pillar (Figs. 239–243), both in architectural detailing and figural style, that I would go so far as to suggest that they are from the same site.[58] Although the latter is broken at the top and badly eroded at the back (rendering accurate comparison of these measurements impossible) the width of the upright with the scenes from the life of Ṛśyaśṛṅga is the same as the width of the Norton Simon pillar, eight and a half inches (21.59 centimeters). Thus, perhaps the Ṛśyaśṛṅga pillar and the Norton Simon pillar represent two examples of uprights from the same square *vedikā* that once was intended to surround a sacred site. It is a pity that more pillars from this early *vedikā* did not survive, for these two contain imagery of much importance for the pre-Kuṣāṇa Buddhist narrative tradition at Mathura, and we may presume that the other pillars from the site originally would have depicted still more examples of that tradition. The unfinished quality of the Norton Simon Museum pillar, however, suggests that possibly the *vedikā* was not completed. These narrative scenes can be viewed as a continuation of the early Buddhist narrative tradition at Mathura, a glimmer of which we first saw in the fragment of the *Vaṇṇupatha Jātaka* in Chapter Three (Fig. 81). During the time of Śoḍāsa, however, Buddhist art began to gain momentum.

Īsāpur Railing: Lokapālas *Offer Alms Bowls to the Buddha Śakyamuni (Fig. 262)*

The bas reliefs we have discussed in this section so far attest to the ongoing tradition of depicting narrative scenes in a bas relief format that Mathura generally is not credited with possessing. Although most of the known narrative reliefs from Mathura are fragmentary, and many of the stories remain unidentified, they nevertheless indicate the existence of a significant narrative tradition that began in the second century BCE. Admittedly, even taking into consideration the loss of most early monuments at Mathura, the narrative tradition at Mathura does not seem to have rivaled the richness of the traditions at Bharhut, Sanchi, Amaravati, and Gandhāra; however, it is significant and should not be altogether discounted.

Another example of a narrative scene that I attribute to the time of Śoḍāsa depicts an incident from the life of the Buddha carved on a railing fragment from Īsāpur, located on the opposite bank of the Yamuna River from Mathura City (GMM H.12; Fig. 262). The Īsāpur railing relief is fairly well known and was first dated to a pre-Kuṣāṇa period by J. E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw on the basis of style.[59] V. S. Agrawala, R. C. Sharma, Susan Huntington, Pratapaditya Pal, and others have concurred with her analysis, and

[58] This same suggestion was put forth independently by Pratapaditya Pal in *Art from the Indian Subcontinent*, pp. 74–75.

[59] J. E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, *The Scythian Period*, pp. 157–158.

they consider the Buddha image on this railing as one of the earliest surviving examples, although they are rather vague in their dating of the sculpture, attributing it to ca. first century BCE or first century CE.[60] The evidence provided by the Pārśvanātha *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 150) and the Vasu doorjamb (Fig. 264), the latter of which is inscribed to the reign of *mahākṣatrapa* Śoḍāsa (Appendix I.15), aids in attributing it more precisely to around the second decade of the first century CE—i.e., during the reign of Śoḍāsa.

The relief panel is framed by a *vedikā* below and a heavy roll cornice above; the surviving *vedikā* at the top of the pillar fragment would have marked the lower border of the surmounting panel, which is lost. The *vedikā* pillar on which the surviving relief was carved appears to have been reused at some later date, for it has been cut in half. The cut sliced through some ornamental vegetal carvings, the worn remains of which are still visible on the side. The front face of the stone has been rather abraded, and so it is not in as good a condition as most of the other reliefs we have looked at of this date. Nevertheless, a sufficient number of stylistic features remain discernible such that it can be confidently attributed to around the time of *mahākṣatrapa* Śoḍāsa.

Crowded into the rectangular space is probably the earliest known representation from Mathura of the Buddha in anthropomorphic form.[61] He is shown seated upon a high pedestal supported by lions and surrounded by four standing figures. J. P. Vogel first identified the scene as the offering of alms bowls to the Buddha by the gods who preside over the four cardinal directions (*lokapāla*s), an event which occurred immediately after the Buddha's enlightenment.[62] One stanza from the *Buddhacarita* of Aśvaghoṣa, probably dating to ca. second century CE, relates the scene: "At the time for the alms-round the gods of the four quarters presented the seer with begging-bowls; Gautama, accepting the four, turned them into one for the sake of his *dharma*" (xiv.103).[63] Each of the four *lokapāla*s holds a bowl in his hands, and many other reliefs in the repertoire of Indian sculpture depict the worship of the alms bowl the Buddha miraculously synthesized from the four bowls offered by the *lokapāla*s (e.g., Figs. 284 and 286).

The figure of the newly enlightened Buddha Śakyamuni sits frontally and iconically, in a way reserved for divinities being worshipped. The iconographic attributes that identify him as a Buddha are present but de-emphasized, so his form is not radically different from that of nude *tīrthaṅkara*s (Fig. 151). His *uṣṇīṣa*, here probably to be understood as a topknot of hair, is minimalistically indicated by a simple, flat, semicircular knob at the top of his cranium, and his ears are elongated. Instead of holding his hands in the meditative *dhyāna-mudrā*, as a Jina would, his right hand is held up in *abhaya-mudrā*, and his

---

[60] V. S. Agrawala, "Pre-Kuṣāṇa Art of Mathura," pp. 126–127; R. C. Sharma, *Buddhist Art, Mathura School*, p. xv, no. 59, and p. 62; Susan Huntington, *The Art of Ancient India*, pp. 122–123; P. Pal, "A Pre-Kushana Buddha Image," p. 10.

[61] The group of Buddha images recovered from the Italian excavations in Swāt, particularly from Butkara I, and from Loriyan Tangai in Gandhāra are said to possibly date as early as the second half of the first century BCE on the grounds of stratigraphical evidence. See, *inter alia*, D. Faccenna, "Excavations of the Italian Archaeological Mission (IsMEO) in Pakistan: Some Problems of Gandharan Art and Architecture," in *Central Asia in the Kushan Period*, vol. I (Moskow: Nauka, 1974), pp. 126ff.; and J. E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, "New Evidence with Regard to the Origin of the Buddha Image," pp. 377–400. Whether they actually date to the first century BCE or the first century CE is uncertain. Hence, we cannot be sure whether this sculpture on the rail post from Īsāpur in Mathura pre- or postdates the Swāt group (or 'drawing group').

[62] J. P. Vogel, *Catalogue of the Archaeological Museum at Mathura*, p. 132.

[63] *Buddhacarita* of Aśvaghoṣa, trans. E. H. Johnston, p. 216.

left hand rests upon his thigh, his arm akimbo. The robe worn by the Buddha on the Īsāpur railing is completely diaphanous and stretched over his body, such that at first glance he seems to be nude, like a Jina. It is worn so that his right shoulder remains bare and his left shoulder is covered. There are no visible pleat lines or hemlines carved on his body except for the single curved line across his chest, extending from his left shoulder to his right breast and under his right arm, marking the edge of the upper garment.[64] The pleats falling between his extended left arm and his left thigh (Fig. 262) are rendered with parallel incised lines that mimic the treatment of the Jaina *colapaṭṭa*s (Fig. 151). In contrast to Kuṣāṇa examples of Buddha images (Figs. 137 and 173), however, these pleat lines are not carved over the left arm; they are relegated only to the space between the arm and chest. The only other indication of the existence of the garment is the end of the hem draped over the front of the pedestal below his crossed ankles. Though now rather worn, it originally would have been articulated with pleat lines, and it represents the precursor to the pervasive fan-shaped pleated segment of cloth spread out on the pedestal in front of Buddha images of the Kuṣāṇa period and later (Figs. 136 and 137).

The outer garment of the Buddha is altogether distinct from those worn by ordinary monks as seen in contemporaneous reliefs from Mathura and Kauśāmbī; baggy robes sewn from patches that drape over both shoulders (Figs. 254 and 285, top register) characterize the ordinary monks. Thus, the early Buddha images at Mathura are readily distinguishable from those of non-enlightened, ordinary monks, not only by the small *uṣṇīṣa* or topknot, the frontal posture, the *abhaya-mudrā*, and the lion throne, but also by the unique robe, clinging and revealing the form of the Buddha's body.

The radical distinction between the presentation of the dress of the early Buddha figures and the images of the monks reveals a disparity between the traditions of Mathura and Gandhāra (excepting the 'drawing group' from Swat and the early phases at Loriyan Tangai) in the fundamental mode of depicting the Buddha. In Gandhāran sculpture, the Buddha's *saṃghati* is identical to that worn by the monks who were his disciples. He is distinguished only by his gestures, hierarchic scale, lack of tonsure, and the topknot. The sculptors of Gandhāra seem to have more literally followed the indications in the texts that Śakyamuni wore the simple garments of ordinary monks. At Mathura, on the other hand, the Buddha was presented in a less literal fashion, for he is visually linked to other types of supreme figures, such as Jaina *tīrthaṅkara*s, in the way that his body is revealed, which is in total opposition to the depiction of monks, whose baggy *saṃghati*s allow for no indication of the contours of their bodies beneath their robes.

The body type and posture of the seated Īsāpur Buddha closely relate to the image of the Jina Pārśvanātha carved in the center of the Pārśvanātha *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 151), which dates to the time of Śoḍāsa, i.e. ca. 15 CE, as discussed in Chapter Four. The short neck, broad face and torso, and the protruding, corpulent belly concur with the figural style of both the Pārśvanātha image (Fig. 151) and the male figure of the dated Katrā *toraṇa* fragment (Fig. 218). The mode of depicting crossed legs seen in the Īsāpur Buddha also correlates

[64] The plain hemline across the chest of this early Buddha image is reminiscent of the placement of the *yajñopavīta* worn by Brāhmans, which could have served as a visual prototype. (See, for example the *yajñopavīta* worn by Agni in Fig. 280.) However, it must be realized that the relief composition would probably have been painted in its original setting, thereby rendering the *saṃghati* more conspicuous than it appears to us today in its unpainted state.

with the seated figure of Pārśvanātha. Much of the surfaces of the thighs remains visible, and the slight feet and shins are crossed only at the ankles, in contrast to the thicker legs, more rigidly and fully crossed, in seated icons from the Kuṣāṇa period (Figs. 136 and 137). This figural style is distinctive in the sculptures of the early first century CE, as it is not seen in the art of any previous or subsequent period.

This small but important image betrays a lack of confidence in the depiction of the seated Buddha image, as noted in the minimized representations of the salient and essential attributes of the Buddha (Fig. 262). Such timidity, which is not noted in the rendition of other types of figures during this period, suggests the absence of a strong preexisting tradition of anthropomorphic depictions of the Buddha image. It has been argued, particularly by scholars of Buddhist texts, that images of the Buddha had consistently been made for centuries prior to the Kuṣāṇa period, but probably in perishable materials that no longer exist; this argument is based on passages that refer to image making even during the lifetime of the Buddha.[65] While this possibility should remain open, the fact is that among the abundant remains of Buddhist art from the third through first centuries BCE, no trace of an anthropomorphic representation of the Buddha can as yet be identified. The tentative and derivative quality of the depiction of the iconographic attributes on the Īsāpur Buddha image seems to support the impression supplied by the early Buddhist sculptural remains, that until the beginning of the first century CE, images of the Buddha were not depicted in human form. As we shall see in the remainder of this chapter, the anthropomorphic image of the Buddha gradually acquired a standardized mode of representation that led to the confident and powerful imagery seen in the Kuṣāṇa sculptures of the "*kapardin* Buddhas" dating to the mid–second century CE (Figs. 137 and 173). At this stage, however, it appears that the anthropomorphic image of the Buddha, as represented by the figure on the Īsāpur panel, draws from several non-Buddhist types of pictorial imagery, such as attributes of Brahmins, depictions of *cakravartin*s, the form of the seated *tapasvin* and the seated Jina image. As already noted, the *yajñopavīta* could have served as a basis for the reason single plain hemline of the Buddha's robe must extend from the left shoulder to the right waist. The depiction of the pleated cloth of his *saṃghati* falling from his left arm may be visually related to the black antelope skin worn over the left arm or shoulder by Brahmins, and, finally, the style of the *uṣṇīṣa* could be an outgrowth from the depiction of the Brahmanical *śikhā* (tuft of hair, in many cases knotted, at the apex of the cranium).[66] The overall seated, cross-legged form of the Īsāpur Buddha image perhaps echoes the seated figures of Brahmanical *tapasvin*s, as seen, for example, in the bas relief from Bharhut in Fig. 263. The tradition can be traced through the early Jaina icons represented by the seated image of Pārśvanātha dating to the early first century CE (Fig. 151), the Jinas on the Dhanamitra *āyāgapaṭa* of ca. 20 BCE (Figs. 141 and

---

[65] See, for example, John Huntington, "The Origin of the Buddha Image: Early Image Traditions and the Concept of Buddhadarśanapunyā," pp. 23–58, and idem. "Mathurā Evidence for the Early Teachings of Mahāyāna." The dates of the Buddhists texts and relevant passages upon which Huntington relied all postdate the depiction of the anthropomorphic image of the Buddha on the Īsāpur railing, and his arguments for their earlier dating are speculative. Cf. Lewis Lancaster, "An Early Mahayana Sermon About the Body of the Buddha and the Making of Images," *Artibus Asiae*, XXXVI, 4, 1974, pp. 287–291.

[66] The Brahmin in Fig. 219 from Bharhut has a *śikhā* at the top of his head, and the black antelope skin over his left arm. The figures on the obverse of the Katrā architrave of ca. 100 BCE (GMM M.1; Figs. 29, 31–33) also have *śikhā*s and faint remains of a *yajñopavīta*.

142b), and the seated figures of Ṛṣabhanātha dating to ca. 100 BCE (Fig. 27). Thus, the Buddha image on the Īsāpur railing may be understood to be part of the same figural tradition of the seated ascetic *guru* as the early seated Jina *bimba*s. As J. E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw and A. K. Coomaraswamy noted, the combination of the right hand being held in *abhaya-mudrā* and the left arm held akimbo are derived from both the royal gesture of *cakravartin*s and the hand positions so commonly seen on images of *yakṣa*s and *nāga*s.[67] The early Buddha image, which would have been unfamiliar to most devotees at this time, was given attributes that would indicate to the viewer that this figure was a holy and powerful man, so, perhaps the sculptors mimicked the attributes of recognizably holy and powerful figures, such as Brāhmins, *cakravartin*s, or Jinas in their selection of the Buddha's iconographic features. The current sculptural evidence does not attest to an independent tradition of depicting the anthropomorphic Buddha image prior to the early first century CE, and the earliest known representation at Mathura, represented by the small figure on the Īsāpur rail post, seems to have been composed largely from an amalgam of preexisting pictorial sources.

The earliest known representations of the Buddha in human form from regions in India other than Mathura all significantly postdate the Īsāpur Buddha by at least one hundred years. Moreover, the fact that Buddha images from Mathura dated to the early years of the reign of Kaniṣka (ca. 130 CE) were exported to other regions, such as Sarnath (Fig. 173), Ahichhatra (Fig. 137), and Sanchi[68] suggests that the anthropomorphic Buddha image tradition became prevalent at Mathura before it did at other regions, as scholars have generally held. Whether the Īsāpur Buddha predates the anthropomorphic representations of the Buddha at Gandhāra, however, is less certain, but his depiction is derived solely from visual prototypes at Mathura rather than imagery imported from Gandhāra. Conversely, it is unclear whether the early Buddha images from Swāt derived from the Mathuran prototypes, as was suggested by J. E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw,[69] or whether they arose independently at, coincidentally, approximately the same time. In any event, the early Buddha images from Mathura and those from Gandhāra seem to have derived from distinct pictorial traditions and developed along different trajectories. The region of Gandhāra may best be treated as *sui generis*, while Mathura is more culturally integral to the rest of peninsular India.

The type of pedestal on which the image of the Buddha sits in the Īsāpur relief is unique in the surviving corpus of early Indian sculpture, to my knowledge. The inverted stepped pyramid formation of the upper part of the pedestal is similar to the upper moldings of the altar on which the turban of the Buddha is worshipped on the Govindnagar Ṛśyaśṛṅga pillar (Fig. 240). A plain, narrow, tapered 'waist' connects the five inverted steps to the base, which resembles a heavy architectural roll cornice. The whole pedestal rests upon the heads and coiled tails of two crouching lions, each with one raised forepaw.

---

[67] J. E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, *The Scythian Period*, p. 167; A. K. Coomaraswamy, "The Origin of the Buddha Image," pp. 304–305 and Figs. 14 and 24; and A. K. Coomaraswamy, "A Royal Gesture, and Some Other Motifs," pp. 57–61.

[68] M. M. Hamid, Pandit R. C. Kak and Ramaprasad Chanda, *Catalogue of the Museum of Archaeology at Sanchi, Bhopal State*, Pl. II, Fig. 19.

[69] J. E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, "New Evidence with Regard to the Origin of the Buddha Image," pp. 377–400.

The lions' heads are turned to face the viewer, but their bodies are shown in profile. The ends of their tails curl up into tight spirals, like fern fronds, in a manner unseen in the lions of the Kuṣāṇa period. P. Pal drew attention to the form of this pedestal as both depicting the Vedic high altar and reflecting the imagery of Mt. Meru.[70] Pal further inferred the following from the form of the altar: "Thus, clearly what is intended in the Isapur or Lokapala relief is to depict the Buddha as the Cosmic Being, like Agni or Prajapati of the Vedic Aryans, seated atop the High Altar."[71]

The mien and modes of dress of the *lokapāla*s who flank the figure of the Buddha on the Īsāpur railing (Fig. 262) are akin to the male figural styles discussed in connection with the other relief sculptures I attribute to the early first century CE in this chapter. They are characterized by the boneless, slouching figural style; and their soft, smooth abdomens pucker over their rope-like girdles. The almost ubiquitous swath of pleated cloth hangs between their legs, as we saw on the Balahastinī doorjamb (Fig. 236). They all wear scarf-like *uttarīya*s draped over their arms; that of the *lokapāla* in the upper right corner billows behind his head by the force of a celestial breeze, which also affected the *uttarīyas* of Indra and of the flying celestial beings in the outer rings of the diagrammatic *āyāgapaṭa*s (Figs. 243 and 192). Their tilted heads and double-lidded eyes are of the same type as those seen on the Katrā *toraṇa* fragment (Fig. 217) and on the figures of the monks carved in the center of the Pārśvanātha *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 151). Thus, the style of the *lokapāla* figures, along with the Buddha image, concur with the style of the early first century CE.

Although modest in scale and somewhat worn, this fragment of a pillar from Īsāpur may be the single most significant sculpture surviving from this period. Because of its stylistic linkages with the figures on the Pārśvanātha *āyāgapaṭa*, which is datable to the time of Śoḍāsa on the basis of the similarity of its ornamental carvings to those of the Vasu doorjamb inscribed during the reign of Śoḍāsa (Fig. 264), the anthropomorphic image of the Īsāpur Buddha can be quite confidently attributed to ca. 15 CE. This is the most precise and accurate date that we can assign to any Buddha image prior to the time of Kaniṣka. Others, such as the early 'drawing group' from Swāt might have been made earlier, but we cannot be as certain, because of the lack of dated comparative material from the region that would provide a bracket of less than plus or minus fifty to seventy-five years. Thus, at this stage in our knowledge, the Īsāpur image can be considered the earliest known depiction of the anthropomorphic Buddha image surviving from Mathura, and, by extension, all of India, with the possible exception of Swāt.

It is also essential to note that this little image actually depicts the enlightened Buddha Śakyamuni. He is shown in the context of a clearly identifiable narrative scene, the gift of the four almsbowls by the *lokapāla*s, a scene that occurred after his enlightenment. He therefore cannot be identified as the Bodhisattva, or Siddhartha Gautama prior to enlightenment, which is the interpretation given by recent scholars to the early Kuṣāṇa Buddhist icons of the Kapardin type, considered to be transitional between aniconic and iconic rep-

[70] P. Pal, "A Pre-Kushana Buddha Image from Mathura," pp. 12–14.

[71] Ibid., p. 12. The sculpture featured at the beginning of Pal's article is an anthropomorphic Buddha image in the collection of Vasanta Choudhury in Calcutta, which Pal attributed to the early first century CE. Alhough he might be correct in this attribution, I cannot confidently judge, since the image is badly eroded, and almost no detail survives.

resentations of the Buddha.[72] With this early figure on the Īsāpur railing, we can say unequivocally that the Buddha Śakyamuni was depicted in human form by the turn of the common era.

In its original context, this Buddha figure would have been inconspicuous, and it also probably would have been quite familiar to most Mathuran residents, who had seen many visually similar images of Jinas and other holy men at other sites in the area for over one hundred years. Thus, this image, which I venture to suggest represents the sole surviving example of the first type of Buddha figure at Mathura, would not have been shocking to devotees, even though they may never have seen a Buddha image before. It is not a monumental icon—these apparently would not be introduced for another fifty to one hundred years. It is a small-scale, unassuming, familiar type of figure, embedded within one of many narrative or non-narrative bas reliefs that would have adorned the exterior of the *vedikā* surrounding a sacred precinct. Thus, the answer to the vexed question of the origin of the Buddha image, I believe, lies in an image like the Īsāpur Buddha, rather than in the colossal icons such as the Bala Buddha (Fig. 173). If this is the case, then the tradition of depicting the human image of the Buddha had a gradual and rather tentative inception, wherein its constituting elements continued to be recognizably dependent on preexisting visual prototypes adapted to form a new kind of icon. However, the adoption of the human image was slow and by no means immediately pervasive. Non-figural representations of the Buddha's presence continued to be depicted simultaneously, as in the *parinirvāna* and Rāmagrāma *stūpa* scenes on the Norton Simon pillar (Figs. 254–255) and in the worship of the Buddha's turban, alms bowl, *caityvṛkṣa*, or *dharmacakra stambha* (Figs. 240, 284 and 285) in other reliefs of the early first century CE. The human form of the Buddha was at this time simply one among many appropriate sacred objects worthy of receiving veneration for the accruing of merit. It is not until ca. 50–100 CE that the human icon seems to have emerged in importance and prominence from the repertoire of sacred Buddhist objects.

Vasu Doorjamb (Fig. 264)

One of the most important and most beautiful objects attributable to the time of Śoḍāsa is a doorjamb donated by Vasu, in the collection of the Government Museum at Mathura (13.367). It measures almost eight and one half feet (2.6 meters) in height, and it once adorned what must have been a splendid temple to Viṣṇu. The inside face of the jamb is carved with what is now a fragmentary inscription, which provides the name of the donor, Vasu; it states that the doorjamb was made for a temple to Vāsudeva, a name for the Brahmanical god Viṣṇu. The inscription also states that the reigning monarch was the *svāmi mahākṣatrapa* Śoḍāsa (Appendix I.15). Hence, the carvings on this architectural piece exemplify the ornamental relief style current during Śoḍāsa's reign, ca. 15 CE.

The carvings on the Vasu doorjamb (Fig. 264) are divided into three vertical registers. A wave-like leafy vine, from which sprout feathery, gently curling leaves and delicate blossoms, fills the narrow band at the left of the doorjamb. It is carved with loose, gently

[72] See Ju-Hyung Rhi, "From Bodhisattva to Buddha: The Beginning of Iconic Representation in Buddhist Art," p. 208.

lilting lines, with an elegant flair, clarity, and sophisticated refinement. The rounded garland forming the central band is wrapped with flat, leafy strips in a crisscross pattern, with a rosette placed at the point of crossing. This pattern is repeated for the length of the jamb, interrupted only by three clasps shaped like *āmalasārakas*. Similarly, the lotus rhizome carved in the wider band at the right is a masterwork in its design, with subtle, naturalistic variations in the positioning of the lotus flowers in all stages of bloom.

Joanna Williams has suggested that the Vasu doorjamb dates to the third century CE, and that its ornamental reliefs were carved later than the inscription, for the relief carvings seem to her to presage those of the Gupta period in their elegance.[73] However, they do not concur with the dry, schematized styles of the third century CE; it is not likely that an original inscription would have been incised on an unembellished doorjamb. Moreover the existence of the Morā doorjamb (Figs. 265 and 266), the Pārśvanātha *āyāgapaṭa* (Figs. 150–152), and the Nāṃdighoṣa *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 153) which can be dated to the early first century CE on independent grounds, indicate that during the time of Śoḍāsa such sophisticated relief styles were current.

Morā Doorjamb (Figs. 265 and 266)

The Morā doorjamb is named after the site where it was found, and, remarkably, it has the same lilting and elegant ornamental style as the Vasu doorjamb (Fig. 264). Solely on the basis of a visual analysis of its carvings, I would have guessed that it dates to the time of Śoḍāsa. Further corroboration of this dating is available for this piece, because it was found together with an inscription carved on a stone slab stating that it was made during the reign of the son of the *mahākṣatrapa* Rajūvula, namely Śoḍāsa (Appendix I.13).

Two fully carved sides remain on the Morā doorjamb; one of them has a grapevine issuing from the navel of a dwarf (Fig. 265), and the other side has a lotus rhizome growing from the mouth of a gently curving *makara* at the base (Fig. 266). The delicacy, complexity, elegance, naturalism, and refinement of the shallow reliefs are in the same vein as those on the Vasu doorjamb. The scrolling grapevine on the Morā doorjamb compares particularly favorably with that on the border of the Nāṃdighoṣa *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 153).

The Morā doorjamb is now broken into three sections, currently kept in the State Museum, Lucknow (J.526). In its unbroken state it measured an impressive eight and one half feet (2.5 meters) in height. It likely functioned as part of the entranceway to the stone shrine that housed the five images of the Vṛṣṇi heroes mentioned in the inscription, two of which were also recovered from the same site (Figs. 276–279).

Three Fragmentary Relief Panels (Figs. 268–270)

The three fragmentary relief panels discussed in this section probably formed parts of railing uprights or doorjambs. All of them have at least part of the familiar composite pillar surviving as a framing device, just like those used to frame the panels on the Balahastinī doorjamb (Fig. 234) or the other uprights we have looked at in this chapter. In what

[73] Joanna G. Williams, *The Art of Gupta India*, pp. 13–14.

remains of the charming sculptures we can see scenes of entertainment among men and women, and they are all carved in the characteristic style of the early first century CE. No sectarian affiliation is identifiable among the remaining carvings on these reliefs.

Fig. 268 (SML J.632) shows a man playing a long, stringed harp-like instrument on his lap. He has a cap-like hairstyle with bangs similar to the hairstyle that appears in sculptures dating from ca. 50–20 BCE (Fig. 200, top) to the second century CE (e.g., Fig. 201, top). Immediately behind him stands a woman who carries a vessel in her upraised right hand; to her right is a woman holding a heart-shaped fan, similar to the one in Fig. 190, which I attributed to ca. 50–20 BCE. The damaged remains of another actively gesticulating woman are in the foreground. The figures are in fairly high relief, and the placement of the woman behind the male musician is realistically conceived, with a greater degree of confidence than was seen in the bas reliefs of the previous period, such as those on the reverse of the Kaṭhika pillar (Figs. 187 and 189). Like the pillars framing the scenes on the Balahastinī doorjamb (Fig. 235) and the Govindnagar Ṛśyaśṛṅga pillar (Fig. 239), the composite capital of the framing pillar has an *āmalaka*, topped by a crouching griffin, which is surmounted by a rigidly cross-hatched voluted capital. Their double-lidded eyes and slightly smiling expressions also characterize the figures of this period.

Similar sweet expressions, convincing arrangement of figures in space, and the composite capitals are seen on another fragment in Fig. 269 (SML J.627). In this fragment a male figure with a crested turban is seated in the foreground, seemingly engaged in an animated conversation with a woman to his left. Seen at a three-quarter angle, the smooth, fleshy corpulence of his belly is discernible, which further supports the dating of this scene to the early first century CE. Behind the couple in the foreground are two ladies-in-waiting, one of whom carries a pot and the other a heart-shaped fan that are almost identical to the types held by the women in Fig. 268.

Finally, a bas relief in the Mathura Museum (GMM 14.405; Fig. 270) depicts a group of five women, one of whom is portrayed in a dancing posture. Behind her, two women hold small vessels, which may contain a cosmetic that the woman on the left applies to her lips. The woman standing at the left exhibits the segmented torso that is a distinctive trait of most female figures depicted *en face* during the middle to late first century BCE, as seen on the Faizabad *yakṣī* (Fig. 203) and the central figure on the Amohini *āyavati*, dated to the time of Śoḍāsa (Fig. 273). The female figural style, facial expressions, coiffures, and modes of dress are so similar among the figures on these three fragments that they may all be considered approximately contemporaneous, if not from the same monument. Though portrayed as animated and alert, none of the figures in these three fragments exhibits the power and extroversion of those datable to the second century CE, but they accord with the spirit of sculptures dated to the time of Śoḍāsa. They also provide added glimpses into the richness of the bas relief tradition as found on the sacred monuments of Mathura during the pre-Kuṣāṇa periods; those sculptures exhibit a delight in diversion similar to that commonly seen on the carvings from many early Indian monuments, such as those from *Stūpa* I at Sanchi.

As we have seen in the foregoing survey of bas relief sculptures attributable to the time of *mahākṣatrapa* Śoḍāsa, diverse iconographies and narrative scenes are represented from both Buddhist and Jaina sites. The small-scale bas relief tradition of Mathura during the early first century CE bears witness to the emergence of the anthropomorphic Buddha

image, seemingly based on a synthesis of pictorial prototypes from both Jaina and Brahmanical repertoires. Next we will examine iconic figural sculptures carved in the round that depict anthropomorphic images for worship, apparently from a variety of sects, which also are datable to the period of Śoḍāsa—i.e., ca. 15 CE.

Iconic Statues

Several sculptures carved in the round reveal the diversity of iconic imagery at Mathura during the early first century CE. The style and iconography of these sculptures draw from the traditions of the second and first centuries BCE, and they prefigure the icons that would be produced during the Kuṣāṇa period of the second and third centuries CE. They exhibit the distinctive formal characteristics that were noted in the bas relief sculptures discussed above, thereby augmenting our knowledge of the school of sculpture during the time of the *mahākṣatrapa* Śoḍāsa.

Akrūr-Ṭīlā Devatā (Figs. 271–272)

The image of a standing female figure carved in red sandstone with buff-colored streaks was reportedly discovered by a cowherd, who said that he found the statue near Akrūr-Ṭīlā, four miles (6.44 kilometers) north of Mathura City.[74] It is currently housed in the Government Museum, Mathura (F.6). Although the statue is quite small, measuring only two feet (61 centimeters) tall, she nevertheless is remarkably engaging and stands as one of the most important models of the female figural style of the Śoḍāsa period. Her lower body is somewhat eroded, and the sculpture is broken at the ankles, but she is otherwise fairly well preserved, particularly in back (Fig. 272). The attribution of this sculpture to the time of *mahākṣatrapa* Śoḍāsa—i.e., the early first century CE—is aided especially by a comparison with the central figure on the Amohini *āyavati* (Figs. 148 and 273), which, as we have already noted, is dated by inscription to the year Seventy-Two during Śoḍāsa's reign (15 CE). They share the same distinctive figural style. Her frontal posture and the fact that her right hand is held in *abhaya-mudrā* strongly suggests that she represents a type of goddess who would have been an object of veneration; hence, it seems appropriate to refer to her as a *devatā*. The Akrūr-Ṭīlā *devatā* represents the only known image of a goddess carved in the round datable to this period. We cannot know whether this image was associated with a Jaina or Buddhist site, or whether she stood as the focus of a *yakṣī* cult of her own.

The Akrūr-Ṭīlā *devatā* stands axially and has the segmented torso, overall body proportions, and facial features that are akin to those of the goddess on the Amohini *āyavati* (Figs. 148 and 273). They exhibit a bold quality that is a notable trait of many iconic figures of this period, including the images of Pārśvanātha and the Īsāpur Buddha (Figs. 151

[74] J. P. Vogel, *Catalogue of the Archaeological Museum at Mathura*, p. 113, no. F.6. Although this sculpture has been known for more than one hundred years, no significant scholarly attention has been paid to this handsome image, and it is not included in lists of pre-Kuṣāṇa sculptures. See, for example, R. C. Sharma, *Buddhist Art, Mathura School*, pp. 162–165.

and 262). Both the Akrūr-Ṭīlā *devatā* and the divinity on the Amohini *āyavati* hold their right hands up in *abhaya-mudrā*, but the hand of the Akrūr-Ṭīlā *devatā* is held directly in front of her shoulder, rather than to the side like the figure on the Amohini plaque. Perhaps because she was sculpted in the round, this positioning has helped to prevent breakage. A decoratively carved 'pad' of stone behind her raised right hand, commonly seen on images of the late first century and second centuries CE, lends the hand further support. Like the iconic figure on the Amohini *āyavati*, the Akrūr-Ṭīlā *devatā* has her left hand at her hip and her garment draped over her left wrist, but her arm is not as prominently akimbo, probably also for reasons of structural stability. Otherwise, their hand positions can be considered to be identical.

The heads of both the Akrūr-Ṭīlā *devatā* and the female divinity on the tablet of Amohini are portrayed as round and fleshy, true to the Mathura type, and they both wear their hair with the familiar puffed, rolled bun over their foreheads, decorated with a pendant medallion. From what remains of the facial features of the Amohini figure (Fig. 273), she seems to have gently raised eyebrows, almond-shaped eyes, a triangular nose, lips that protrude from the surrounding facial planes, and a prominent chin—features that are rendered in much the same manner as those on the better preserved face of the Akrūr-Ṭīlā *devatā* (Fig. 271). These facial features are also not unlike those of the female figure on the inscribed side of the Katrā *toraṇa* fragment, which is dated by inscription to the time of *mahākṣatrapa* Śoḍāsa (Fig. 217).

As noted above, the Akrūr-Ṭīlā *devatā*'s torso is of the segmented type, like that of the central figure on the Amohini *āyavati*. Her spherical breasts are also similar in shape and proportion to those of the goddess on the Amohini plaque, and below them her waist is rendered by almost straight, parallel contours. Her hips and lower abdomen flare abruptly to either side, thereby continuing the figural style of the female images on the *āyāgapaṭa*s (Fig. 144) and the Faizabad *yakṣī* (Fig. 203) that date to the middle to late first century BCE. The most conspicuous feature of her lower body is the knock-kneed position of her legs, particularly visible from the rear view (Fig. 272). The legs also seem to have the slightly pneumatic quality noticed on other smaller scale bas relief figures of this period, as discussed earlier in this chapter.

The ornament worn conspicuously over the shoulders and upper chest of the central figure of the Akrūr-Ṭīlā *devatā* is visibly similar to that worn by the goddess on the Amohini *āyavati*, even though the latter is somewhat eroded (Fig. 273). It is also very similar to the ornament worn on one of the Morā torsos (Fig. 276), which is datable by its accompanying inscription to the time of Śoḍāsa (see below). This clasped garland ornament seems to have been particularly popular at this time, for it is rarely, if ever, seen either in earlier sculptures or in Kuṣāṇa period works. On the Akrūr-Ṭīlā *devatā* and the central figure on the Amohini *āyavati*, the ornament consists of two or three garlands clasped together in two places, one above each breast, causing the central segment to puff out in an oblong shape. A single strand of pearls falls between the breasts of both figures.

Around the upper arms of the Akrūr-Ṭīlā *devatā* is draped her long, scarf-like upper garment, the elegantly carved pleats of which are visible especially on the part that stretches across her upper back (Fig. 272). The pleats are rendered with irregularly spaced parallel lines of varying depths; this manner of carving the pleats effectively conveys the texture and fullness of the cloth and recalls the more naturalistic modes of depicting textiles

of the middle to late first century BCE. Hence, this more conservative style, echoing the sensitive portrayal of textiles on the Faizabad *yakṣī* (Figs. 203 and 206), is preserved on this iconic sculpture carved in the round, as opposed to the broadly and regularly spaced, simpler pleat lines seen on most of the garments in relief carvings of ca. 15 CE (Fig. 229). The depiction of the shawl-like upper garment of the Akrūr-Ṭīlā *devatā*, however, is more rigid and formalized than that of the Faizabad Yakṣī or the male figure on the obverse of the Kaṭhika pillar (Figs. 203 and 188). Her lower garment, on the other hand, is fairly progressive in style for the early first century CE, as is that of the female figure on the Amohini *āyavati*. Only a narrow end of her sash falls between her legs, rather than the broader, more concealing swath that is generally seen on women of this period from Mathura (Fig. 211). Hence, this mode of dress represents a precursor to the more revealing style of the second century CE (Fig. 201).

The rear view of the Akrūr-Ṭīlā *devatā* reveals the elaborate treatment of her coiffure (Fig. 272). The back of her head is shown to be plain—probably covered by a cloth—but bordered on both sides with two rows of large threaded beads. On the bottom her hair is tied in a loose, heavy knot with embroidered cords that have been carefully wound into the form of a twelve-pointed star; three tufts of hair emerge from the bottom of the knot. This is a larger, less abbreviated version of the loosely knotted hairstyle seen on other sculptures of the middle to late first century BCE and the early first century CE, such as the flying female figure on the Balahastinī doorjamb (Fig. 235).[75] However, it does not seem to hang with the same naturalistic sense of weight as do objects carved ca. 50–20 BCE. The move away from certain naturalistic elements can be detected when the Faizabad *yakṣī* (Fig. 203) is compared with the Akrūr-Ṭīlā *devatā* (Fig. 271). The facial features of the latter lack the sensitivity of those of the former, and attention to details is reduced; for example, the bracelet on the upraised arm of the Faizabad *yakṣī* seems to fall in response to gravity, unlike the bracelet of the Akrūr-Ṭīlā *devatā*. Hence, the move away from the naturalism and tranquillity of ca. 50–20 BCE, combined with visible nascent stylistic traits that became mature in the art of the Kuṣāṇa period, as well as the overall similarity with the figural style on the dated Amohini *āyavati*, all indicate that a date in the Śoḍāsa reign is appropriate for the Akrūr-Ṭīlā *devatā*. Therefore, along with the goddess on the Amohini *āyavati* (Fig. 148) and the seated female divinity on the lower register of the reverse side of the tympanum in the National Museum (Fig. 232), the Akrūr-Ṭīlā *devatā* represents a third example of an iconic goddess, which confirms the existence of the worship of goddesses during this period.

Because she so closely resembles the central figure on the Amohini *āyavati* dated to the time of Śoḍāsa and is in reasonably good condition, she can be used as a model of the

---

75 A charming fragment of a coping stone from Mathura depicts a small female figure that has the same knotted hairstyle and segmented torso as does the Akrūr-Ṭīlā *devatā* (Fig. 274). The woman turns coyly to reenter a room through latticework doors from a balcony upon the emergence onto a neighboring balcony of a man with a corpulent belly. These figural styles accord with those of the other sculptures datable to the early first century CE. The present whereabouts of this coping stone are unknown, but it was formerly in the Doris Wiener Gallery, and it was published in the Sotheby's auction catalogue, *Indian and Southeast Asian Art*, New York, Thursday, September 21, 1995, no. 34. Similar lattice windows are found on a coping stone from Mathura beneath which is a fragmentary panel of a *nāga* and *nāgini* flanking a *stūpa* (GMM I.9; Fig. 275). This fragment, perhaps representing the worship of the Rāmagrāma *Stūpa* by *nāga*s, should also date to the early first century CE.

female figural type of this period. Other sculptures can be attributed to this period on the basis of their stylistic similarities. One important example is the image of a monumental *nāgini*, which represents a larger than lifesize version of the same female figural style. Doris Srinivasan featured this *nāgini*, which is currently in the collection of the Nelson-Atkins Museum in Kansas City, Missouri, in her presentation at the symposium "On the Cusp of an Era: Art of the Pre-Kushan World," in November 2000. Srinivasan dated the *nāgini* to the time of Śoḍāsa on the basis of its stylistic similarity to the figure on the Amohini *āyavati* and the Akrūr-Ṭīlā *devatā*.[76] Thus, the Akrūr-Ṭīlā *devatā*, a splendid early example of an iconic statue of a goddess, may be used to attribute other significant sculptures to this previously nearly empty chapter in the history of Indian art. In her own right, however, she is an exemplar of the female iconic figural style of the early first century CE at Mathura, with a lively, fresh vigor that makes her stand out attractively in the art of early India as a whole.

Vṛṣṇi Heroes from Morā (Figs. 276–279)

In 1911 sculptures of two male torsos were dug up from a mound near the village of Morā, seven miles (11.27 kilometers) west of Mathura City. Since these two torsos, now housed in the Government Museum, Mathura (GMM E.22; Figs. 276 and 277; and GMM E.21; Fig. 278), are of such similar execution, I discuss them together here. The mound at Morā in which they were found was next to a well by which an inscription carved during the time of Śoḍāsa was discovered.[77] The inscription records the installation in a stone temple (*śailadevagr[he]*) of images of the 'five holy heroes of the Vṛṣṇis' (*bhagavatām vṛṣṇīnā[ṃ] paṃcavīrāṇām pratimā[s]*), and these images are said to be objects of adoration (*ārcādeśāṃ*) and of the utmost beauty (*paramavapuṣa*).

Together with the two uninscribed male torsos from the mound at Morā was found an image of a female figure carved in the round, only the lower half of which survives (GMM E.20), and a pedestal with feet (GMM E.23).[78] The female figure, probably a goddess or a *yakṣī*, with the name Tośā in her inscription, I judge to have been carved at a later date than the two male torsos, considering her distinctly harder, drier sculptural style and the inscription on her base which may include the name of the Kuṣāṇa king Kaniṣka.[79] Moreover, Heinrich Lüders maintained on the basis of paleography, that the Morā well inscription is about one hundred years older than the inscription on the base of the female statue.[80] Hence, it seems that the male torsos are contemporaneous with the Morā well inscription carved during the time of *mahākṣatrapa* Śoḍāsa, along with the Morā doorjamb (Figs. 265 and 266), which closely resembles the style of the Vasu doorjamb that was inscribed during his reign (Fig. 264). On the other hand, the female sculpture discovered

[76] The *nāgini* is published in my review of the conference in *Mārg*, vol. 52 (2001), p. 91.

[77] The Morā well inscription (GMM Q.1; Fig. 267) was discovered by Sir Alexander Cunningham in 1882. See Appendix I.13.

[78] John Rosenfield, *The Dynastic Arts of the Kushans*, Fig. 52.

[79] J. P. Vogel, *Catalogue of the Archaeological Museum at Mathura*, p. 109; and John Rosenfield, *The Dynastic Arts of the Kushans*, p. 151.

[80] H. Lüders, "Seven Brahmi Inscriptions from Mathura and Its Vicinity," *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. XXIV, 1938/39, p. 202.

together with the male torsos and inscribed during the reign of Kaniṣka was apparently added to the site about one hundred years later, having been made around the early second century CE; this date concurs with the stylistic features of the sculpture.[81] I suggest that the two male torsos can be identified as two of the original five Vṛṣṇi heroes dedicated in the Morā well inscription, and that they are reliably datable to the time of *mahākṣatrapa* Śoḍāsa, particularly in light of their stylistic characteristics.

Scholars have offered varying interpretations for the identity of the 'five Vṛṣṇi heroes.' John Rosenfield understood the Vṛṣṇi heroes to be five ancient, legendary kings of Mathura.[82] Ramaprasad Chanda considered them to refer to the five Pāṇḍava brothers who are the protagonists of the *Mahābhārata*.[83] Both J. N. Banerji and V. S. Agrawala identified them with the five emanations of the god Viṣṇu, namely Vāsudeva, Saṃkārṣaṇa, Pradyumna, Sāmba, and Aniruddha, who are described as the "heroes of the dynasty of the Vṛṣṇis" in the medieval *Vāyu Purāṇa* (97.1–2).[84] Perhaps the most intriguing and convincing interpretation was offered by Heinrich Lüders, who cited several textual references to "five great heroes" (*pañcaṇham mahāvīrāṇaṃ*) in three Jaina texts, the *Antagaḍadasāo*, the *Nāyādhammakahāo*, and the *Vaṇhidasāo*. Lüders wrote: "There can hardly be any doubt that the *Baladevapāmokkhā pañcha mahāvīrā* included in the canonical [Jaina] list are identical with the holy *pañcavīra*s of the Vṛishṇis mentioned in the Mōrā inscription, but sought for in vain in Brahmanical literature."[85] By means of an ingenious process of elimination, Lüders was then able to extract what he considered to be the most likely names of these five great heroes from lists of princes in two other Jaina texts, the *Harivaṃśapurāṇa* of Jinasena (48, 38–74) and the *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita* of Hemacandra (VIII, 7, 155–193); these names are Baladeva, Akrūra, Anādhṛṣṭi, Sāraṇa and Vidūratha, among whom Akrūra was the commander. Lüders therefore concluded that these were probably the names of the five Vṛṣṇi heroes worshipped in the temple at Morā.[86] This cogent and characteristically thorough analysis by Lüders might indicate that these figures were worshipped in a Jaina context at Mathura. The worship of the Vṛṣṇi heroes at Mathura may have been a cross-sectarian cult, much like the worship of *yakṣa*s. There is no specifically sectarian

[81] Doris Meth Srinivasan suggested that the two male torsos and the one female figure from Morā originally formed a Vṛṣṇi kinship triad, wherein the male figures would depict Saṃkarṣaṇa-Balarāma and Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa, and the female figure would then be their sister Ekānaṃśā (Doris Meth Srinivasan, *Many Heads, Arms, and Eyes: Origin, Meaning and Form of Multiplicity in Indian Art*, Leiden, 1997, p. 213.) However, I feel that their differences in style preclude the possiblity of their having been made as a contemporaneous triad. Srinivasan stated that the boldness of stance and hieratic frontality of the Morā female figure convey the strength and courage associated with Ekānaṃśa in literature, and, further, that this "body language" is unlike that of *yakṣī*s (ibid. p. 214). Again, I must disagree, for many *yakṣī*s and other iconic female divinities convey hieratic frontality and boldness, such as the *yakṣī* from Vidiśā (P. Chandra, "Yaksha and Yakshī Images from Vidiśā," Fig. 6), the Akrūr-Ṭīlā *devatā* (Fig. 271), the figure in the center of the Amohini *āyavati* (Fig. 273), and many others. The stylistic features Srinivasan uses to identify the Morā figure with a sculpture of Ekānaṃśā in the Ellsworth collection (ibid. Pl. 16.5), such as boldness of stance and elements of dress and jewelry, are not distinctive iconographic features of Ekānaṃśā alone, but of any Kuṣāṇa period iconic goddess. The one iconographic trait of the Ellsworth Ekānaṃśā is the water pot in her left hand, and this is absent in the Morā figure. Hence, an identification of the Morā female figure as the Ekānaṃśā is, in my opinion, far from secure on the grounds of Srinivasan's argumentation.

[82] John Rosenfield, *The Dynastic Arts of the Kushans*, p. 151.

[83] Ramaprasad Chanda, *Archaeology and the Vaishnava Tradition*, p. 22.

[84] J. N. Banerji, "The Holy Pañcavīras of the Vṛṣṇis," and V. S. Agrawala, *Indian Art*, p. 235.

[85] H. Lüders, "Seven Brahmi Inscriptions from Mathura and its Vicinity," pp. 196–198.

[86] Ibid., p. 198.

language in either the Morā well inscription or in the inscription on the pedestal of the goddess Tośā discovered with the two male torsos, nor are there any specifically sectarian attributes surviving on any of the sculptures. It is possible that these images from Morā were worshipped in a Jaina context, especially given the strength and inclusive character of Jainism at Mathura during this period. At this stage they may not necessarily represent the roots of Vaiṣṇava theology at Mathura.

That said, however, I must mention that the third and fourth lines of the Morā well inscription are composed in remarkably good Sanskrit, rather than the usual hybrid Prakrit language found in most Jaina inscriptions. The other inscriptions from this period that are composed in equally learned, if not perfect, Sanskrit have been records made by Brahmins. (See, for example, the Mirjāpur stele inscription of the time of *svāmi mahākṣatrapa* Śoḍāsa recording donations made by the wife of a Brahmin treasurer [Appendix I.10], and the inscription of the Brahmin Vīrabala dated to the Year One Hundred Sixteen of the *yavanarajya* [Appendix I.2]. Therefore, it remains uncertain whether the Morā torsos should be identified with a Jaina or Bhagavata context, as both seem equally plausible.

The two Morā male torsos no longer have heads, arms, or lower legs, but even in their present condition the high quality of workmanship within the style of the early first century CE is evident (Figs. 276–278). When complete, the figures would not have stood taller than about four feet (1.22 meters).[87] The most striking feature about the Morā torsos is the tension of the smooth surface of their abdomens, a tension that indicates the burgeoning forces of inner power and which is indicative of prosperity (Figs. 276–278). Their bellies do not have the massive, spheroid quality of the Parkham *yakṣa* of ca. 150 BCE (Fig. 15) nor the soft fleshiness of the male figure on the Kaṭhika pillar of ca. 50–20 BCE (Fig. 188). They also do not evince the more constrained tightness seen on torsos from the early Kuṣāṇa period (Fig. 173). Instead, they are examples of the distinctive figural style seen in sculptures from Mathura of the Śoḍāsa period. The Morā torsos exhibit on a larger scale the smooth corpulence of male figures in bas reliefs dating to the time of Śoḍāsa, such as the Katrā *toraṇa* fragment (Fig. 217), which was prefigured by the *yakṣa* on the Camuṇḍā-Ṭīlā capital (Fig. 211). Like the torso of the male figure on the Katrā *toraṇa* fragment (Fig. 217), the bellies of the Morā images are organically integrated into the conception of the whole figure, and their swelling is emphasized by the sagging of their rope-like girdles, responding to the distention.

Both of these iconic sculptures from Morā stand axially, with the rigid frontal aspect seen on other images of divinities; there is only a slight bend detectable in the right knee of one of the sculptures (Fig. 278). They wear no garment over their upper bodies; the bareness of their chests is relieved only by large ornaments, one of which is a long, flat necklace composed of five rows of plain round disks (GMM E.21; Fig. 278). It is tied in

[87] Doris Srinivasan speculated that the Morā torsos would have been of approximately the same dimensions as the Bharaṇa Kalan *yakṣa* and Agni (Figs. 86 and 88), which she implied further supports her dating of these images to the same time as the Morā torsos—i.e., third quarter of the first century CE (Doris Meth Srinivasan, *Many Heads, Arms, and Eyes*, p. 213). The Bharaṇa Kalan images, which I date to ca. 100 BCE, are more than six feet in height, whereas the tallest of the Morā torsos (E.21; Fig. 278), which is missing only the head and feet, measures three feet. The Morā torsos as a whole are much smaller than the Bharaṇa Kalan icons. Srinivasan took into account only the height from their necks to their belts, but the Bharaṇa Kalan figures are significantly shorter waisted than the Morā figures; their overall proportions are quite different. At any rate, size or scale is not an indicator of date.

back with a big, loose knot, and its ends are tasseled (Fig. 279); it resembles those on the reverse of *yakṣa* images from the second century BCE (Fig. 95b). The other male figure (GMM E.22; Fig. 276) has two twisted garlands clasped at the center with a floral medallion, on either side of which hang two short ends of the garlands. The overall appearance of this ornament, draped loosely over his shoulders, is similar to the one worn by the male figure on the Kaṭhika pillar dating to the middlr to late first century BCE (Fig. 188), the Akrūr-Ṭīlā *devatā* (Fig. 271) and the central figure on the Amohini *āyavati* (Fig. 273). The textured patterning and sense of roundness of the two garlands of this ornament are reminiscent of the garlands suspended from the top of the Amohini *āyavati*, which is dated during the reign of Śoḍāsa (Fig. 149). The remains of heavy earrings are seen on the shoulders of the torso in Fig. 276, and his neck is carved with a series of plain incised creases. Both of the Morā male figures wear thick, padded rope-like girdles tied in front with a knot, and the end of the rope is decorated with a small, pot-shaped ornament from which hang beaded tassels (Figs. 276 and 278). The padded quality of the girdles is akin to that of the belts worn by the *lokapāla*s on the Īsāpur rail post (Fig. 262).

The *uttarīya*s of the male torsos are draped loosely around their hips and tied in a large, slack knot over their left thighs. The cloth is articulated with rather widely spaced parallel incised lines, such as those seen on the tympanum in the National Museum (Fig. 229) and on the figure of Indra on the Govindnagar Ṛśyaśṛṅga pillar (Fig. 243). Low, loose placement of the *uttarīya* over the lower body is also a feature of the striding female figure on the reverse of the Katrā *toraṇa* fragment (Fig. 218). Hence, the rendition of the garments worn by the Morā torsos accords with the styles seen on other sculptures datable to the early first century CE, as does the depiction of their bodies. Therefore, these stylistic features lend support to the association of these two torsos with the inscription dated to the time of Śoḍāsa found in the well next to the mound from which they were excavated, and they can be identified as images of venerated Vṛṣṇi heroes and dated with confidence to ca. 15 CE. Thus, just as the Akrūr-Ṭīlā *devatā* can serve as a model for the typical female figural style of this period, the Morā torsos simlarly can serve as models for the male figural style as seen in the round from the time of Śoḍāsa. With the help of these important images, other sculptures exhibiting the same decidedly non-Kuṣāṇa stylistic features can also be attributed to the early first century CE, such as the statues to be discussed below.

Agni in the Bharat Kala Bhavan (Fig. 280)

In the collection of the Bharat Kala Bhavan (#23171) at the Banaras Hindu University is a sculpture identifiable as the god Agni, the Hindu personification of fire, who is conceived in the garb of a Brahmin. Although the mottled red sandstone is somewhat eroded and the figure is broken from the knees down, the visible stylistic characteristics of his body and drapery indicate a date of around the early first century CE for this sculpture. He stands frontally and axially, as iconic divinities are typically shown, with his right hand held up in *abhaya-mudrā*. Behind his head is a halo of flames that identifies him as Agni. His hair is dressed in the manner of a Brahmin ascetic, arranged in matted locks coiled atop his head, like that of the sage Kāśyapa on the Govindnagar Ṛśyaśṛṅga doorjamb (Fig. 242).

His left hand is lowered and clenched at his hip, probably holding a pot. Later depictions of Agni show him holding an *amṛtaghaṭa* ('pot of nectar'), and the break in the stone below the hand of the image of Agni in the Bharat Kala Bhavan does not preclude his holding a pot. Although this image has not been discussed, V. S. Agrawala wrote with regard to Agni in the art of Mathura:

> In the Pañchāla coins of Agnimitra we always find a deity with a halo of flames. He is depicted on the Kushāṇa coins as an Iranian deity under the name of Athso [sic.]. No image of the early Kushāṇa period has been found, but there are several Gupta sculptures showing Agni as a Brāhmanical deity with a halo of flames round the body and also with *jaṭājūṭa*, a beard, *Yañjopavīta* [sic.], pot-bellied and holding *amṛitagaṭa* [sic.] in the right hand.[88]

The lowered left hand of another sculpture of Agni in the State Museum, Lucknow (SML J.123),[89] probably dating to the second century CE, is broken. V. S. Agrawala, however, was able to identify a pot held in the left hand of the image in the Lucknow Museum, and the shape of the break does suggest the original presence of a small pot.[90]

The figural style of this image of Agni accords with that of other male figures that date to the early first century CE. His belly is rendered with the smooth corpulence that bears down upon his soft, rope-like girdle, and his broad head and short neck recall the depictions of the Buddha on the Īsāpur railing (Fig. 262) and the image of Pārśvanātha in Fig. 151. Supported by the flaming backdrop, the upraised arm of this image of Agni is rather unnaturally bent at the elbow and held slightly to the side, like that of the female divinity on the Amohini *āyavati* (Fig. 273). Although most of his facial features are badly eroded, the remains of his eyes display the double-lidded almond shape that is characteristic of images dating to the time of *mahākṣatrapa* Śoḍāsa, as already noted.

A *yajñopavīta*, depicted as a string rather than a narrow cloth, extends from his upper left shoulder diagonally across his chest and around his waist under his right arm. The end of his *dhoti* is looped over the middle of his girdle, forming the broad swath of cloth falling between his legs and articulated with the widely spaced parallel pleat lines that are so common on sculptures of this period in particular. His *uttarīya* extends in a wide band over his right leg and is draped over his left forearm, and it also displays the characteristic simple pleat lines seen on the same type of garment worn by the Morā torsos (Figs. 276 and 278). Four thick bracelets adorn both of his wrists.

Images of Agni have been carved at Mathura since at least ca. 100 BCE—the date to which the monumental sculpture of Agni from Bharaṇa Kalan was attributed in Chapter Three (Fig. 86). The iconic image of Agni from Bharaṇa Kalan, this sculpture in the Bharat Kala Bhavan dating to ca. 15 CE, and the image of Agni in the State Museum, Lucknow datable to ca. 150 CE (SML J.123)[91] attest to the ongoing worship of the Vedic

---

[88] V. S. Agrawala, "Brāhmanical Images in Mathura," p. 190.

[89] V. A. Smith, *The Jain Stupa and Other Antiquities of Mathura*, Pl. LXXXVIII.

[90] V. S. Agrawala, *Catalogue of the Brahmanical Images in Mathura Art*, p. 46.

[91] V. A. Smith, *The Jain Stupa*, Pl. LXXXVIII. There is a possibility that this image of Agni was found at the Jaina site of Kaṅkālī-Ṭīlā in Mathura. If so, we cannot discount the possibility that Agni was worshipped in a subsidiary shrine within a Jaina sanctuary. I have already noted that the *ardhaphālaka* Jainas of Mathura were apt to incorporate objects of worship and divinities from neighboring religious groups such as the Buddhist *stūpa* (Fig. 168) and the Hindu goddess Sarasvatī (P. Pal, *The Peaceful Liberators: Jain Art from India*, Fig. 12). Perhpas they incorporated the worship of Agni as a *yakṣa* type of figure as well.

god of fire throughout the early centuries of stone sculptural production at Mathura, a fact that hitherto has not been noted. The worship of Agni as a *yakṣa*-like human icon in the garb of a Brahmin seems to be unique to Mathura at this period, for no other anthropomorphic images of Agni have been recovered from any other site dating earlier than the Gupta period. Even after the Gupta period, images of Agni are usually subsidiary, directional figures on temple exteriors, rather than central icons that would have been the focus of worship. The reasons why Agni, a Vedic god, would have been anthropomorphized at such an early date at Mathura are unclear. It certainly further reveals Mathura's strong propensity for making human icons of many different kinds of divinities. V. S. Agrawala noted a passage in the *Ṛg Veda*, wherein Agni is refered to as great enough to be lord of all the *yakṣa*s.[92] Perhaps the localized cult of Agni at Mathura was linked to the worship of *yakṣa*s, a view that is further supported by the fact that the Bharaṇa Kalan Agni (Fig. 86) was dedicated by the same donor as its nearly twin image of the Yakṣa holding the sword and worshipper, also from Bharaṇa Kalan (Fig. 88). If this were the case, then we would be confronted with an unusual instance of a Vedic god, Agni, incorporated into the sphere of *yakṣa* worship, instead of the more commonly noted inverse cases of *yakṣa*s being subsumed within the imagery of other organized religions, such as Buddhism or Jainism. With such an attitude towards Agni at Mathura, we can better understand how it came about that images of the Buddha and the Jinas were first made in anthropomorphic form at Mathura, instead of any other part of the subcontinent.

Standing Male Deity (Figs. 281 and 282)

A charming sculpture of a male figure carved in the round retains no iconographic attributes that indicate his specific identity, although he is probably either a *yakṣa* or another divinity. The figure is now housed in the Government Museum at Mathura (35.2576). In his current, damaged condition (his head and feet are missing), he measures to the modest height of just under two feet. He stands frontally, in a hieratic stance with his left arm akimbo. His right arm was bent up at the elbow, and though his right hand is broken, we can speculate that it was probably originally held in *abhaya-mudrā*, given the manner of the break and the lack of any traces of a fly whisk or other object on his shoulder (Fig. 281). Two unusual large, semicircular disks remain on his back that may have formed the base of a kind of bi-lobed nimbus or the lower part of wings (Fig. 282).

The abdomen of this figure displays the characteristic smooth corpulence, and his legs seem almost boneless, a feature that typifies the male figures in sculptures of the early first century CE. His waist is girded with a soft, loosely knotted rope-like belt that is akin to those of the Morā torsos, the Agni in the Bharat Kala Bhavan, and the *lokapāla*s on the Īsāpur rail post, and next to the knot hangs a tasseled lotiform ornament.[93] Draped

---

[92] *Yakṣasyadhyakṣam taviṣam brihantam* (RV X.88.13). V. S. Agrawala, "Yakshas and Nagas in Indian Folk-Art Tradition," p. 7.

[93] A better preserved version of this lotiform ornament is worn on the belt of a seated male figure in the collection of the Linden Museum, Stuttgart (Fig. 283). This figure, carved in high relief, can also be attributed to the early first century CE, since he displays the corpulence, the thick bracelets, the wide swath of cloth hanging between his legs, the beaded tassels hanging from a pot-shaped ornament, and the facial characteristics of the male figures datable to this period. He sits on a high platform, the front of which is orna-

around his upper arms is a scarf-like *uttarīya*, articulated with rather widely spaced parallel plain pleat lines, and his thick bracelets recall those worn by the figure of Agni in the Bharat Kala Bhavan (Fig. 280). Otherwise he is adorned with a simple V-shaped torque.

The Akrūr-Ṭīlā *devatā*, the two Vṛṣṇi heroes from Morā, the figure of Agni, and this unidentified male divinity are all sculptures carved in the round and imbued with the stylistic traits that characterize the Amohini *āyavati*, the Pārśvanātha *āyāgapaṭa*, and the bas relief sculptures discussed earlier in this chapter, all of which I attribute to the time of *mahākṣatrapa* Śoḍāsa. Viewed collectively, the works of art discussed in this section form a corpus of objects that affirm the existence of a fully formed and distinctive school of sculpture at Mathura ca. 15 CE, a school whose styles derive from those of the preceding century and prefigure those of the Kuṣāṇa period under Kaniṣka and his successors.

Summary

The period to which the sculptures discussed in this chapter have been attributed—the early first century CE—now emerges as one of the most important in the history of early Mathura. It is defined as the time during which the *mahākṣatrapa* Śoḍāsa ruled in Mathura, and we can identify the date of his reign with a fair degree of accuracy. This is a rarely encountered felicitous circumstance in the study of early Indian art history. Moreover, the existence of several sculptures dated by inscription to the time of Śoḍāsa allows us to be able to define the artistic style current at that time. As a result, the early first century CE, which previously was a lacuna in the history of Indian art, now stands as one of the anchors for which a distinctive style can be readily discerned. The figural style of the time of Śoḍāsa is bold but gentle; the female figures are characterized by simple poses and segmented torsos, while the male figures are corpulent and languid. Vegetal ornamentation is rendered with great delicacy and elegance. Bas reliefs are fairly crowded, lively, and never dry or formalized. Overall there is a degree of naïveté in the sculptures that had disappeared from the art by the time of the reign of Kaniṣka. The sculptural style of the time of Śoḍāsa makes sense for the period about one hundred years prior to Kaniṣka, for it is consistently markedly different from the Kuṣāṇa style under Kaniṣka, yet the seeds of the Kuṣāṇa style can be discerned therein.

Once the objects have been attributed to this period, the content of the sculptures can be analyzed so that we can draw conclusions about the cultural and religious situation at Mathura during this time; there is almost no other source for this history. We have found that the *ardhaphālaka* sect of Jainism was flourishing, and that they commissioned major works of art to embellish their evidently large and lavish sanctuaries and monastic complexes. They depicted intriguing stories, many of which are unknown to us, in their repertoire of relief sculpture, such as those on the architrave fragment in the Brooklyn Museum of Art (Fig. 221) and on the doorjamb dedicated by Balahastinī (Fig. 234–238). *Āyāgapaṭa*s,

---

mented with trefoil patterns, which are reminiscent of those seen on the base of the Kaṭhika *yakṣī* (Fig. 189). He wears an elaborate turban, but otherwise there is no specific attribute to identify him as a royal figure or a divinity. To his left, at the broken edge of the stone is seen a curving textile pattern, above which we can discern the bent elbow of a human figure, which may be analogous to the type of curtain seen in the *mithuna* fragment in Fig. 68, but otherwise the scene is unidentified.

*stūpa*s, *caityavṛkṣa*s, and human icons of Jinas were all objects of worship in their sanctuaries, as were *yakṣī*-like goddesses, such as the one at the center of the composition on the Amohini *āyavati* (Fig. 273) and the lower register of Side B of the National Museum tympanum (Fig. 232). Buddhist art gained considerable momentum under Śoḍāsa, although it is unclear whether *kṣatrapa* patronage was in any way responsible. Several identifiable Buddhist narrative reliefs of *Jātaka*s and scenes from the life of the Buddha (Figs. 239–254) can be dated to this period for the first time at Mathura. Perhaps most intriguing is the anthropomorphic icon of the Buddha Śakyamuni incorporated in one of the narrative reliefs (Fig. 262), which I believe can be securely dated to around the time of Śoḍāsa. This evidence suggests that it was actually during the time of the Śaka *kṣatrapa*s that Buddhism began to flourish at Mathura, and that the patronage of the Kuṣāṇa kings played little or no part. In terms of Hindu art, important icons of the Vṛṣṇi heroes and of the Vedic god Agni are attributable to this period, although some evidence suggests that these Brahmanical deities were incorporated within the remarkably inclusivist Jaina establishments of Mathura.

As more sculptures can be attributed to this period of cultural and religious ferment, even further information about the early cultural history of Mathura will emerge. This can be achieved only by comparative stylistic analysis of works of art with those that are dated to the time of Śoḍāsa. Now that the style of the early first century CE has been defined and several models have been set forth, we can turn to a discussion of the group of sculptures that are mediate between the styles of the time of Śoḍāsa and the time of Kaniṣka, juxtaposing elements of both periods. These sculptures can be dated to the middle to late first century CE, just antedating Kaniṣka.

CHAPTER SEVEN

ANTEDATING KANIṢKA: MATHURA SCULPTURES OF CA. 50–100 CE

Introduction

In this chapter we examine several architectural bas reliefs and large-scale sculptures carved in the round from Mathura that I attribute to ca. 50–100 CE, plus or minus about twenty-five years. Unlike the preceding period of ca. 15 CE during the time of Śoḍāsa, there have not yet been discovered any sculptures of this later period with inscriptions that refer either to a date with clearly attributable era or to a known ruler whose dates are as certain as those of the *mahākṣatrapa* Śoḍāsa. The primary extant evidence for the succession of rulers at Mathura after the reign of Śoḍāsa and up to the commencement of the reign of the Kuṣāṇa kings is numismatic. Coins with the names of four *kṣatrapa* rulers who appear to have been successors of Śoḍāsa have been found at Mathura. These four are Toraṇaḍāṣa (or Bharaṇaḍāṣa), possibly Vajatama, Śivadatta, and Śivaghoṣa.[1] The coins are few, the names are not known from any other sources, and we do not know the duration of their reigns. No coins of the first Kuṣāṇa king Kujula Kadphises have as yet been found in Mathura. Cunningham has reported only that coins of the unnamed Kuṣāṇa king Soter Megas (probably Vema Takto, Kaniṣka's grandfather) have been found at Mathura.[2] Coins of Vema Kadphises, Kaniṣka's father, have been recovered in Mathura, but in the same archaeological strata as those of Kaniṣka.[3] Thus, it is uncertain whether either Vema Takto or Vema Kadphises actually ruled in Mathura, or whether their coins simply made their way there with the expansion of the Kuṣāṇa empire to include Mathura, whenever that event actually took place. Probably the most likely, though unprovable, succession of rulers of Mathura during the first century CE and up to the time of Kaniṣka, whose reign appears to have begun in 127 CE is as follows: the *kṣatrapa*s Śoḍāsa, Toraṇaḍāṣa (or Bharaṇaḍāṣa), Vajatama (?), Śivadatta, and Śivaghoṣa, followed by the Kuṣāṇa kings Vema Takto, Vema Kadphises, and Kaniṣka. Possibly the Śaka era of 78 CE coincides with the conquest of Vema Takto (Soter Megas) and expansion of the Kuṣāṇa empire into Madhyadeśa.

Consequently, because of the lack of objects inscribed with a year that yields a date during this period of ca. 50–100 CE or with the name of a ruler who was in power during this time, we must rely on a visual analysis of sculptural styles to determine to the best of our abilities which works of art were produced during this period. Fortunately, we

[1] A. K. Narain, "Ancient Mathurā and the Numismatic Material," in *Mathura: The Cultural Heritage*, ed. Doris Meth Srinivasan, p. 116.

[2] Cited by P. L. Gupta, "Early Coins of Mathurā Region," in *Mathura: The Cultural Heritage*, ed. Doris Meth Srinivasan, p. 132, and p. 138, fn. 95.

[3] Sunil C. Ray, "Stratigraphic Evidence of Coins from Excavations at Mathurā," in *Mathura: The Cultural Heritage*, ed. Doris Meth Srinivasan, p. 143.

are familiar with the stylistic traits of sculptures produced during the time of *mahākṣatrapa* Śoḍāsa, as discussed in detail in Chapter Six, as well as of those produced in the following period during the reign of Kaniṣka. A group of sculptures combines both, and these I attribute to the phase intervening between the reigns of Śoḍāsa and Kaniṣka. Thus, the sculptures described in this chapter retain some elements that link them to the sculptural styles of ca. 15 CE while concurrently exhibiting features that foreshadow the well-known types of figuration seen in art produced during the reign of Kaniṣka (ca. 127–150 CE). Like the five *āyāgapaṭa*s datable to 50–100 CE, notably the Chaubiāpādā *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 160) and the Vasu *śilāpaṭa* (Fig. 168), the sculptures of this period evince a tightening of forms and a decreased interest in depicting textural variation and ornamental design.

Among the sculptures to be discussed here, four include representations of the Buddha in anthropomorphic form—a significant quantitative increase from the single known example from the time of Śoḍāsa, the Buddha on the Īsāpur railing (Fig. 262).[4] Although there is some differentiation in the mode of portraying the Buddha, a greater degree of confidence in representing his form is seen in the art of ca. 50–100 CE. By the late first century CE, the human image of the Buddha is not only represented on a small scale in narrative contexts, but also on a large scale, as an iconic image of worship. Hence, from the corpus of hitherto discovered examples of the anthropomorphic Buddha image dating to the first century CE, we can discern a crescendo in frequency and assurance in depicting his image, such that the large quantity of famous Buddha images that date to the reign of Kaniṣka cannot be viewed as arising suddenly, or *ex nihilo*.

A note of clarification of nomenclature is necessary at this point. Some might consider the works of art included in this chapter as belonging to the Kuṣāṇa period, because although they date earlier than the time of the Kuṣāṇa emperor Kaniṣka, they have been dated to the time when Kaniṣka's Kuṣāṇa predecessors ruled. Simply stated, the problem is this: When did the Kuṣāṇa period begin at Mathura? Did it begin with the first Kuṣāṇa emperor in India, Kujula Kadphises, who by all accounts never held sway over lands as far south as Mathura? Should it be said to have begun with the reigns either of Vema Takto (Soter Megas) or Vema Kadphises, whose coins have been found at Mathura? (There is some epigraphical evidence that one of them ruled in Mathura; see Appendix I.20.) Or did the Kuṣāṇa period at Mathura begin with Kaniṣka himself, since we have secure epigraphic and numismatic evidence of his having been an influential ruler at Mathura? For our purposes in this study, any of these three possibilities is acceptable, though I favor the third: in terms of art history, the Kuṣāṇa period at Mathura began with the reign of Kaniṣka, because many sculptures dated by inscription mention him and his successors by name. Our understanding of the Kuṣāṇa style at Mathura begins with the time of Kaniṣka. It would be helpful for determining a better alternative name for this period if we had a clearer idea of the political history of Mathura after *mahākṣatrapa* Śoḍāsa and before the Kuṣāṇa king Kaniṣka. Since we do not, the use of dates to define the parameters of the period will have to suffice. I am concerned here with establishing a definition of styles and the content of the school of sculpture prior to the time of

[4] There may be more than four images of the Buddha datable to this time period, such as one of those discussed by P. Pal, in "A Pre-Kushana Buddha," Fig. 1. However, this sculpture is so heavily eroded that details of carving are difficult to analyze.

Kaniṣka, for it is with the time of Kaniṣka that we begin to be relatively clear on the nature of sculptural production at Mathura, thanks to the work of previous scholars. In short, the group of sculptures discussed in this chapter are datable to the period subsequent to the time of Śoḍāsa until the period just before the accession of Kaniṣka. This period of ca. 50–100 CE, plus or minus about twenty-five years, overlaps with the early Kuṣāṇa period in Afghanistan and Gandhāra, although not necessarily at Mathura. Hence, I choose not to refer to this period at Mathura as the early Kuṣāṇa period, although it would probably not be completely inaccurate if one were to wish to do so.

Architectural Sculpture

Several architectural fragments seem to mark a transition between the sculptures dating during the time of Śoḍāsa and those that are attributable to ca. 50–100 CE. They accord with the more assured style represented by the Sihanāṃdika *āyāgapaṭa* (NMD J.249; Fig. 156), dated to ca. 25–50 CE (see Chapter Four).

Buddhist Tympanum in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts (Figs. 284 and 285)
Although the tympanum in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts (1926.241) has been broken in half, its surviving carvings are in a good state of preservation, and, fortunately, the central objects of worship in each of its two registers on both sides are visible. In overall form the tympanum in the Boston Museum is very similar to the one in the National Museum, New Delhi, discussed in Chapter Six (Figs. 222 and 223), but it is smaller and comprises two rather than three arched registers. It originally formed part of a gateway to a Buddhist site. Its Buddhist orientation is clear because of the images of monks dressed in patched robes standing in postures of worship with deer before a pillar topped by a *dharmacakra*, indicating the site of the Buddha's first teaching at Sarnath (Fig. 285). Its style reveals a degree of advancement from that of the Jaina tympanum in the National Museum, for it evinces a heightened sense of clarity and assurance. Each element occupies its own space; there is little crowding and overlapping of forms, thus enhancing the legibility of the reliefs—a feature also of the Sihanāṃdikā *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 156), dated (Chapter Four) to ca. 25–50 CE.[5] The same motifs carved on the curved beams that separate each register of the tympanum in the Boston Museum are rendered with more simplicity and clarity than are the shallower, lighter versions on the National Museum tympanum. This trend towards simplification and legibility can also be discerned in the sculptures of the late first century CE, and is furthered in reliefs of the second century CE, as on a similar type of tympanum from the Kuṣāṇa period. The figural style on the Boston Museum tympanum also reveals the beginnings of tightening, for it has less of the boneless quality noted in the figures of the early first century CE. Overall, the carvings evince some stiffness, thus foreshadowing the styles of the Kuṣāṇa period (Figs. 286 and 287), but these carvings, of consistently high quality, exhibit a sense of richness that confirms their pre-Kuṣāṇa date.

[5] John Rosenfield also arrived at a date of 25–50 CE for this tympanum in "Arts of Buddhist India," *Museum of Fine Arts, Boston Bulletin*, LXIII, 333, 1965, p. 144.

The spandrels of both the obverse and reverse sides of the tympanum in the Boston Museum contain the identical motif of an eagle-like bird (*garuḍa*) grasping a three-headed snake in its beak; this imagery is common on architraves and tympana of the Kuṣāṇa period.[6] The crest and foliate tail of the bird are rendered with fanciful curling fronds, and its body is covered with a crisscrossing grid pattern; the wings display both a cross-hatched section and a series of knife-shaped feathers. This articulation of the wings is stiffer than that of the composite animals on the *āyāgapaṭa*s of ca. 50–20 BCE (Fig. 145), but not as attenuated and refined as those in the spandrels of the tympanum datable to the Kuṣāṇa period (Figs. 286 and 287). Furthermore, although the bodies of the *garuḍa*s on the Boston tympanum reveal the beginnings of flatness and stiffness, they are not as heraldic and formalized as those on the Kuṣāṇa piece. Thus, we can detect the stylistic sources of well-known sculptures dating to the second century CE and to realize that the styles of the Kuṣāṇa period did not spontaneously arise without precedent during the time of Kaniṣka.[7]

The stylistic progression from the early first century CE to the second century CE can be encapsulated in the depiction of the *makara*s that lie in the corners of the curved registers, as seen first on the tympanum of the period of Śoḍāsa in the National Museum (Fig. 222), followed by the tympanum in the Boston Museum (Figs. 284 and 285),[8] and finally on the tympanum of the Kuṣāṇa period (Figs. 286 and 287). Their scales become progressively larger and flatter, and the articulation of their snouts more linear and formalized through time. Also gone by the Kuṣāṇa period are the fanciful rosettes that fill empty spaces, which we've seen in sculptures dated as ca. 50 BCE until the end of the reign of Śoḍāsa, as in Figs. 142b and 224.

On one side of the tympanum in the Boston Museum, the Buddha's alms bowl and *caityavṛkṣa* are being worshipped by composite mythical beings (Fig. 284). The bowl is enthroned upon a high pedestal in the original center of the top register. The pedestal has a low base, a high, narrow waist, and upper moldings arranged in the form of an inverted step pyramid, thus recalling the pedestal of the Buddha on the Īsāpur railing (Fig. 262) and that of the turban in the top panel of the Govindnagar Ṛśyaśṛṅga pillar (Fig. 240). The uppermost molding is decorated with an abbreviated vine motif. Behind the sacred alms bowl is a scalloped halo, like that behind the turban on the Govindnagar relief (Fig. 240), and which, as we have already noted, is pervasive among the carvings of the second century CE—e.g., behind the heads of the seated Buddha and *bodhisattva*s on the tympanum of the Kuṣāṇa period (Figs. 286 and 287). These two examples of the scalloped halo are the earliest known among the surviving corpus of sculptures from Mathura.

---

[6] A. K. Coomaraswamy made the following observation: "It is noteworthy that the Garuḍa of this type, with a parrot-like beak and long plumed tail, must certainly be reckoned amongst the analogues or prototypes of the later Persian Simūrgh (roc), the Chinese phoenix (*feng*), and the Indian flying monsters that carry elephants (*nāga*s) in their claws and beak. ("Sculptures from Mathurā," p. 52).

[7] Compare the styles of the *kinnara*s in Figs. 84 and 112, datable to the late second and early first centuries, respectively, for examples of earlier stylistic prototypes.

[8] The *makara* on the bottom register of the tympanum in the Boston Museum has two fish carved in front of its mouth in the place where *yakṣa*s were carved on the tympanum in the National Museum (Fig. 222). The evident association of the fish with the waters correlates with the postulation made above about the meaning of the *yakṣa*s at the mouths of the *makara*s, as associated with purificatory waters, carved on the ends of architraves and tympana.

A composite creature with an anthropomorphic male torso and the lower body of a winged lion with his hands pressed together in *añjali-mudrā* venerates the alms bowl. The creature has a bifurcated tail and four leonine paws as well as the human arms. Covering the rather serpentine lion's body are fanciful incised shapes, including circles, crescents, and concave triangles. When compared to a similar composite figure on the *cakra āyāgapaṭa* of Mātharaka (Fig. 145), which I dated to ca. 50–20 BCE, we detect a slight formalization of the elements on the man-lion in the Boston Museum. The feathery texturing of the wing and tail of the earlier example on the *āyāgapaṭa* is more naturalistic, and the sense of surging movement is also more pronounced. The belly of the human half of the composite creature on the tympanum in the Boston Museum exhibits the smooth corpulence seen on male figures of the early first century CE, which indicates proximity in date to the time of Śoḍāsa. The same type of winged leonine male figure is seen in the lower register, holding in his left hand a basket made of leaves which contains flowers for veneration. A. K. Coomaraswamy observed that, with his raised right hand, the creature casts flowers at the tree, ". . . probably to the accompaniment of spoken prayer, a mode of worship still usual in Hindu Temples."[9] The leonine bodies of both composite figures are decorated with the fanciful incised shapes that had been carved on the bodies of animals since the middle of the first century BCE. Because these mythical worshippers are so similar to each other, they lend a sense of repetition to this side of the Boston Museum tympanum, which was not as evident on the tympanum in the National Museum (Fig. 222). This repetition foreshadows the repetitive quality of later reliefs from the Kuṣāṇa period, as exemplified by the rows of flying celestial worshippers in Figs. 286–287.

A *caityavṛkṣa* surrounded by a square railing forms the central object of worship in the lower register beneath the alms bowl (Fig. 284), and two large, textured garlands hang from its lower branches. A conspicuous swath of cloth hangs from the 'roof' of the register next to the *caityavṛkṣa*, and its gentle curves are emphasized by widely spaced pleats rendered with parallel incised lines that are so common in the sculpture of the Śoḍāsa period. They are probably not intended to represent actual banners, such as those in Fig. 71, but rather are a kind of auspicious filler motif used to set off the central object of veneration.

The top register of the other side (Fig. 285) depicts a *cakra* surmounting a pillar, which has a pot base, a tapered octagonal shaft, and a square abacus topped by a voluted capital filled with cross-hatching—an abbreviated form of the pillars on the Sihanāṃdika *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 156). The same type of flowing streamer hanging from a hook is seen fluttering alongside the pillared *cakra* as was noted next to the *caityavṛkṣa* (Fig. 284). Two deer approach the *cakra*, and they refer to the deer park at Sarnath. They lack some of the softness and roundness of the doe on the Govindnagar Ṛśyaśṛṅga pillar (Fig. 241), which I attributed to a slightly earlier date. The monks wearing patched robes and having shaven heads stand behind the deer in postures of adoration; the one on the left holds his hands in *añjalī-mudrā*, while the other holds his right hand up to his face in a gesture similar to that of the *cāraṇamuni*s at the top of the Vasu *śilāpaṭa* (Figs. 169 and 170). It is noteworthy that the monks are garbed in baggy, patched robes that do not show the form of the body underneath. This depiction of robes is in sharp contrast to the garments of the

[9] A. K. Coomaraswamy, "Sculptures from Mathurā," p. 51.

Īsapur Buddha (Fig. 262), which are so form-fitting that they are barely discernible. Apparently at this stage of image production, Buddhas were not conceived as wearing the clothing of a monk.

In the lower register beneath the *dharmacakrastambha* are three devotees bringing offerings of flowers to a tower-like temple, which in its unbroken condition would have been located in the original center of the composition (Fig. 285). It too has the distinctive pleated cloth hanging at its side, like the *cakra* and *caityavṛkṣa*. A. K. Coomaraswamy thoroughly analyzed this scene with reference to its importance in the development of early Indian architecture:

> The fourth item is a structural temple, honored by male and female worshippers with lotus flowers, attended by a female dwarf bearing a tray of offerings. There was, no doubt, a corresponding group on the other side of the shrine. The latter represents the Gandhakuṭi, or cell, in which the Buddha resided in the Jetavana garden at Śrāvastī. The temple is square in plan. At the ground level an entrance with wooden doors is clearly indicated, the latter evidently turning on tenons fitted into sockets in the lintel and threshold. It is also clearly shown that each leaf of the door is made of two pieces and strengthened by bands, presumably of iron. Above the main cella projects a railed gallery, within which rises the upper part of the temple, consisting of two stories, each provided with a small window, and crowned by a four-angled dome. Whether a wooden construction is to be understood, or a type of wooden origin constructed in brick or stone, can hardly be determined; most likely a building of brick, with a stone door-frame and thatched roof, is intended.
>
> The relief is in any case a rather valuable addition to the scanty material available in illustration of structural temples of this period. No structural temples of older than fourth or fifth century date have survived, but from this and other reliefs it is nevertheless evident that temple architecture had already, as indeed we might have expected from the references in the Epics, attained to a relatively advanced stage; and it becomes apparent that the later types must have been derived by a natural process of development from those which were already widely current in or before the Kuṣāṇa period. Indian temple architecture cannot possibly have sprung into being suddenly, and without origins; before long, from a study on the one hand of the earliest reliefs, and on the other of early forms surviving in later structures and reliefs, it should be possible to reconstruct much of its history.[10]

Indeed, in Chapter Three we noted a possible modest prototype for such a temple on the obverse side of the Katrā architrave, datable to ca. 100 BCE, wherein two single-storied *devakulika*s were identified within a sacred Brāhmanical precinct (Figs. 29 and 33). Three small shrines in a relief panel from *Stūpa* I at Sanchi,[11] possibly identifiable as those set up in the Jetavana grove,[12] may also form precursors to the double-storied type of temple seen on the tympanum in the Boston Museum. In a relief dating to the late first century CE, a more elaborate multistoried temple is depicted, which may indicate a further development of the tower form of temple prior to the second century CE (Fig. 301).

The standing male and female devotees display figural types that are similar to those seen on the reliefs dating to the time of Śoḍāsa, but they lack the bending, slouching quality of the earlier types (Fig. 222 and 224), for they stand straighter and with more stalwart postures (Fig. 285). The female dwarf with pendulous belly standing at the right, holding a tray in her left hand and a bunch of lotus flowers in her right hand, lacks the

---

[10] Ibid. pp. 51–52.
[11] A. K. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, Pl. XVI, Fig. 56.
[12] Vidya Dehejia, *Discourse in Early Buddhist Art*, p. 285.

bent-kneed bonelessness seen on the same type of figure in the lower panel on the obverse side of the Balahastinī doorjamb, which I attributed to the early first century CE (Fig. 236). The garments of these worshippers still have the parallel incised pleat lines, but they are stiffer, their ends jutting to the side with a vigor of their own, as is commonly seen in the depiction of garments during the second century CE (Fig. 201).

In the relief carvings of the tympanum in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, we notice conservative elements that link its style to that of the early first century CE, such as the gratuitous rosettes that fill empty spaces, the broad pleated cloths, the smooth corpulence of the male figures, and the fanciful designs carved on the bodies of composite creatures. Also evident in the carvings are a richness and a clarity not present in the drier and simpler reliefs of the second century CE. However, certain nascent elements of stiffening and clarity presage the styles to come.

Coping Stone Depicting the Romaka Jātaka *(Fig. 288)*

A fragment of a coping stone (GMM I.4), which would have surmounted a *vedikā* at a Buddhist site, may also be attributed to around the same time as the tympanum in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, namely to ca. 25–50 CE. It shares with the Boston tympanum and the Sihanāṃdika *āyāgapaṭa* a combination of clarity, legibility, rich textures, and some regularization. The small vignette at the lower left of the composition depicts what R. C. Sharma has identified as the *Romaka Jātaka*, wherein the Buddha in his previous life as a pigeon is shown in interaction with an ascetic.[13] This fragment of a coping stone shows that at Mathura the tradition for adorning Buddhist *vedikā*s with carvings continued well into the first century CE and later, as at Vidiśā, Bharhut, Bodhgaya, and Amaravati, but not at Sanchi.

The coping stone is divided into two horizontal registers of equal height. In the top register of this fragment, three running or striding *yakṣa*s carry a thick, undulating garland, and in the upper semicircular interstices have been carved a variety of vegetal ornaments, including intertwined lotus buds, full-blown lotus blossoms, and a stylized palmette (cf. Fig. 184). All of the elements composing the upper register symbolize the waters of abundance. The *yakṣa*s are shown in a pleasing variation of postures, and they display the corpulence pervasive among male figures in sculptures of the mid–first century BCE to first century CE at Mathura. Their lower garments have the typical broad swath of widely pleated fabric falling between the legs. The garland is articulated with rich but regimented textural patterns consisting of alternating bands of square dots and rows of teardrop shapes that are almost identical to the filler patterns in the *tilakaratna*s on the Sihanāṃdika *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 157), which we dated to around the second quarter of the first century CE.

The scenes in the lower register can be divided into three surviving vignettes. At the far left edge of the broken coping stone, the head of a bird is visible; in front of it is a seated ascetic whose right hand is extended towards the pigeon. The bearded ascetic, whose hair is arranged in matted locks tied atop his head, sits on a mat with a cord wrapped around his upraised knees (*yogapaṭṭa*), a posture used during long periods of meditation. Behind

[13] R. C. Sharma, *The Splendour of Mathura: Art and Museum*, p. 83, and *Buddhist Art, Mathura School*, p. 236.

him is the figure of another ascetic, who is beardless and stands before two bundles hanging from each end of a carrying stick, like those seen at the top of the roundel depicting the *Isisiṅgiya Jātaka* from Bharhut (Fig. 198). The trappings of a hermitage are found towards the middle of the composition; a fire altar like the ones portrayed on the Govindnagar Ṛśyaśṛṅga pillar (Figs 241 and 242) and a water pitcher are carved next to a small hut with a domed roof (Fig. 288). The story of the *Romaka Jātaka* begins as follows:

> Once on a time, when Brahmadatta was king of Benares, the Bodhisatta became a Pigeon, and with a large flock of pigeons he lived amidst the woodland in a cave of the hills. There was an ascetic, a virtuous man, who had built him a hut near a frontier village not far from the place where the pigeons were, and there in a cave of the hills he lived. Him the Bodhisatta visited from time to time, and heard from him things worth hearing.
>
> After living there a long time, the ascetic went away; and there came a sham ascetic, and lived there.[14]

This younger 'sham ascetic' developed a taste for pigeon flesh, and attempted to catch the pigeons of the hermitage and kill them for food, but ultimately he failed to do so and was run out of the hermitage by the villagers. As R. C. Sharma correctly suggested, in the vignette on the coping stone from Mathura, the old bearded figure may depict the first ascetic with whom the pigeons were friendly, while the young beardless one may be identified as the inimical 'sham ascetic.'[15]

The setting of the scene in a forest is indicated by the rocks, trees and, deer that fill the central part of this section of the frieze. The soft, thick trunk and branches that end in large blossoms recall the vegetation on bas relief panels from *Stūpa* I at Sanchi, but here the tree is rendered with a distinctive blend of suppleness, simplicity, and clarity. Two deer, one male and one female—the male identifiable by his pointed, twisted horn—prance across a rocky outcropping; incised shapes ornament the surfaces of their bodies. The fan-shaped leaves of a palm tree show the tendency towards regularization seen in the carvings of this period. We have noted a propensity for depicting landscape elements in the bas relief carvings of the early first century CE, as seen, for example, on the *ardhaphālaka* relief in the Brooklyn Museum (Fig. 221) and the Balahastinī doorjamb (Fig. 235). At the far left of the lower register is carved another hut and a bearded ascetic in a coarse skirt, but because his outstretched arms are broken, we cannot identify the content of the scene. As we see in this coping stone, the tradition for depicting both narrative scenes and landscape elements continued into the middle of the first century CE.

Both the tympanum in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts (Figs. 284 and 285) and the coping stone with the *Romaka Jātaka* (Fig. 288) reveal another phase of sculptural styles, one that evinces a distinctive richness and clarity and which, like the Sihanāṃdika *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 156), combines elements of the preceding sculptural style of the time of Śoḍāsa with those of ca. 50–100 CE. The architectural pieces that we will examine next appear to have been made during the latter phase, because they display numerous features that are closer in style to sculptures made during the Kuṣāṇa period under Kaniṣka.

---

[14] *The Jātaka*, vol. II, ed. E. B. Cowell, p. 261.
[15] R. C. Sharma, *Buddhist Art, Mathura School*, p. 236.

Panel from a Railing Pillar Depicting the Buddha Addressing a King (Fig. 289)

A small, fragmentary relief panel in the State Museum, Lucknow probably formed part of a *vedikā stambha* (SML J.531). It depicts the first example that we have yet encountered of a standing anthropomorphic Buddha form from Mathura. The scene may depict the meeting of the Buddha, after his enlightenment, with his father, King Suddhodana.[16] The figure of the Buddha is emphasized, for he alone occupies most of the space on the right side of the panel. The left half of the panel is crowded with four figures, dominated by the king, who is identifiable as such because a member of his retinue holds an umbrella over his head. Two other, smaller figures peer at the Buddha; the one in the foreground holds his hands in *añjalī-mudrā*. Like the small anthropomorphic image of the Buddha on the Īsāpur railing (Fig. 262), this figure of the Buddha is incorporated into a narrative context, not presented as an iconic object of worship. The whole scene is set in an architectural framework, with traces of a *vedikā* above and a pilaster on either side topped by a composite capital, whose segments seem to be more dryly articulated than are those of a similar type dating to the early first century CE (Fig. 236, for example). The *āmalaka* is banded and shallower, and the capital filled with cross-hatching lacks volutes. These features testify to the tendency towards simplification notable in general among the sculptures attributable to the late first century CE.

There is some ambivalence regarding identification of the right-hand standing figure as the Buddha, for several reasons. First, A. Führer reported that he discovered the fragment from the Jaina site of Kaṅkālī-Ṭīlā, which led him to identify the figure as the Jina Vardhamāna (Mahāvīra).[17] It would be unusual to have a scene from the life of the Buddha at a Jaina site, but, as van Lohuizen-de Leeuw pointed out, it could easily have been moved there from a Buddhist site[18]—or Führer's documentation may have been incorrect. Second, the figure wears a *dhoti* and *uttarīya*, which leaves his upper body bare, unlike the Buddha and Bodhisattva images of the Kuṣāṇa period or even the Buddha on the Īsāpur railing. (Fig. 262). In fact, aside from his lack of turban and jewels, he is dressed in the same manner as the king at the left. The primary feature that has led scholars to identify this figure as the Buddha Śakyamuni is his coiled topknot of hair, considered to be an *uṣṇīṣa* like the *kapardin* types of the Kuṣāṇa period. The coiled topknot could also be interpreted as a *śikhā* worn by Brahmin ascetics (Figs. 219 and 220, but there is no other Brahmanical attribute to be seen on this figure. This mode of rendering the coiled topknot (*kaparda*), however, does give the figure the same appearance as that of the seated Buddha on the Indraśaila architrave, discussed below (Fig. 298), and is the same as the *kaparda*s of the Buddhas of the early Kuṣāṇa period, such as the Katra Buddha. I agree that the figure on this relief probably depicts an image of the Buddha dating to a time prior to the canonization of the iconographical attributes of the Buddha, but I also submit the possibility that he is a Brahmin or another type of ascetic. That he is dressed in the same way as the king suggests that at this period the Buddha was

[16] J. E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, *The "Scythian" Period*, p. 160.

[17] Ibid., p. 158.

[18] Ibid. Furthermore, as R. C. Sharma has pointed out, other Buddhist remains seem to have been found at Kaṅkālī-Ṭīlā, which suggests that it may not have been exclusively a Jaina site (R. C. Sharma, *Buddhist Art, Mathura School*, pp. 55–57).

ontologically associated with the status of *cakravartin* rather than that of a monk. His bare chest and flowing *uttarīya* are far cries from the baggy, patched robes of the monks on the upper register of the tympanum in the Boston Museum of Art (Fig. 285).

Although scholars have suggested that an arc cut in the stone (extending up from the raised right hand of the Buddha; see Fig. 289) forms the outline of a plain halo that originally would have encircled the head of the Buddha, it is unlikely that this is indeed the case. A break in the upper part of the stone, where the top molding of the framed panel would have originally been carved above the figure of the Buddha, extends the curve of the arc and lends it a more circular aspect than it actually has.[19] This cut may represent later damage to the stone; in any case, the curvature of the arc is not sufficient for the missing part to have formed a circle around the head. A vertical cut in the stone also appears at the bottom of the panel between the figures of the king and the Buddha, and it, along with the slightly arched section above, may have combined to form a kind of background element that was either unfinished or has been eroded away. Moreover, the plain halo is not a pre-Kuṣāṇa characteristic, for scalloped halos had already been depicted for decades at Mathura, as we have seen on the Govindnagar Ṛṣyaśṛṅga doorjamb (Fig. 240) and the tympanum in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts (Fig. 284). Finally, other known images of the Buddha depicted in narrative scenes from the first century CE do not have halos at all (Figs. 262 and 298).

The male figures in this bas relief display the familiar corpulent type of torso, the soft rope-like belts, and the wide swath of pleated cloth hanging between their legs, all of which are features that reveal their stylistic derivation from the carvings of the early first century CE (Fig. 289). Their broad *uttarīya*s are articulated with the similar widely spaced parallel pleat lines that accentuate the broad, sweeping curves formed by the cloth. The way in which the flat cloth drapes over their left wrists recalls the mode of wearing the same garment on the sculpture of Agni in the Bharat Kala Bhavan (Fig. 280). However, the bold arcs formed by the *uttarīya*s and their firmly incised pleats, along with the stiff way in which the ends of the cloth seem to swing to one side, all indicate a move towards the dynamism of the early second century CE, and therefore a date later than the image of Agni, which we had attributed to the early first century CE.

There is some sense of naturalism to be seen in the convincingly overlapped figures of the onlookers, for the one in the foreground is carved in much higher relief than the figure at the rear of the group. The impression of recession into space is furthered by the deep and careful carving of the *chattra*. Overall, the carvings on this bas relief panel reveal a pulling away from the styles of the early part of the first century CE, and they show glimmers of confidence and boldness, which became more common in the sculptures of the early second century CE.

Fragment of an Architrave with Male Figures and Female Elephant Riders (Fig. 290)

Another architectural fragment (GMM S.N. 203), having once formed part of an architrave, seems to date to around the same time as the relief with the Buddha addressing a

[19] The drawing illustrated by J. E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw (The "Scythian" Period, p. 159) conveys the mistaken impression of a fully circular 'halo' around the Buddha's head, but this circle is only an incidental combination of breakage beneath the top molding, and the outline of the broken capital at the far right.

king. Three men in active postures seen on the right exhibit the early characteristics of abdominal corpulence, and they wear similar types of lower garments. The broad, flat *uttarīya* of the male figure on the left billows behind him in a bold arc, whereas those worn by the two men on the right are draped loosely around their hips and tied in a large slack knot, which is reminiscent of the knots on the Morā torsos of ca. 15 CE (Figs. 276 and 278). The vigor with which these figures and their garments are portrayed suggests a date closer to the Kuṣāṇa period, ca. 50–100 CE. At the left of the fragment are the remains of two crouching elephants. The one on the left seems to bear a female figure who raises a *cauri* above her head, which indicates that the male figure, whose left arm is akimbo, sitting on the elephant to the leftt, is either a king or a divinity.

Naigameṣin Architrave (Figs. 291–294)

A fragment of a *toraṇa* architrave, reportedly from the Jaina site of Kāṅkālī-Ṭīlā at Mathura (SML J.528/626), portrays a scene composed of female dancers and musicians on one side, while the other side exhibits a unique rendition of the goat-headed *yakṣa* named Naigameṣin seated on a throne and flanked by female attendants, children, and *devatā*s. G. Bühler first identified this scene as a depiction of the transfer of the embryo of Mahāvīra from the womb of the Brāhmin woman Devanandā to that of the Kṣatriya queen Triśālā.[20] The story is related in several Jaina texts, notably the *Kalpasūtra* and the *Ācārāṅgasūtra*, both of which postdate this relief carving by two to four hundred years. G. Bühler's ingenious interpretation of this scene bears repeating:

> As our slab represents Naigameshī-Nemeso, seated in state on his throne, the scene must be laid in Indra's heaven, and it can only refer either to the moment when Indra gave his orders, or to the period when Nemeso had returned from his journey and made his report. The position of the deity, who is apparently speaking to somebody, probably Indra, who was represented on the lost right half of the slab, speaks in favour of the second alternative. The small ascetic at Nemesa's left knee, called in the inscription 'divine' . . . [*sic*], is no doubt meant for Mahāvīra, who is introduced by the artist with the attributes of a monk, in order to show the subject to which the conversation refers, and he is represented so small, because in reality he is not yet born and has not yet reached the position of an Arhat. The female, with the small motionless infant in the separate section, is probably Triśalā, represented in an apartment of her palace, having just received her new precious burden.[21]

Much of Bühler's analysis is probably untenable, as we will see. As J. P. Vogel and U. P. Shah correctly observed, the carvings do not seem specifically to illustrate this legend.[22]

The goat-headed deity, Naigameṣin, adorned with a broad, two-tiered beaded torque,[23] coiled armlets, thick bracelets, and a *dhoti* articulated with broad, incised pleat lines, sits upon an elaborate, high-backed seat at the left edge of this fragment (Figs. 291 and 292). Shown in profile, his head is turned to the left, as though facing another figure that is now missing. His long ears droop below a pointed horn, and under his chin is a tufted beard,

---

[20] G. Bühler, "Specimens of Jaina Sculptures from Mathura," pp. 314–323; and V. A. Smith, *The Jain—Stūpa and Other Antiquities of Mathurā*, pp. 2526.

[21] G. Bühler, "Specimens of Jaina Sculptures from Mathura," p. 317.

[22] J. P. Vogel, *La Sculpture de Mathura*, p. 52; and U. P. Shah, "Harinegameṣin," p. 24.

[23] This torque is of the same type as that worn by the dancer at the left of the Śivayaśā *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 165), also attributed to ca. 50–100 CE.

clearly representing his aspect as a goat. His body, however, is completely anthropomorphic and shown in a robust frontal posture, with the left arm held akimbo, his hand resting upon the middle of his left thigh, prefiguring the arm positions of the seated Buddha images of the early Kuṣāṇa period (Fig. 137). Like the image of the earlier Buddha on the Īsāpur railing (Fig. 262), however, Naigameṣin's hand is not clenched in a fist, as in many images dating to the second century CE. The clenched fist lends the images of the Kuṣāṇa period a greater sense of tension than this image of Naigameṣin shows. The way in which his right leg is bent up on the seat also suggests a date prior to the second century CE, for the foot is archaistically flattened out, and much of his thigh is visible, indicating a continuation of the loose sitting posture of the earlier phases (e.g., Fig. 187). His right arm, which is held up, probably originally in *abhaya-mudrā*, also displays the awkward bending noted in the images of the divinity on the Amohini *āyavati* (Fig. 273) and the Agni in the Bharat Kala Bhavan (Fig. 280), which date to the early first century CE. However, the corpulence pervasive in the torsos of male figures dating from the mid-first century BCE to the early first century CE has all but disappeared in the figure of Naigameṣin. His belly exhibits the greater sense of tightness that characterizes figures of the early second century CE (Fig. 173). Thus, this image of Naigameṣin reveals the juxtaposition, in almost equal measure, of stylistic traits that characterize figures sculpted during the Śoḍāsa period on the one hand, and those of the time of Kaniṣka on the other.

Like the goddess on the Amohini *āyavati* (Fig. 273), Naigameṣin is depicted beneath a *candraśālā* arch, and he is being honored by a flanking female attendant who holds a *cauri* over him; both the arch and the *cauri* serve to underscore his importance and divinity. Any question about his divine status and identity is clarified by the label inscribed directly beneath him on the plain lower border of the architrave in a clear Brāhmī script (Fig. 292). Only the first two *akṣara*s ('*bhaga*') survive on the stone today (Fig. 291), but at the end of the nineteenth century, the whole label was still intact and, fortunately, can still be seen in the photograph published by G. Bühler in 1894.[24] It originally read '*bhagava nemeso*,' which can be translated as 'the lord Nemesa.' 'Nemesa' seems to be a shortened version of the Sanskrit 'Naigameṣin.' The title '*bhagava*' is consistently used to refer to *yakṣa*s, gods, and Buddhas, as seen, for example, among the labels carved on the railing from Bharhut.[25]

His throne is of a type similar to the ones carved on the walled garden coping (Fig. 184) and the relief on the reverse of the Kaṭhika pillar (Fig. 187), which I date to ca. 50–20 BCE, but it shows less emphasis on textiles than do the earlier examples. The fancy legs of his seat recall the surviving leg on the throne of the goddess in the lower register of one side of the tympanum in the National Museum, as do the vessels filled with food or flowers placed beneath the chair (Fig. 232).

We have already discussed two other examples of Naigameṣin, one in the lower left niche of the approximately contemporaneous Vasu *śilāpaṭa* datable to the late first cen-

---

[24] G. Bühler, "Specimens of Jaina Sculptures from Mathura," Pl. IIa. In the photograph published by U. P. Shah ("Harinegameṣin, Fig. 1) in the early 1950s, only the three *akṣara*s forming the word '*bhagav*' " were still visible. Thus, we can document a gradual deterioration of the inscription's condition over the course of the last century.

[25] Alexander Cunningham, *The Stūpa of Bharhut*, pp. 127–43. As A. K. Coomaraswamy observed: ". . . the designation *Bhagavata* is applied not alone to Vāsudeva (Viṣṇu), to Śiva and to Buddha, but also to the Four Great Kings, the Mahārājas, Regents of the Quarters, of whom some are Yakṣas and some are Nāgas, and also to various Yakṣas and Nāgas specifically" ("The Origin of the Buddha Image," p. 299).

tury CE (Fig. 168), and one on the lower register of a tympanum of the Kuṣāṇa Period (Fig. 233), both of which are Jaina in affiliation. In each of these two instances, Naigameṣin is represented as a prominent attendant divinity in *abhaya-mudrā*, flanking a *stūpa* in the Vasu *śilāpaṭa* and a goddess in the tympanum. In this architrave fragment (Fig. 291), he is shown seated in much the same manner as he is on the tympanum (Fig. 233); consequently, we can postulate that originally a divinity or other object of worship was carved at the center of the Naigameṣin architrave.

Naigameṣin is a *yakṣa* associated with childbirth who was incorporated, like many such divinities, into the Jaina pantheon, but he is especially associated with Mahāvīra, as the story of the transfer of Mahāvīra's embryo, cited by Bühler, attests.[26] The inscription on the Vasu *śilāpaṭa*, which depicts the image of Naigameṣin in a niche, invokes Mahāvīra under the name of Vardhamāna (Appendix II.25). The representation of Naigameṣin on the Vasu *śilāpaṭa* shows him grasping the head of an infant in his lowered left hand, thus associating him specifically with children (Fig. 172). Similarly, a small nude child is shown touching the knee of the seated Naigameṣin on the architrave fragment (Fig. 291). G. Bühler, V. A. Smith, and U. P. Shah have suggested that this diminutive figure represents a nude Jaina monk, since they perceived a cloth being grasped in his left hand; the former two scholars opined that the ascetic depicts Mahāvīra himself, by virtue of the letters '*bhaga[va]*' carved beneath him.[27] However, the cloth is actually part of the hem of the lower garment worn by the female *cauri*-bearing attendant directly behind him (Fig. 293). Moreover, the small figure wears earrings, which indicates that he is not a monk, but a child, an interpretation in agreement with that of J. P. Vogel.[28] Images of other divinities associated with the birth and welfare of children, such as Hārītī,[29] are depicted together with children, and sometimes a child is shown touching the knee of the deity, in much the same manner as the child in the Naigameṣin architrave (Fig. 291). When we compare the small nude figure touching the leg of Naigameṣin (Fig. 291) with a nude monk who carries a cloth and an alms bowl on the Ṛṣabanātha architrave (Fig. 28), the latter seems mature and full-grown, whereas the former is more childlike in appearance. Hence, it seems more appropriate to identify the small figure on the Naigameṣin architrave as a child, who serves as a visual indicator of the function of the goat-headed deity, like an iconographic attribute.

Finally, the letters '*bhaga[va]*' are carved not beneath the small nude figure, but beneath the female figure with a bird's tail who stands in *abhaya-mudrā* next to the *cauri* bearer.

---

[26] For a comprehensive discourse on the sources and functions of Naigameṣin, see U. P. Shah, "Harinegameṣin."

[27] G. Bühler, "Specimens of Jaina Sculptures from Mathura," pp. 316–317; V. A. Smith, *The Jain Stūpa and Other Antiquities of Mathurā*, p. 25; and U. P. Shah, "Harinegameṣin," p.24.

[28] J. P. Vogel wrote: "Son entourage indique qu'il est occupé à ses devoirs officiels, car un petit garçon se tient à son genou gauche, tandis qu'une de ses trois compagnes porte un enfant nouveau-né . . . Peut-être ne s'agit-il que d'un simple *ex-voto* en l'honneur de Naigameṣa." (*La Sculpture de Mathura*, p. 52). Translation: "His entourage indicates that he is occupied with official duties, for a little boy touches his left knee, while one of his three companions carries a newborn infant. Perhaps this is no more than a simple *ex-voto* in honor of Naigameṣa." However, I suggest that this scene probably is not an *ex-voto* image to honor Naigameṣin, but more likely features Naigameṣin as an attendant divinity, like an early Jaina *śāsanadevata*, who is still closely associated with the birth and prosperity of children, as he is during the transfer of Mahāvīra's embryo. As such he would have been featured on the gateway of a sacred Jaina precinct.

[29] See the small child touching the knee of Hārītī in a sculpture from Gandhāra, in A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Yakṣas*, Pl. 15a.

This label probably refers to one or more of the three standing female figures. The goddess at the far right holds her right hand up in *abhaya-mudrā* and cradles an infant in her left arm; only the upper half of her body remains (Fig. 291).[30]

At the right edge of the Naigameṣin architrave remains one corner of a *sthāpana*, which further suggests that this architrave belonged to a Jaina site. It is also possible that this stylized throne or seat (*sthāpana*), a marker of sacred presence, could be a *bhadrāsana*, one of the group of eight auspicious symbols (*maṅgala*s) often seen in the outer borders of *āyāgapaṭa*s (Fig. 156). However, I am unaware of other scenes of worship on architraves or tympana that simply line up *maṅgala*s of an equal size as the figures. Given the context of this architrave, which depicts a group of divinities, I suggest that this object is also one of veneration and is therefore to be considered a *sthāpana* (see also Fig. 122 and the outer ring of Fig. 160, at the left). Both Jaina *ācārya*s—either in the form of a *sthāpana*, as on the Śimitrā *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 122), or in human form, as on the Kaṇa plaque (Fig. 177)—and female divinities associated with Jainism, as seen on the Amohini *āyavati* (Fig. 148), are depicted on the pictorial types of *āyāgapaṭa*s. Therefore, the obverse side of the Naigameṣin architrave seems to represent an assemblage of venerated Jaina beings and objects who flank the missing central element, which may have been a representation of the Jina Mahāvīra or an object or site infused with his presence. In the more fully preserved tympana that we have discussed above (Figs. 222, 223, 233, 284, and 285), a combination of celestial beings and monks pay homage to the central image of an *arhat*, a *stūpa*, a *caitya-vṛkṣa*, or other sacred site or object, and a larger, enthroned divinity flanks the central object or *arhat* in a triad formation (Figs. 222 and 233). Likewise, this fragment of an architrave has a hierarchically larger figure, Naigameṣin, who probably would have immediately flanked a central image or sacred object, with goddesses and a nonfigural symbol of a monk completing the assembly.

The other side of the Naigameṣin architrave depicts a group of ten women, including traces of four dancers in vigorous postures at the left (Fig. 294). Were that section of the architrave not fragmentary, the propensity for legibility would be apparent, for each dancer is clearly demarcated from the other, each moving in her own space. When compared with the female figures in Fig. 270, we are struck by the remarkable similarity of the postures of the dancing figures, but the Naigameṣin version is more dynamic yet, and there is less naturalistic overlap and clustering of the figures. These two sculptures are probably separated by about fifty years. At the far right of the composition, two female musicians are identifiable: the seated woman shown almost in profile plays a stringed instrument, and the fragmentary musician behind her seems to blow into a set of pipes. The group of four women between the dancers and the musicians—two seated on cushions facing back into the picture plane, and the others standing behind them facing forward—hold up their right hands; their left hands are held with the palms facing up in front of their stomachs. The drawing published in 1900 by V. A. Smith reveals more carvings on the lower left edge of the reverse side than are now present; the damage, as already noted, caused part of the inscription below the figure of Naigameṣin on the obverse side also to disappear (V. A. Smith, *The Jain Stūpa and Other Antiquities of Mathurā*, Pl. XVIII). According

[30] She holds the infant in the same manner as do some sculptures of goddesses from the Kuṣāṇa period. See U. P. Shah, "Harinegameṣin," Fig. 3 (GMM E.2) and Fig. 5 (GMM E.4). The latter sculpture may be identified as the same goddess as the one depicted in the Naigameṣin architrave, but carved in the round.

to the drawing, all three seated women sat on fancy cushions, each ornamented with a different pattern. The cushion on the far left had a design of interlocking, four-petaled flowers like that seen on the *toraṇa* of the Śivayaśā *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 165), and the one in the center seemed to have been bordered by a row of geese. The one cushion on the left that still remains is articulated with three horizontal rows, each with a different geometric design. The top row has an abbreviated rhizome that is reminiscent of the delicate frieze on the Vasu doorjamb (Fig. 264). Varied textures and patterns, as seen on these cushions, are traits of sculptures from Mathura dating to the first century BCE and first century CE. Although these gestures approximate the *abhaya-mudrā*, the context is such that they are probably meant to be shown in motion, clapping their hands in time to the music, since there is no other percussion section to this small orchestra. V. A. Smith interpreted this as a scene of rejoicing at the successful transfer of the embryo of Mahāvīra supposedly depicted on the other side,[31] but, as we know from other intact architraves, there is no connection necessarily between the reliefs carved on the front and back sides of an architectural element.

The female figural style seen on both sides of the Naigameṣin architrave (Figs. 291, 293, and 294) retains the conservative trait of segmentation in the torsos of these female figures, although the contours of their waists are not as rigidly parallel as those of the female figures of the early first century CE, such as the goddess on the Amohini *āyavati* (Fig. 273). Although the long, shawl-like upper garments and the broad, pleated swaths that fall between their legs have the familiar broad parallel incised pleats, they had begun to show a sense of stiffness. The shawls seem almost able to stand on their own, and the loop by the side of the dancer on the obverse juts out with a sense of wiry tension. Garments infused with a sense of boldness and stiffness are characteristic of sculptures of the second century CE (Figs. 201, 286, and 287). The necklaces and earrings worn by most of the female figures on the Naigameṣin architrave are articulated by simple rows of square dots, like those of the dancer on the right of the Śivayaśā *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 165), which also dates to ca. 50–100 CE. Hence, the mode of depicting female figures combines elements seen in sculptures of the early first century CE, while incorporating new trends that would be further developed in the carvings of the second century CE.

Though fragmentary, this architrave provides ample evidence for the types of imagery that were placed on gateway architraves of a Jaina site in the first century CE. They are apparently non-narrative scenes of veneration and dance, with remarkable emphasis on both male and female divinities associated with childbirth and the protection of children.

Indraśaila Architrave (Figs. 295–301)

An almost unbroken architrave, which would have formed part of the superstructure of a *toraṇa* of a Buddhist site at Mathura, can be attributed to ca. 50–100 CE (GMM M.3), as was first observed by J. E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw in 1949 and by subsequent scholars basing their conclusions on her work.[32] This architrave is about eight feet (2.4 meters) long, and it originally served as either the central or topmost crossbar of a *toraṇa*, for

[31] V. A. Smith, *The Jain Stūpa and Other Antiquities of Mathurā*, p. 26.

[32] J. E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, *The "Scythian" Period*, pp. 155–157; Prudence Meyer, "Bodhisattvas and Buddhas: Early Buddhist Images from Mathura," pp. 110–111; R. C. Sharma, *Buddhist Art, Mathura School*, p. 153.

there are mortises of varying widths in both the top and bottom sides. They would have received tenons of sculptures or acroteria that are placed between and on top of such architraves, as seen, for example, on the Śivayaśā *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 167) and on the north gate of *Stūpa* I at Sanchi. The Indraśaila architrave was removed to the Archaeological Museum, Mathura in 1908, from the wall into which it had been built above the main gate of a house in the city of Mathura. Such a large architrave indicates the existence of an imposing gateway to a Buddhist site in Mathura which, by extension, confirms the existence of an already flourishing and wealthy Buddhist community in Mathura prior to the advent of the Kuṣāṇa period under Kaniṣka. This sculpted architrave is the largest Buddhist architectural piece we have yet encountered in our survey of the pre-Kuṣāṇa sculpture of Mathura.

The main scene on one side of this architrave depicts the visit of Indra and his retinue to the Buddha, who is shown seated in the center of the composition in the Indraśaila cave (Figs. 295 and 298). On the other side is carved the adoration of the *bodhi* tree surrounded by an elaborate *bodhighara* (Fig. 299),[33] and the flanking square panels depict the worship of a shrine on the left (Fig. 301) and a *dharmacakra* resting on the backs of four addorsed lions on the right (Fig. 300).[34] The rounded ends of both sides of the architrave contain composite winged creatures with the protome of a sphinx and the hindquarters of a *makara* (Figs. 295, 296, and 300). Thus, one side of this architrave depicts a pre-Kuṣāṇa Buddhist narrative scene, and the other is a scene of veneration.

J. P. Vogel and A. K. Coomaraswamy cogently identified the figures in Fig. 295 as the retinue of Indra paying homage to the Buddha, who was meditating in a cave in one of the mountains near Rajagriha after his enlightenment.[35] Indra first sent his celestial harpist, the *gandharva* named Pañcaśikha, to capture the attention of the Buddha and distract him from his meditations. Pañcaśikha is identifiable as the now headless male figure carved to the immediate left of the cave, holding a stringed instrument under his left arm (Fig. 298).[36] Behind Pañcaśikha stand six female figures, probably celestial maidens; they either hold their hands in *añjalī-mudrā* or bear flowers or garlands to honor the Buddha. The male figure standing with his hands clasped in *añjalī-mudrā* to the right of the cave is Indra (Fig. 298), identifiable by his conspicuous high, flat crown, like the one he wears on the Govindnagar Ṛṣyaśṛṅga doorjamb (Fig. 243). Two women, who may be identified as his

---

[33] The form of this *bodhighara* is quite different from other versions seen at Bhārhut, Sanchi, or even Mathura itself (Fig. 71). This variation among depictions of the same architectural monument suggests that the reliefs are not 'snapshots' of sites, but that they depict local interpretations of how the monument looked. Cf. Susan Huntington, "Aniconism and the Multivalence of Emblems: Another Look," *Ars Orientalis*, vol. 22, 1992, pp. 120–156.

[34] V. S. Agrawala understood the symbols on the reverse to represent the three great events from the life of the Buddha in the form of three symbols. The *bodhi* tree corresponds to his enlightenment, the *dharmacakra* to the first sermon at Sarnath, and the tower (which Agrawala considered to be an elongated *stūpa*) to the *parinirvāṇa*. See V. S. Agrawala, *Handbook to the Sculptures in the Curzon Museum of Archaeology, Muttra*, p. 28.

[35] J. P. Vogel, *Catalogue of the Archaeological Museum at Mathura*, pp. 163–164; and A. K. Coomaraswamy, "Early Indian Iconography, I. Indra, with Special Reference to 'Indra's Visit,'" p. 38.

[36] Representations of the scene of Indra's visit are found among the narrative reliefs of Bharhut, Bodhgaya, Kauṣāmbī, and *Stūpa* I at Sanchi, and Pañcaśikha is consistently included in all of them, even if Indra himself is not. In these three early representations, the Buddha's presence is indicated by an empty altar. See A. K. Coomaraswamy, "Early Indian Iconography, I. Indra, with Special Reference to 'Indra's Visit,'" Figs. 1, 3, and 4. The subject is also common among the sculptures from Mathura and Gandhāra carved during the Kuṣāṇa period, wherein the altar has been replaced by the anthropomorphic image of the Buddha himself.

wives, also stand in *añjalī-mudrā* next to Indra, and their mounts, two female elephants flanking the caparisoned male elephant (probably Airāvata), are shown in striding postures at the right of the frieze. The rocks of the cave in which the Buddha sits (Fig. 298) are of the stratified, cubical type similar to those seen on the *ardhaphālaka* architrave in the Brooklyn Museum (Fig. 221), but they display more of a sense of energy and rigidity. This heightened sense of energy is a feature that distinguishes the carvings of ca. 50–100 CE from those of ca. 15 CE. They are arranged in formalized strata that seem to emanate from the figure of the Buddha, thereby visually emphasizing his figure.

The style of the carvings on the Indraśaila architrave is transitional between those of the time of Śoḍāsa on the one hand and of Kaniṣka on the other. They reveal even more proximity to the styles of the early second century CE than is apparent in the reliefs already discussed in this section. The figure of the seated Buddha on the Indraśaila architrave (Fig. 298) displays some stylistic advancements from that of the Buddha on the Īsāpur railing (Fig. 262); it also prefigures the *kapardin* types of seated Buddhas of the Kuṣāṇa period (Fig. 137). Compared to the Īsāpur Buddha image, the Indraśaila Buddha's head and torso are less broad and flat; his *uṣṇīṣa* is articulated as a clearer coiled topknot of hair, like that of the Buddha addressing a king (Fig. 289); and his right hand, raised in *abhaya-mudrā* is held in front of his shoulder and is not unnaturally flattened to the side as in the Īsāpur railing sculpture. His robe indicates more of a sense of an actual garment than does the robe on the Īsāpur figure, for a narrow section of cloth falls over his left arm, and the hem that stretches across his chest is not quite as plain. Nevertheless, the form of the body is still emphasized. A flat swath of pleated cloth falls below his crossed legs over the rocks in front of him, and it is similar to the rather eroded version on the Īsāpur railing (Fig. 262). For these reasons, I judge the Buddha on the Indraśaila architrave to be later in date than the Īsāpur Buddha. Moreover, several factors suggest that the figure was created earlier than the Buddha images dated to the time of Kaniṣka in the early second century CE. His left hand rests gently on his thigh, rather than being clenched in a fist as it is in the sculptures of the Kuṣāṇa period from the time of Kaniṣka and later. J. E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw drew attention to this aspect: "We see that several of the peculiarities characterizing the national Buddha of the Kaṭrā type are already present here, but the little figure is not yet strictly canonized as during the reign of Kaniṣka, which appears from the fact that the left hand, for instance, is not yet put on the left knee."[37] His legs are not crossed in the tight Kuṣāṇa fashion, for his upper thighs and the soles of his feet are visible from the front view, and his legs are crossed at the ankles. Hence, the mode of depicting the seated Buddha on the Indraśaila architrave mediates between the style current during the time of Śoḍāsa and the types made during Kaniṣka's reign, by which time there was established a confident and standardized iconographic depiction. He does not evince as much of the appearance of a nude Jina with reworked attributes of a Brahmin ascetic as did the Buddha image from Īsāpur.

In the center of the other side of the Indraśaila architrave is carved the *bodhi* tree surrounded by a representation of a hypaethral wooden structure with two projecting side wings, and the whole edifice is raised on a low plinth (Fig. 299). The *bodhighara* is punctured by

---

[37] J. E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, *The "Scythian" Period*, p. 156.

a central square doorway, above which is a *vedikā* frieze that runs the length of the building. Ogee windows adorn the top of the structure, and there are other square windows on both the upper and lower stories through which branches of the tree emerge. Six figures of male worshippers are queued in a repetitive manner on both sides of the *bodhighara*, and they all bear offerings of garlands and a large, stylized bunch of flowers, except for the two figures carrying pots who immediately flank the tree (Fig. 299). As we noted in our discussion of the Naigameṣin architrave (Fig. 291), the male torsos of the late first century CE have shed the corpulence of those dating to the preceding periods, and there is a notable overall tightening of their corporeal volumes. The bellies of the male figures on the Indraśaila architrave no longer hang over their girdles, and the belts themselves are depicted almost as flat bands worn straight across their hips, in a way that is more similar to those of male figures carved during the Kuṣāṇa period (Fig. 173). This tightening and slimming can be viewed as part of the natural development of figural styles at Mathura over the course of one hundred years, from the loose fleshy depiction of the male figures on the Kaṭhika pillar, for example, dating to ca. 50–20 BCE (Figs. 186–188), to the smoother and tighter, though still paunchy torsos of ca. 15 CE (e.g., Figs. 229 and 276), until corpulence had all but disappeared in carvings of ca. 50–100 CE.

Similarly, the female figural style on the Indraśaila architrave (Fig. 297) approaches that of the early Kuṣāna period, for it has less segmentation, and, like the contemporaneous dancers on the Śivayaśā *āyāgapaṭa* and the Vasu *śilāpaṭa* (Figs. 165 and 168), the lower bodies are clothed with a diaphanous garment that reveals much of their form. Their legs are smooth and taut, like those of the early second century CE (Fig. 201). The looped buns of hair worn by the women on the Indraśaila architrave jut straight out to one side, as though imbued with the same type of wiry energy that pervades their garments. Their buns of hair do not fall heavily on the napes of their necks as they did on earlier sculptures (e.g., Fig. 235).

The depictions of textiles worn by the figures on the Indraśaila architrave are also characteristic of ca. 50–100 CE. Around the shoulders of most of the figures is the familiar billowing upper garment that stands up behind their necks and falls down the full length of their bodies.[38] The broad arcs formed by the garments over their shoulders have a boldness and dynamism that is accentuated by their parallel pleat lines. The ends and edges of these *uttarīya*s also hang stiffly, as though responding to an unseen force, other than that of natural gravity. The lower garments worn by the male figures (Figs. 296, 299–301) are like the popular type seen in sculptures of the second century CE (Fig. 173), with the emphasis on the long end that curves diagonally across the lower body and tucks into the girdle with a loop hanging to the side. The central swath of the *dhoti* hanging between the legs, which was the most prominent feature in the carvings of ca. 15 CE, is minimized on the Indraśaila architrave, being narrow at the top and slightly wider at the bottom, as seen in even more exaggerated modes during the Kuṣāṇa period (Fig. 197). The figures on the Indraśaila architrave also have sturdier postures than those on the reliefs of ca. 15 CE; this characteristic also foreshadows the stalwart stances of the second century CE,

[38] A similar type of billowing *uttarīya* is worn by some figures of the second century CE, but it is rendered with more stiffness, and it is restrained and de-emphasized, as, for example on the flying celestial worshippers in Figs. 286 and 287.

when the figures no longer exhibited the languid, boneless quality of the carvings on the tympanum in the National Museum, for example (Figs. 222–224).

The tendency towards abbreviation and schematization, which we noticed in the carvings of the *āyāgapaṭa*s of the late first century CE (as in Fig. 164), is also present in many elements on the Indraśaila architrave. The flowers carried by the worshippers are depicted with dry cross-hatching, and the garlands are stiff and tubular (Fig. 301). Hence, in many respects, we can identify the emergence of the bold and energetic sculptural style of the second century CE in the reliefs of the Indraśaila architrave. The attribution of this architrave to ca. 50–100 CE, before the advent of the Kuṣāṇa period under Kaniṣka at Mathura, allows us to realize that by this time, Buddhism had become strongly established and well supported. The copious Buddhist productions of the Kuṣāṇa period can thus be viewed as an outgrowth from or continuation of the already well established Buddhist art tradition, and may have had little or nothing to do with the entrance of the Kuṣāṇa kings into Mathura, especially since we have no evidence for their having patronized Buddhism at Mathura at all. The Buddhists in Mathura appear to have gained strength and prominence through the first century CE, and this crescendo continued into the second century CE. Coincidentally, the increased popularity of the Buddhists in Mathura seems to be linked with the introduction of the anthropomorphic icon of the Buddha and to the patronage of the Saka *kṣatrapa*s.

The image of the Buddha on the Indraśaila architrave is also particularly important, because it formally resembles the early Buddhist icons of the Kuṣāṇa period, most of which are inscribed as '*bodhisattva*s' rather than 'Buddhas.' The embedding of the figure within the narrative context of Indra's visit, however, confirms the identity of this iconographic image as the Buddha Śakyamuni himself. Thus, I contend that the early *kapardin* Buddhist icons of the Kuṣāṇa period actually do represent the Buddha, and that the term '*bodhisattva*' used in the inscriptions may have been understood in a different or more general way than we understand it today.[39]

It is the anthropomorphic icon of the Buddha with which Mathura became particularly associated during the early years of Kaniṣka, with the export of images to Sarnath, Kauśambī, and Śrāvasti, thereby beginning the dissemination of the Buddhist image cult.

---

[39] For a recent alternative opinion, see Ju-Hyung Rhi, "From Bodhisattva to Buddha: The Beginning of Iconic Representation in Buddhist Art." Rhi propounded a theory that the images inscribed as *bodhisattva*s, but wearing the monk's clothing and with no jewelry, depict Siddhartha Gautama after his renunciation, but prior to his enlightenment. This is problematic, because there is no tradition, before or after the Kuṣāṇa period, of emphasizing this segment of the Buddha's life story. It would be highly irregular for the first icons to then depict this aspect of his life. J. E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw considered the word '*bodhisattva*' to have subsequently taken on a more specific meaning than it had at the time these images were produced, and that it simply meant 'he whose essence is perfect knowledge,' and such an epithet could refer to the enlightened Buddha as well as a *bodhisattva*. (J. E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, *The "Scythian" Period*, pp. 178–179). Giovanni Verardi further discussed the more subtle and complex uses of the word '*bodhisattva*' with references to various stages in the life of Śakyamuni, both before and after his enlightenment (Giovanni Verardi, "Avtāraṇa: a Note on the Bodhisattva Image Dated in the Third Year of Kaniṣka in the Sārnāth Museum," pp. 80–84). For our purposes, images that have the iconographic attributes of a Buddha are referred to as such, to avoid confusion with images of *bodhisattva*s depicted with princely regalia. When we refer to an image of the Buddha, we mean those that have the iconographic attributes of the Buddha's type of image. Since we cannot be sure of how the meaning of the word '*bodhisattva*' was exactly understood at that time, I will not speculate here about differences in iconographic meaning between Buddhas called '*bodhisattva*s' and Buddhas called "Buddhas" in their inscriptions.

The image of the Buddha on the Indraśaila architrave is an important piece in the development of the anthropomorphic Buddha image during the first century CE; we can trace that image in relief depictions from the Īsāpur rail post, to the panel of the Buddha addressing a king, to the Indraśaila architrave, where it most closely resembles the more familiar *kapardin* images of the Kuṣāṇa period. Now we turn to discussion of iconic statuary, recovered from Mathura, datable to the middle to late first century CE, wherein two other images of the Buddha round out the development of the pre-Kuṣāṇa Buddhist icon.

Iconic Statues

The remains of iconic statuary from Mathura datable to ca. 50–100 CE represent a variety of divinities and liberated persons, including a *nāga*, a *yakṣī*, a Jina, and the earliest depictions of the Buddha in anthropomorphic form outside of a narrative context. Many of these sculptures are carved on a large scale, carrying on the monumentality of the earlier tradition of stone images of *yakṣa*s—a tradition that extended into the early Kuṣāṇa period, with such sculptures as the image of the Buddha dedicated by the monk Bala (Fig. 173). Other elements that are generally characteristic of the sculptures from Mathura dating to the second century CE can be found in the images discussed in this section, including the formation of the Buddhist triad and the extroversion of figural types.

Buddha with Indra and Brahmā on the Pedestal (Fig. 302)

We observed in Chapter Three that the earliest positively identifiable representation of an iconic Jina image carved in the round is dated to ca. 100–75 BCE at Mathura (Fig. 102). However, there is yet no evidence for the production of large-scale iconic images of Buddhas or *bodhisattva*s prior to ca. 50–100 CE. The fragmentary remains of a life-size seated Buddhist image on a pedestal with diminutive figures of Indra and Brahmā in *añjalī-mudrā* (SML B.18; Fig. 302) attest that by the middle of the first century CE the human form of a Buddha was worshipped as an icon. Several scholars have advanced stylistic arguments for a pre-Kaniṣka dating of this Buddhist pedestal, which, despite its extensive damage, reveals formal characteristics that confirm its attribution to a date ca. 50–100 CE.[40]

Only the crossed legs of a seated male figure survive, and that figure is identifiable as a Buddhist image by the inscription carved on the top molding of the pedestal. The year date that was originally inscribed at the far left of the molding has broken away, but the words '*bodisāto pratis(th)āpito*,' meaning 'a *bodhisattva* was set up,' survive. Despite the identification in the inscription, it is not possible to determine whether the figure originally depicted a Buddha in monastic garb or a *bodhisattva* in princely garb, for images that iconographically appear to be Buddhas as well as those that have the princely appearance of *bodhisattva*s, are called '*bodhisattva*s' in their inscriptions. The only surviving traces of the garment worn by the seated figure are the wavy hem lines over his right shin and

[40] J. E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, *The "Scythian" Period*, pp. 174–76; Gritli von Mitterwallner, *Kuṣāṇa Coins and Kuṣāṇa Sculptures from Mathura*, pp. 74–79; and R. C. Sharma, *Buddhist Art, Mathura School*, pp. 180 and 274.

the naturalistically pleated broad swath of cloth folded upon the pedestal beneath his crossed feet (Fig. 302). Such garments could be worn by Buddhas or *bodhisattvas*. Because the depiction of the garments and the crossed legs is so akin to the modes of representation seen on a smaller scale on the Īsāpur railing (Fig. 262) and the Indraśaila architrave (Fig. 298), as well as on numerous Buddha images of the second century CE, I am inclined to suggest that this figure was probably that of a Buddha in its original state. Moreover, the appearance of Indra and Brahmā as devoted attendants argues in favor of identifying it as a Buddha image.

The legs of the seated Buddhist figure are crossed rather loosely, in comparison to the rigid posture that is typical of iconic figures of the Buddha dating to the second century CE (Figs. 136 and 137). As with the Buddhas on the Īsāpur railing and the Indraśaila architrave, his thighs are completely visible from the front (Fig. 302). His feet and toes have a soft, padded quality that is not seen in the figures of Buddhas from the Kuṣāṇa period. The wide swath of cloth lying over the pedestal is quite conservative in its articulation, and it differs from the sharp, fan-like depictions seen in works from the second century CE (Figs. 136 and 137). The cloth is shown as folded under, and the visible edge is gently rounded, in much the same way as the folded ends of the garment on the approximately contemporaneous figure from Ganeśarā that we examine at the end of this chapter (Fig. 305).

The simple form of the pedestal itself corresponds to the early types that we have seen since the beginning of the first century CE, in reliefs such as the Govindnagar Ṛṣyaśṛṅga pillar (Fig. 240), the Īsāpur railing (Fig. 262), and the tympanum in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts (Fig. 284). Its base is composed of three stepped moldings followed by a narrower plain section and topped by three more stepped moldings forming an inverted pyramidal sequence that mirrors the base, possibly reflecting the imagery of Mt. Meru or the Vedic high altar.

Seated in regal postures on the top molding of the bottom sequence of the pedestal are the figures of Brahmā on the left and Indra on the right, both holding their hands in *añjalī-mudrā*.[41] Indra is identified by the distinctive high, flat-topped mitre, like the ones he wears on the Govindnagar Ṛṣyaśṛṅga doorjamb (Fig. 243) and the Indraśaila architrave (Fig. 298). From what remains of Brahmā's head, his hair seems to have been arranged in the coiled topknot of matted locks, like that of a Brahmin ascetic. Both Indra and Brahmā turn towards the center, like the triad formation noted on the broken edge of the one side of the tympanum in the National Museum (Fig. 222, top two registers) and the center of the small tympanum of the Kuṣāṇa period in Fig. 233. They sit with one foot drawn up and the other pendant, and their raised feet, though broken, seem to be somewhat flattened out, much like those of the figure of Naigameṣin on the architrave fragment in Fig. 291. Both figures display corpulent bellies that push heavily down upon rope-like girdles, and broad pleated swaths of cloth hang between their legs in fashions that recall the sculptures of ca. 15 CE. The vigorous stiffness of the billowing *uttarīya* worn by the figure of Brahmā indicates an advanced date, so that this sculpture can be attributed to around the time of the small relief panel depicting the image of the standing

[41] J. E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw (*The "Scythian" Period*, p. 175) stated that Indra held up a *vajra* in both hands, but although his hands are damaged, it appears that he only holds his hands in *añjalī-mudrā*.

Buddha addressing a king (Fig. 289). Hence, this important sculpture represents what I consider to be the earliest known example of a large-scale anthropomorphic Buddhist icon, which seems to date to ca. 50–100 CE. With the existence of this image, we can understand the standardized form of the seated Buddha image of the Kuṣāṇa period as representative of a later phase of iconic production at Mathura.

Harvard Buddha Triad (Fig. 303)

The form of the Buddha triad, with a seated Buddha in *abhaya-mudrā* flanked on both sides by an attendant and backed by a scalloped halo and a pipal tree, was one of the most common modes of representing the seated Buddha during the Kuṣāṇa period under Kaniṣka and his successors. It seems, however, that the form of the Buddha triad had already been established in the first century CE, before the time of Kaniṣka.[42] A small, fragmentary Buddhist triad in the collection of the Arthur M. Sackler Museum at Harvard University depicts an anthropomorphic Buddha image, which was probably seated, and two standing attendants bearing *cauri*s (1982.51; Fig. 303). Although its bottom half has broken off, its extant remains are in fairly good condition. Its iconic nature suggests that it was set up as an object of worship, possibly in a small shrine or niche of its own.

To determine its pre-Kaniṣka date, we compare the Harvard triad with two images of the Buddhia dated by inscription to the beginning of the reign of Kaniṣka. These two are the small standing Buddha images dedicated by Buddhamitra, dated to the Year Two, and the colossal standing Buddha dedicated by the monk Bala dated to the Year Three (Fig. 173), both of which are carved in the same consistent style.[43] When the torsos of these two images of the early Kaniṣka period are compared to that of the Buddha at Harvard, the latter displays several significant stylistic differences suggestive of an earlier date. The most striking difference is that the images dated to the time of Kaniṣka convey a greater sense of energetic power, so that the Harvard piece seems quiet and subdued in comparison. The fleshy volumes of the bodies of the Buddha and his attendants are softly modeled, revealing a closer kinship with the corpulent figures of the early and middle first century CE. In contrast, the torsos carved during the beginning of Kaniṣka's reign are rendered with tauter surfaces and more defined contours, while the fleshy modulations on the figures of the Harvard triad are more subtle and flaccid.

The treatment of the garments on the Harvard triad also distinguishes that group from the earliest dated figures from the time of Kaniṣka. The upper garment of the Buddha at Harvard is loosely wound around his upper arm several times, in such a way that it is more emphasized than the robes of the small Buddha figures on the Īsāpur railing (Fig. 262) and the Indraśaila architrave (Fig. 298), but softer than the Kuṣāṇa types (Fig. 173). The same garment on the latter sculptures of the early second century CE cling tightly to the arm and are rendered in a repetitive series of schematic ribs, which conveys an

[42] Rekha Morris recently concluded independently that this triad in the collection of the Harvard University Art Museums dates to a pre-Kaniṣka time during the first century CE (Rekha Morris, "Buddha Under a Ficus Tree and Two Sculptures from Mathurā in the Sackler Museum, Harvard University," *Archives of Asian Art*, LI, 1998–99, pp. 80–91, especially p. 83).

[43] For a standing Buddha dedicated by Buddhamitra dated to the Year Two, see Pramod Chandra, *Stone Sculpture in the Allahabad Museum*, Pl. XXXVII, Fig. 85.

energetic and extroverted effect (Fig. 173). The looseness of the garment around the arm of the Buddha in Harvard's Sackler Museum links this sculpture to others of the first century CE (Fig. 290), and the soft irregularity of its pleating is similar to that of the cloth on the Buddhist pedestal with Indra and Brahmā (Fig. 302).

The facial features of the Buddha and his attendants seem to retain the double-lidded almond shape of the eyes and the quietly smiling expression that distinguishes them from the more extroverted gaze, with rounder sockets and bulging eyes, of the Kuṣāṇa pieces (Fig. 173). The hairline of the Buddha in the Harvard triad is not the simple, evenly curving line of the Bala Buddha; instead, it curves up more at the corners of the brow and down slightly in the center. This type of subtly modulated hairline is seen on other sculptures of the first century CE, such as the Buddhas on the Īsāpur railing (Fig. 262) and the Indraśaila architrave (Fig. 298) and the Agni in the Bharat Kala Bhavan (Fig. 280).

In contrast to the depiction of seated Buddhas in triads dating to the Kuṣāṇa period of the second century CE (Fig. 137), the figure of the Buddha in the Harvard triad is represented on a more equivalent scale with his attendants, who are only slightly smaller. Buddha images of the Kuṣāṇa period seem much larger than life, more powerful and superhuman in comparison to those in the Harvard triad—a mode of representation that had not yet been attempted when the Harvard Buddha triad was sculpted.

Other pre-Kaniṣka traits of the Harvard Buddha triad include the puffed fullness and delicate strands of the flywhisks carried by the attendants, who possess the regal mien of *yakṣa*s. The flying celestial beings at the top of the arrangement, though they do not have the corpulence of earlier examples, retain the broad pleated swaths of cloth falling between their legs, and these swaths are softly rounded at the bottom rather than having the sharper, stiffer edges seen on the garments of similar figures from the Kuṣāṇa period (Figs. 286 and 287).[44]

The presence of the pipal tree (*Ficus religiosa*) does not necessarily imply that this sculpture depicts the Buddha at the time of his enlightenment under the *bodhi* tree at Bodhgaya. As in similar triads of the Kuṣāṇa period, there are no iconographic elements, such as the *bhūmisparśa-mudrā* or the presence of Mara, to indicate any connection with this event during the life of the historical Buddha. Although Śakyamuni Buddha did attain enlightenment when seated beneath a pipal tree, these early iconic images from Mathura probably should not be read in terms of literal illustration of a narrative scene. Instead, it seems that they should be viewed in the context of the whole early Indian tradition of representing

[44] A fragment of a Buddha or *bodhisattva* triad (inscribed '*bodhisattva*'; GMM A.66) is considered by Prudence Meyer and R. C. Sharma to belong to the pre-Kaṇiṣka period because the inscription mentions a *kṣatrapa* (Prudence Meyer, "Bodhisattvas and Buddhas: Early Buddhist Images from Mathurā," p. 112, Fig. 9; and R. C. Sharma, *Buddhist Art, Mathura School*, pp. 164–165, Fig. 60; for the inscription, see J. P. Vogel, *Catalogue of the Archaeological Museum at Mathura*, p. 63). Only one corner of the pedestal with one of the crossed legs of the main icon and the foot of an attendant figure survive, so it is difficult to determine its date stylistically. The apparent loose positioning of the leg and foot of the central figure suggests that a pre-Kaṇiṣka date is not impossible. However, the stiffness in the hem of the garment, the pleated cloth spread over the pedestal, and the swath hanging between the legs of the attendant indicate a date later than the Buddhist pedestal with Indra and Brahmā. Moreover, the winged griffin is rendered with a degree of dryness that seems more in keeping with styles of the second century CE. The Kuṣāṇa rulers had *kṣatrapa*s under their sway, and the inscription on the Bala Buddha carved during the time of Kaṇiṣka also mentions *kṣatrapa*s, but that fact in no way guarantees a pre-Kaṇiṣka date. (For the inscription of the Bala Buddha, see Heinrich Lüders, "A List of Brahmi Inscriptions from the Earliest Times to about 400 AD," Nos. 925 and 926.)

divine imagery. We may interpret the anthropomorphic image of the Buddha seated on an altar-like pedestal before a tree to be linked to the ancient imagery of the *caitya-vṛkṣa*, the combination of a sacred tree with an altar being one of the earliest and most common pictorial representations of divine presence seen in the art of all sects in India. It is important to emphasize that once the Buddha began to be depicted in anthropomorphic form, the earlier modes of non-figurative representation were not abandoned; rather, they were often combined with the human iconic imagery. Hence, the *caitya-vṛkṣa* or the *stūpa* began to be depicted with the human Buddha seated or standing in front of the tree or at the entrances of *stūpa*s. The human form of the Buddha seems to have replaced a symbol like the *tilakaratna*-and-lotus on the altar in front of the tree, and like such a non-figural symbol, a human iconic image such as the Buddha in the Harvard triad serves to indicate the *arhat*'s holy presence. Therefore, aniconic or non-figural representations of the sacred presence of the Buddha were not immediately phased out after the new symbol—the human symbol—slowly achieved prominence. This combination of the non-figural depiction of the sacred presence of the Buddha as the *caitya-vṛkṣa* and altar with the anthropomorphic image continued well into the Kuṣāṇa period with the common depictions of the icon in *abhaya-mudrā* seated beneath a tree (Fig. 137).[45] It was only with the introduction of the types of Buddha images that emulate modes of depiction from Gandhāra that the intimate association of the iconic Buddha image with the tree was abandoned at Mathura.[46]

Nāga *(Fig. 304)*

The damaged sculpture of a *nāga*, missing head, arms, and feet, (GMM 17.1257) attests to the continuity of the iconic *nāga* tradition in the stone sculpture of Mathura into the late first century CE, a tradition noted in Chapter Two to have been current as early as ca. 150 BCE (Fig. 20). This figure stands frontally, thick and massive serpents' coils intertwined behind his back. The most conspicuous feature about this sculpture is the broad, sweeping arc formed by the *uttarīya*, the shape of which recalls the *uttarīya*s on the panel with the Buddha addressing a king (Fig. 209), but rendered on a larger scale. The irregular articulation of the pleats seems to derive from the mode of representation seen on the Akrūr-Ṭīlā *devatā* (Fig. 272), and it is not unlike those of the *yakṣī* in the Cleveland Museum of Art, which I also attribute to ca. 50–100 CE (Fig. 307). The stiff curve of the *uttarīya* on this figure of a *nāga* lends a sense of dynamism to the sculpture that suggests its proximity to the early second century CE. Although this image does not have the corpulence of earlier figures, the torso is softly modeled and not as powerful as that of a figure made during the reign of Kaniṣka (Fig. 173). The softly padded and knotted rope-like girdle is reminiscent of the belts seen on male figures of the early first century CE (Figs. 276 and 281); hence, it seems that this sculpture is most appropriately dated to ca. 50–100 CE.

---

[45] In many of the examples of seated Buddha images in human form dating to the Kuṣāṇa period, the continuity of the aniconic tradition of worship is evident. In the sculpture from Ahichhatra in Fig. 137, devotees on the pedestal pay homage to and worship a sacred tree.

[46] Representations of the Buddha that seem to derive from prototypes produced in Gandhara appear to have been introduced into the Mathura region during the reign of Huviṣka, as J. E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw has shown. These so-called 'Gandhāra-impact' styles of Buddha images at Mathura seem to have begun the trend of depicting the Buddha without the backdrop of the sacred tree.

Standing Male Figure from Ganeśarā (Figs. 305 and 306)
A more imposing and well-preserved sculpture of a male figure carved in the round is the magnificent image discovered at Ganeśarā, about three miles (4.83 kilometers) northwest of Mathura City (SML B.12b). Alhough headless, this greater than life size figure is in excellent condition. He stands frontally, with his right hand raised in *abhaya-mudrā*, and he is adorned with princely ornaments and garments. Identification of this figure as a *bodhisattva*, *yakṣa*, or other divinity would be equally tenable, as it is not possible to distinguish any specifically determinable iconographic feature. This sculpture has been variously identified as 'Vardhamāna teaching,' or a 'deity of the Brahmanical pantheon raising his hand in the act of blessing.'[47] However, the general consensus among scholars has been to refer to this image as a *bodhisattva*, given the *abhaya-mudrā* and his princely ornaments. Recently Ju-Hyung Rhi has identified this image as possibly Prince Siddhartha Gautama, but there is no specific evidence to support any of these identifications. Gregory Schopen has pointed out that no other *bodhisattva* besides Prince Siddhartha would have been current during this period, except for Maitreya in his role as the future Buddha.[48]

Recently, scholars have concurred that this figure from Ganeśarā predates the reign of Kaniṣka,[49] for its stylistic features seem to be mediate between the earlier types of *yakṣa*s and the Buddha and *bodhisattva* figures of the early second century CE. More accurately, this sculpture can be seen to retain stylistic elements of the early first century CE in combination with features that closely anticipate the modes of depiction of the early second century CE.

The torso of the figure from Ganeśarā does not have the corpulence of the figures from the earlier phases of the first century CE. The modeling of the torso conveys a sense of mass and solidity that, like the small figure of Naigameṣin discussed earlier in this chapter (Fig. 292), prefigures the early Kuṣāṇa types (Fig. 173). His *uttarīya* is more emphasized than in sculptures of similar standing figures from the Kuṣāṇa period, as it is broad and richly pleated (Figs. 305 and 306). It drapes sumptuously over his left shoulder, then cascades down his back in a dramatic, slightly curving diagonal sweep (Fig. 306). The garment then curves around his lower right leg up to his left hip, where it drapes over his left wrist, and from there falls down his left side, and then is folded and tucked back up over his left wrist. This mode of wearing the upper garment has been seen on a smaller scale on the image of Agni (Fig. 280) and the male figures on the small relief with the Buddha addressing a king (Fig. 289); it continued to be a feature in some figures dating to the Kuṣāṇa period (Fig. 197). However, the style is unique among surviving examples from this period, for it combines the early features of breadth and rich texturing, which were seen on the shawl worn by the Akrūr-Ṭīlā *devatā* (Fig. 272), the garment lying over the Buddhist pedestal (Fig. 302) and the Harvard Buddha triad (Fig. 303), with some of

[47] V. A. Smith, *The Jaina Stūpa*, p. 43.
[48] Ju-Hyung Rhi, "From Bodhisattva to Buddha," 9. Gregory Schopen delivered this thesis in a paper at the conference, "Life of the Buddha: New Directions in Research," McMaster University, Hamilton, Ontario, October 2003. It is curious, however, that no icons of Prince Siddhartha have been identified specifically in the later traditions.
[49] Prudence Meyer, "Bodhisattvas and Buddhas: Early Buddhist Images from Mathurā," pp. 134–135; Gritli von Mitterwallner, "Yakṣas of Ancient Mathurā," Figs. 35.VI and 35.VIIa; R. C. Sharma, *Buddhist Art, Mathura School*, p. 163.

the tension and energy that would be furthered in the more schematized representations of ca. 130 CE (Fig. 173). Similarly, his lower garment is arranged in the wide, archaistic swath of cloth hanging between the legs, and it has been striated with the rich textural pleat lines. By ca. 130 CE, the sculptural style emphasized the power of the body; consequently, the importance of the garments was reduced. This shift of emphasis had not yet been completed when the sculpture of the male figure from Ganeśarā was created.

A thick rope-like girdle knotted in the center supports his *dhoti*, in a manner similar to that of the standing divinity in Fig. 281 and the Morā torsos (Figs. 276 and 278) of ca. 15 CE, but on the Ganeśarā image it is knotted with more conviction, and the ends hang with greater tension and stiffness. Next to the knot, he wears the same type of lotus ornament, from the central calyx of which issue strings of pearls, as is seen on male figures datable to the early first century CE (Figs. 281 and 283). The belt itself is delicately striated and clasped at regular intervals with small, grooved ornaments; the end, which hangs to the level of his ankles, is ornamented with a pot-shaped knob (Fig. 305), which recalls similar knobs carved on the Morā torsos of the time of Śoḍāsa (Figs. 276 and 278).

Like the figures of the goddess on the Amohini *āyavati* (Fig. 273) and of Agni in the Bharat Kala Bhavan (Fig. 280), his raised right arm is awkwardly flattened to the side, supported behind by a large, richly textured stone 'cushion' (Fig. 306). This stone 'cushion' or 'pad' is carved with rich texturing composed of bands of square dots alternating with wider bands of teardrop shapes, reminiscent of the filler pattern on the Sihanāṃdika *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 156) and the coping stone with *Romaka Jātaka* (Fig. 288), attributed to around the second quarter of the first century CE. The thick bracelets with a variety of ornamentation are similar to those worn by Agni in Fig. 280. Hence, I consider this splendid image from Ganeśarā to date to ca. 50–100 CE, for it displays a masterful juxtaposition of the detailing and textures of the early first century CE with the power, energy, and monumentality that characterize the sculptures of the second century CE.

Yakṣī *in the Cleveland Museum of Art (Figs. 307 and 308)*

An impressive sculpture of a standing female divinity in the Cleveland Museum of Art (68.104) displays stylistic advances from the Akrūr-Ṭīlā *devatā* of the early first century CE (Fig. 271), in a way analogous to that in which the image from Ganeśarā is mediate between the Morā torsos and the male figures of the early Kuṣāṇa period. The Cleveland Museum of Art sculpture stands frontally and axially, just over four feet (1.2 meters) in height; her arms are broken, but the breaks in the stone suggest that her right arm was probably held up in *abhaya-mudrā*, and her left arm was held akimbo; her surviving left hand rests on her hip. Aside from minor damage to her headdress, missing feet, and some erosion of the face, the sculpture is fairly well preserved, especially in back (Fig. 308). She wears a lower garment fastened by six overlapping rows of small disks and a sash tied in a knot in front, slightly off center. One end of her upper garment hangs down her left side, and it probably went from there around her upper arm and over the left shoulder. It cascades dramatically down her back until it curves around the front of her lower right leg and extends up to drape over her left wrist, in a manner much like that of the garment worn by the Ganeśarā figure (Fig. 305). Her elaborate headdress consists of a long, plaque-like piece that covers her entire head and her upper back (Fig. 308); it rests on her head by means of a broad headband to which it is attached (Fig. 307). This head-

dress is elaborately decorated at the top with a peacock depicted *en face* with wings and fully spread tail feathers. Below the peacock is a horizontal band filled with diagonal cross-hatching, and below that is the long, solid U-shaped plaque, which is also filled with diagonal cross-hatching and is bordered by two twisted garlands or thick embroidered cords on either side. At the bottom is a semicircular section filled with a palmette sprouting from a semi-rosette. On either side of the headdress, locks of hair fall with curled ends over her shoulders.

This female figure has been identified as a *nāginī*, or snake goddess, because of the much-worn tubular projections above her head, identified as snakes.[50] These projections were compared with similar ones found on the head of a so-called *nāginī* in the Mathura Museum. However, the head in the Mathura Museum may not be a *nāginī* at all, for the tubular projections are not carved with the curved horizontal grooves that denote the underbelly of a serpent. Rather, they are carved with a motif that is generally reserved for twisted garlands or embroidered cloth. For this reason, I suggest that these tubular projections are probably part of a fancy coiffure, similar to that of a *yakṣī* from Kaṅkālī-Ṭīlā of the early second century CE,[51] wherein the hair, probably braided with embroidered strips of cloth or flower garlands, is coiled into rows that fan up behind the head. This type of coiffure is a broader and more elaborate version of the fanned hairstyle worn by *yakṣī*s at Sanchi (Fig. 117). Moreover, when we view the Cleveland Museum of Art image from behind, we see no indication of the projection of a serpent's hood or the coils of a serpentine body. Thus, this female sculpture probably does not represent a *nāginī*, but another unidentified *yakṣī* or *devatā*.

She stands with her knees locked, and her legs seem to be slightly knock-kneed, like those of the Akrūr-Ṭīlā *devatā* (Fig. 272). Although remnants of the tripartite, segmented torso can be seen in the figure of the *yakṣī* in the Cleveland Museum of Art, the contours of her waist curve more smoothly to the hips. The straight, parallel sides of the waist that connect to flaring hips at a sharp angle, as seen on the female votary from Faizabad (Fig. 203), the Akrūr-Ṭīlā *devatā* (Fig. 272), and the goddess on the Amohini *āyavati* (Fig. 273) have given way to a more curved, unified contour.

The attention to texturing and details seen on the back of her headdress betray her pre-Kaniṣka date. However, the elements are repetitive, and the quality of the carving has a refinement, shallowness, and sharpness that is more closely related to the ornaments on sculptures of the Kuṣāṇa period, such as those on the umbrella of the Bala Buddha (Fig. 135), than to the rich, soft carvings of ca. 15 CE. Thus, when we consider detail and ornament, a date of ca. 100 CE seems most accurate.

One of the most striking features of the *yakṣī* in the Cleveland Museum is the dramatic swath of her *uttarīya*, which forms a curving diagonal across both the front and back of her body. Close attention was paid to the texturing of this cloth, as the pleats and creases are formed with irregular strokes, like those of the Ganeśarā figure (Figs. 305 and 306), which seems to continue the tradition set by the images of ca. 50–20 BCE (Fig. 203) and ca. 15 CE (Figs. 271 and 272). On the *yakṣī* in the Cleveland Museum, however, the ridges of the pleats are even higher, like those on the sculpture of the *nāga* in Fig. 304,

---

[50] Stanislaw J. Czuma and Rekha Morris, *Kushan Sculpture: Images from Early India*, pp. 85–86.
[51] Pramod Chandra, *The Sculpture of India*, pp. 10 and 55, cat. no. 9, front.

serving to emphasize them, and the curved line formed by the cloth itself is bolder and more dramatic. The close attention paid to the presence of the garment and the careful texturing of the cloth are early features that were combined with a new propensity for dynamism and power. A similar juxtaposition of styles was seen in the monumental male figure from Ganeśarā; hence, these two sculptures may be considered to be approximately contemporaneous and to form two examples of large-scale imagery of the highest quality carved in the round. They proudly exemplify the distinctive style of the school of sculpture at Mathura only about twenty-five to fifty years prior to the reign of Kaniṣka. This style was derived seamlessly from the traditions of the past and, at the same time, stood only one step away from the familiar modes of sculptural production found in the early Kuṣāṇa period.

Mahāvīra Pedestal (Figs. 309 and 310)

The last sculpture to be discussed here has a dated inscription that, barring some uncertainties in its interpretation, brings us close to the brink of the Kuṣāṇa period at Mathura, beginning with the reign of Kaniṣka in 127 CE. As I understand the inscription, it is dated to 113 or 114 CE, which takes us to the end of the period covered in this book. What remains of the sculptures on this piece are carved in a style that one would expect in a production made about twenty-five years before the sculptures dated to the early years of Kaniṣka's reign. Unfortunately, the sculpture, recovered from Kaṅkālī-Ṭīlā and currently housed in the State Museum, Lucknow (SML J.2), is much damaged. Only the pedestal with the feet of an icon of the Jina Mahāvīra and scant traces of four flanking attendant figures remain.

Below the assemblage of figures is a flat stone panel carved with a relatively lengthy inscription in Brāhmī script (Appendix I.20), and it is only because of this donative inscription that we know the identity of the icon that once stood on the pedestal above. The inscription contains a year date and the title of a ruler. The year date has been variously read as 192, 199, 292, or 299, although 299, and secondarily 199, is favored. The era to which it was meant to be reckoned is unspecified, and the ruler is an unnamed *mahārāja rājatirāja* ('great king, king of kings'), which probably refers to the Kuṣāṇa king Vema Takto or Vema Kadphises, the grandfather and father, respectively, of Kaniṣka. The recent discovery of the Yavana era of 186 or 185 BCE is the most plausible era for this date, thus yielding 113 or 114 CE. The Yavana era is the same era used in the *yavanarajya* inscription of the Year One Hundred Sixteen (Appendix I.20). The donors in the Mahāvīra pedestal inscription are Jaina women with foreign names that possibly derived from Greek (Okhārikā, Ukatikā, and Okhā), so it is possible that inhabitants of Greek descent lived in Mathura and continued to use the 'Yavana era' up to the time of Kaniṣka. Among previous scholarship on this inscription written prior to the discovery of the Yavana era, Heinrich Lüders came the closest, arguing that the year should be read as 299 and should be attributed to a Parthian Arsacid era that began in 248 BCE.[52] His calculation yielded

[52] H. Lüders, "The Era of the Mahārāja and the Mahārāja Rājātirāja," pp. 281–286 and 288–289. This argument is followed more recently by G. Fussman.

a date of 51 CE. He and J. E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw,[53] contended, primarily on the basis of paleography, that whatever the era and whatever the reading of the year, the inscription should be considered to date between the reigns of Śoḍāsa and Kaniṣka.[54] (For a fuller discussion of the problems of the date in this inscription, see the notes in Appendix I.20.)

For the sculptural carvings, a date just prior to the accession of Kaniṣka seems appropriate. The most important feature that suggests a pre-Kaniṣka, post-Śoḍāsa date is the mode of depicting the feet of the image of Mahāvīra. The feet are distinctive in that the toes bend over the front edge of the oval platform. This peculiar mode of depicting feet is also seen in the dancers on the railing of the Śivayaśā *āyāgapaṭa* (Figs. 165 and 166), where the dancers' toes overlap the front surface of the railing. This bending over of the toes gives figures a less stalwart appearance than they have when their feet are planted firmly on a horizontal surface, as they invariably are on images of the Kuṣāṇa period from the time of Kaniṣka onwards.

The form of the pedestal on which Mahāvīra stands is unusual, but not without parallel. The image stands on an ovoid cushion or slab, which shows no distortion from the weight of the figure. The sides of this cushion are carved with a textured pattern evoking embroidered cloth, although stylistically it is not as richly or deeply carved as the textile patterns of the late first century BCE. It closely prefigures the dryness of textures carved during the second century CE. Below the ovoid cushion is the high part of the pedestal, on the front of which are two blind arches bordered with dots. Essentially the same type of pedestal is seen on a relief panel from Mathura (GMM H.2), datable to ca. 125–150 CE, depicting the infant Buddha at the time of his first bath, receiving homage from *nāga*s; the only difference between the two pedestals is that the Buddhist pedestal has only one arch instead of two on the front.[55]

Little can be said about what is left of the male figures flanking the pedestal, as they are small and badly damaged. The carvings that do remain, however, do not contradict a date for the whole piece in the early second century CE. The depiction of the lower halves of the male figures (Fig. 310) is comparable to the way in which similar figures are carved on the Indraśaila architrave (Figs. 296 and 301), with the broadly pleated long ends of the garments, heavily outlined hems curving over the shins, and the diagonal sweep of the edge of the *dhoti*.

Although so little survives of the sculpture, this piece provides some information that enhances our understanding of Mathuran society during the mid–first century CE. It shows that iconic statues of the Jina Mahāvīra were being made at Mathura prior to the time of Kaniṣka. This should not come as any surprise, given the existence of an earlier large-scale image of Pārśvanātha (Fig. 102). Nevertheless, this is our only other surviving example of a three-dimensional icon of a Jina dating to the pre-Kaniṣka period from Mathura. It is also interesting to note that the donors of this sculpture were women with apparently

[53] J. E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, *The "Scythian" Period*, pp. 57ff., though she prefers a reading of 199 instead of 299.

[54] Gritli von Mitterwallner disagreed and preferred to read the date as 199 and to attribute it to the Azes era of 57 BCE, which yields a date of 142 CE for this sculpture (G. von Mitterwallner, *Kusāna Coins and Kusāna Sculptures from Mathurā*, pp. 62–64).

[55] For a photograph, see R. C. Sharma, *The Splendour of Mathurā: Art and Museum*, p. 88, fig. 25.

Greek names living in Mathura, who chose to espouse the Jaina religion. Also, the inscription on this piece serves as evidence that in 113 or 114 CE. Mathura was controlled by a ruler who was known by the Parthian titular convention of 'great king, king of kings.' It is possible that this individual was one of the predecessors of Kaniṣka, perhaps Vema Takto, Kaniṣka's grandfather, who was also unnamed on much of his coinage, if he is indeed to be identified with the mysterious Soter Megas. It is unlikely that one of the obscure *kṣatrapa*s who succeeded the *svāmi mahākṣatrapa* Śoḍāsa, would have taken the title of *mahārāja rājatirāja*, since they called themselves *kṣatrapa*s on their coins. Thus, this modest and enigmatic inscribed pedestal provides us with several interesting points concerning the artistic, social, and political history of Mathura just prior to the accession of Kaniṣka.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The foregoing chronological study of sculptures reveals that the region of Mathura was the seat of a fully developed school of art and architecture for more than two hundred and fifty years prior to the reign of Kaniṣka. This early stone sculptural tradition includes material associated with numerous religious sects, both in the form of complex bas relief compositions and diverse iconic statuary. Sculptural styles evolved without hiatus from ca. 150 BCE through the beginning of the second century CE, the art of each successive period imbuing familiar forms with new modes of expression.

In summary, the development began in ca. 150 BCE when sculptures had hard, flat surfaces articulated with geometric and linear forms and areas of sharply incised detailing, areas that contrast with plain ground spaces. Over the course of the first century BCE, the style gradually softened, and the more volumetric forms seemed awakened with a sense of inner life. This trend towards softness and organic vitality culminated in the sculptures of ca. 50–20 BCE, as seen in images like the female votary from Faizabad (Fig. 203) and in rich, dynamic bas reliefs such as those on the Dhanamitra *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 140). By the time of *mahākṣatrapa* Śoḍāsa in ca. 15 CE, a sense of refinement permeated the ornamental carvings, as seen on the Vasu doorjamb (Fig. 264). The figural style of the time of Śoḍāsa was bolder and surfaces were smoothed and tightened, while retaining some of the softness and corpulence of the previous generation. By 50–100 CE, dynamism, simplicity, and clarity characterized the sculptures, thereby closely prefiguring the extroversion and schematization of the well-known arts of the early Kuṣāṇa period of ca. 127 CE and later. Thus, the types of natural changes and developments in styles that have long been noted by scholars in the art of the Kuṣāṇa, Gupta, and medieval periods throughout India were also occurring in the sculptures of the pre-Kuṣāṇa centuries at Mathura. Only with the aid of epigraphical analyses, the framework provided by the *āyāgapaṭa*s, and a close examination of numerous sculptural remains can this early period be understood to have had a mature and continuous tradition of artistic production at Mathura. Given the relatively unified nature of sculptural styles throughout the Indian subcontinent during this early period, the chronological parameters established for the sculpture of Mathura can function as a model for the dating of art from other regions.

The establishment of a chronology of the art of this early period at Mathura is a prerequisite for the study of iconographic developments that took place prior to the second century CE. One such development that has captured the attention of numerous scholars since the middle of the nineteenth century is the origin of the anthropomorphic representation of the Buddha image. It is generally maintained that the transition from non-figural to human depictions of the Buddha took place some time during the first century CE. The chronology set forth in this book indicates that the earliest known image of the Buddha in anthropomorphic form from Mathura is found on the railing fragment from Īsāpur (Fig. 262) and dates to the time of Śoḍāsa, ca. 15 CE. Although other anthropomorphic Buddha images not yet discovered may have been produced before this time,

the tentative and non-standardized mode of depiction of the Īsāpur Buddha figure implies that it is among the first images produced. Other images made during the first century CE were experimental, differing from one another, which further indicates their status as nascent forms (e.g., Figs. 289 and 298). The Buddha images of the first century CE are alike, however, in that none of them has either the robe or the tonsure of a monk. They are instead heavily reliant upon non-monastic pictorial prototypes that had been long established, such as the seated Jina, Brahmin, and ascetic teacher.

Anthropomorphic representations of Brahmins, ascetics, and Jaina *tīrthaṅkaras*—the pictorial prototypes of the early Buddha image—had been portrayed in the art of Mathura as early as the second century BCE. The seated images of the Jina Ṛṣabhanātha datable to ca. late second century BCE (Figs. 25 and 27) seem to be modeled on depictions of seated *tapasvin*s and Brahmins, their meditative seance can be related to that of ascetics such as those identified at Bharhut (Fig. 264), and the pigtail-like locks of hair seem to have been modeled after the *śikha*s of Brahmins, like those seen on the Katrā architrave (Figs. 29 and 31–33). Analogously, the seated figure of the Buddha on the Īsāpur railing (Figure 262), carved more than one hundred years after the images of Ṛṣabhanātha, appears to partake in the same basic image tradition as did the seated Jinas, such as those carved on *āyāgapaṭa*s by at least 50–20 BCE.[1] Some identifying iconographic features of this early figure of the Buddha—the *uṣṇīṣa* and the placement of the de-emphasized *saṃghāti*—seem to be ultimately derived from Brahmanical prototypes, such as the *śikhā*, the *yajñopavīta*, and the black antelope skin (*jina*).

By around 100–75 BCE, shortly after the creation of the *tīrthaṅkara*s on the Ṛṣabhanātha architrave, a large-scale iconic representation of the Jina Pārśvanātha carved in the round was made, thus representing the earliest positively identifiable statue of a *tīrthaṅkara* (Fig. 102). The earliest known image of a large-scale iconic Buddha carved in the round (now fragmentary; Fig. 302) can be dated to ca. 50–100 CE, about a century and a half later. In short, the Jaina tradition of depicting the *arhat* in human form, both in narrative bas reliefs and as iconic statues, significantly predates the Buddhist one. Moreover, after these earliest depictions, a significant number of anthropomorphic *arhat*s were continuously made at Mathura, on *āyāgapaṭa*s, architectural elements, or as individual icons. These traditions started in Mathura and from there spread to the other areas of the Indian subcontinent.[2]

The question then arises as to what cultural impetus existed at Mathura in particular that caused these anthropomorphic images of Jinas and Buddhas to be made in stone there rather than at any other place at such early dates. Among all the representations of Jaina monks at Mathura from the second century BCE to the second century CE, only one unusual sect, known as the *ardhaphālaka* sect, can be identified. The *ardhaphālaka* monks are distinguishable by the *colapaṭṭa* worn over their left arm, in the same manner that the antelope skin was worn by Brahmins in early bas reliefs (Fig. 219). The existence of the *ardhaphālaka* sect is not attested to in any region other than Mathura. It can only be sug-

[1] Five surviving representations of seated Jinas in anthropomorphic form on *āyāgapaṭa*s can be dated to a time either earlier than or contemporaneous with the Īsāpur Buddha: the two Jinas on the Dhanamitra *āyāgapaṭa* (Figs. 141 and 142b), the Jina on the Ferenc Hopp Museum *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 146), the Jina on the British Museum *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 154), and the figure of Pārśvanātha on the Pārśvanātha *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 151). These all postdate the seated figures of Ṛṣabhanātha on the Ṛṣabhanātha architrave (Fig. 27).

[2] The region of Gandhāra is perhaps an exception.

gested that this heterodox sect of Jainism particularly favored the use of anthropomorphic images of Jinas. They apparently achieved a high degree of lay support at Mathura, as the numerous lay donations to early *ardhaphālaka* Jaina foundations at Mathura indicate. Thus, the *ardhaphālaka* Jainas, who were localized in Mathura, provided *śramaṇic* precedent for the depiction of enlightened liberated beings as human figures in stone.

Very little is known about the *ardhaphālaka* sect of monks at Mathura, aside from passages in Jaina texts of much later dates and scattered references in Buddhist texts to *nirgrantha*s who wear a single piece of cloth.[3] They seem to have become subsumed into the more fully clothed Śvetambara sect by around the fourth century CE, and no other sculptural representations of *ardhaphālaka*s are to be found subsequent to that time. Medieval texts, such as the *Bhadrabāhu-kathānaka*, suggest that they covered the front of their bodies with the *colapaṭṭa* to avoid offending householders while begging alms and interacting with the laity.[4] If this were indeed the case, then the practice of wearing the *colapaṭṭa*, which subverted the pre-schismatic orthodox Jaina injunction of total nudity, implies that the *ardhaphālaka*s were concerned with cultivating relationships with the laity at Mathura.

The early sculptural evidence at Mathura indicates that its residents strongly favored anthropomorphic and iconic representations of divinities, since greater numbers of images of various *yakṣa*s, *yakṣī*s, *nāga*s, Buddhas, and *tīrthaṅkara*s and other gods such as Agni, Balarāma, and Vṛṣṇi heroes that date to between the second century BCE and the early second century CE have been recovered from Mathura than from any other region in the Indian subcontinent.[5] Many of these specific divinities, such as Agni, are exclusive to

---

[3] Later Jaina sources relate that the *ardhaphālaka*s, known for their lax principles, arose as a sect during the late fourth to early third century BCE during the lifetime of the Jaina preceptor Bhadrabāhu, who lived during the reign of Chandragupta Maurya (see Chimanlal J. Shah, "Jainism in Northern India," p. 68, fn. 5). The account of the life of Bhadrabāhu dating to the tenth century, namely the *Bhadrābāhu-kathānaka* of Hariṣeṇa, is the earliest version of the story that contains a discussion of the *ardhaphālaka* monks (for a summary of the relevant versions of the *Bhadrabāhucarita*, see Padmanabh S. Jaini, "Jaina Monks from Mathura: Literary Evidence for their Identification on Kuṣāṇa Sculptures," p. 479, fn. 2).

Dieter Schlingloff cited the Buddhist *Aṅguttaranikāya* III, p. 383, 28 as referring to a '*Nigaṇṭhā Ekasāṭakā*,' or a 'Jaina monk who wears one garment.' (Dieter Schlingloff, "Jainas and other 'Heretics' in Buddhist Art," pp. 71–72, and fn. 9).

Padmanabh S. Jaini cited several other Buddhist texts that seem to make reference to the Jaina monks who wear one garment, who might be identifiable with the *ardhaphālaka*s seen in the sculpted reliefs from Mathura. These texts include the *Dhammapada-Aṭṭhakathā*, dating to the fifth century CE, and the *Udāna-Aṭṭhakathā*, which dates to around the sixth century CE. They mention a group of almost nude Jaina ascetics who 'at least wear a covering in front,' thereby distinguishing them from *acelaka nigaṇṭha*s (P. S. Jaini, "Jaina Monks from Mathura: Literary Evidence for their Identification on Kuṣāṇa Sculptures," pp. 489–90).

[4] A section in the account of the life of Bhadrabāhu (the earliest version of which dates to ca. sixth century CE, but the version containing the story of the origin of the *ardhaphālaka*s dates to the tenth century CE) relates that the *ardhaphālaka*s began to wear the *colapaṭṭa* during a drought when begging alms from housewives, who otherwise would be horrified by the appearance of the nude monks. See the relevant excerpt in P. S. Jaini, "Jaina Monks from Mathura: Literary Evidence for their Identification on Kuṣāṇa Sculptures," pp. 480–85. P. S. Jaini further observed: "The *Bhadrabāhu-kathānaka* seems to provide the missing link in the story of the naked monk on his nocturnal begging rounds frightening a pregnant woman resulting in a miscarriage. This led to the lay people's request that the monks should henceforth visit the households covering themselves with a half-a-piece of cloth held on their left arm. The correspondence between these words and the way in which the Mathura monks are shown covering their nudity—with a short piece of cloth held on their left forearm—is truly remarkable and may not be purely accidental" (Ibid., p. 485).

[5] This tradition of iconic representation of deities continued throughout the Kuṣāṇa period of the second and third centuries CE, far greater numbers and varieties of divinities were rendered in anthropomorphic iconic representations at Mathura than in any other single region.

the iconic repertoire of Mathura during this period. If the *ardhaphālaka*s wished to make their art and religion appealing to the people of Mathura so as to effect more conversions to their faith, perhaps they encouraged the depiction of their Jinas in human form, to accord with the distinctively strong local tradition of representing divinities as anthropomorphic icons. The abundance of stone sculptures from *ardhaphālaka* Jain sites in Mathura far exceeds the Buddhist or Hindu material recovered from Mathura before the second century CE. The *ardhaphālaka*s' propensity for representing *arhat*s in human form may have been one factor that contributed to the rise of the anthropomorphic representation of the Buddha at Mathura. Perhaps the *ardhaphālaka*s, who were a non-Brāhmanical monastic sect reliant upon lay support like the Buddhists, created a cultural climate in which *arhat*s were depicted in the form of anthropomorphic icons. The well-attested rivalry between Buddhists and Jainas,[6] coupled with the prosperity of the *ardhaphālaka*s, who caused their *arhat*s to be pictured as humans, could have at least in part induced the Buddhists similarly to take part in the iconic image-making tradition of Mathura when depicting the Buddha. The *ardhaphālaka*s were already heterodox in their use of the *colapaṭṭa*; they could similarly be heterodox in their choice to represent Jinas and monks.

Another factor contributing to the rise of the anthropomorphic Buddha image in the early first century CE may have been the influx of new patrons from the northwest, namely, the *kṣatrapa*s Rajūvula, Śoḍāsa, and their family members. Major and important works of Buddhist art from Mathura (e.g. the Īsāpur Buddha image, the large sculpted rail posts from Govindnagar, the tympanum in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts) were all produced during the reign of the Sakas. We know that the Saka *kṣatrapa*s generously patronized Buddhism at Mathura, for, according to the Mathura lion capital inscriptions, they established a monastery, a relic of Śākyamuni Buddha, and a *stūpa*. Other Śaka *kṣatrapa*s in Gandhāra were also steady patrons of Buddhism, frequently donating relics, *stūpa*s, and manuscripts. In fact, the archaeological and epigraphic evidence implies that the Śaka *kṣatrapa*s supported Buddhism in the first century CE much more than the Kuṣāṇas ever did. Although the Sakas generously supported monasteries with gifts of relics, *stūpa*s, and texts, there is no evidence that they donated figural images of the Buddha either in Mathura or in Gandhāra until the early years of the reign of Kaniṣka. This was when the great Bala image was funded also by *kṣatrapa*s, probably governing Mathura or Sarnath (kāśi) under Kaniṣka. The religion of the Kuṣāṇas was more akin to Iranian religions, centered on deities such as Nana, as is indicated in the Rabatak inscriptions and in the majority of their own coin legends. The Sakas who worked under them, however, may have continued to practice Buddhism.

The emergence of the anthropomorphic Buddha image in Mathura appears to have been impelled by a combination of factors. The Śaka *kṣatrapa*s entered Mathura by the late first century BCE and supported the Buddhist monastic community with generous endowments. Buddhism, which previously had been much eclipsed by *ardhaphālaka* Jainism,

[6] For a discussion of references in Buddhist literature to the rival Jaina sects, see Dieter Schlingloff, "Jainas and other 'Heretics' in Buddhist Art, pp. 71–74. In this connection, S. B. Deo wrote: "The *Vyavahāra Bhāṣya* refers to a Jewelled *thūba* (*stūpa*) at Mathura, due to which ill-feeling spread between the Jainas and the Buddhists, which ultimately resulted in the defeat of the Buddhists. People at Mathura were said to be devoted to *Jina* images which they installed in their houses" (S. B. Deo, p. 187).

various *yakṣa* and *yakṣī* cults, and Brahmanical sects known mostly from inscriptions, then began to flourish. By the beginning of the Kuṣāṇa period under Kaniṣka more than one hundred years later, Mathura had become one of the most prominent centers of Buddhism in all of the subcontinent, exporting colossal Buddhist icons to such Buddhist sites along the Ganges as Sarnath and Kauśāmbī. However, there is no evidence that the Sakas personally were involved with causing images to be made Kauśāmbī. Patronage had to be combined with the distinctively strong preexisting image-making tradition of Mathura and the precedent, set by the *ardhaphālaka* Jaina monks of the depiction of liberated beings in human form.

The history of pre-Kuṣāṇa art at Mathura is rich and complex, reflective of a vital cosmopolitan center where diverse religions and numerous subsects coexisted and thrived. Their adherents were avid patrons of stone sculpture and edifices continuously after the waning of the Maurya period in the second century BCE, such that the transition to Kuṣāṇa rule under Kaniṣka in 127 CE does not appear to have radically altered the state of affairs. The unique intersection of multiple religious ideals and mores combined with the diverse ethnicities in early Mathura provided a setting for innovations in art and iconography that influenced other regions and affected the subsequent unfolding of Indian art. The study of a school of sculpture, whose very existence has previously only barely been acknowledged, provides us with a historical record of an otherwise obscure chapter in the cultural history of India.

APPENDIX I

INSCRIPTION TRANSCRIPTIONS, TRANSLATIONS, AND NOTES

1. *Dhanabhūti Inscription* (Fig. 1)
Formerly at the Aligarh Institute; current whereabouts unknown

Following drawings published in A. Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey of India*, vol. III, Pl. XVI, no. 21, and H. Lüders, *Mathura Inscriptions*, p. 320, no. 125, the inscription reads:
1. *ka[p]*[1] . . . . . .
2. *bhūti[sa]* . . . . *ts[ī]*
3. *putrasa* . . . . *la*[2]*sa*
4. *dhanabhūtisa dāna vedikā*
5. *toraṇāni ca ratanagraha*[3] *sa-*
6. *rvabudhapujāye sahā mātāpi-*
7. *tihī sahā [ca] catu[hi] pariṣāhī*

Translation:
"The gift of Dhanabhūti . . . of—la, son of a—tsī, of—bhūti, a railing and gateways at (?) the *ratanagraha*, for the sake of honoring all the Buddhas, with his mother and father, and with the four assemblies."[4]

2. *Yavanarajya Inscription* (Fig. 118)
Found at Mathura
Government Museum, Mathura
GMM 88.150

---

[1] *ka[h]* is also possible.

[2] Lüders objected to the reading of this *akṣara* as *la*, because ". . . *la* never shows a slanting bottom line as the letter in the facsimile. Considering that Cunningham was unable to decipher the last but one letter in the second line, it is very probable that the corresponding letter in the third line also was defaced and that the sign given in the facsimile is imaginary" (H. Lüders, ed. *Bharhut Inscriptions*, p. 12, fn. 6). However, I feel that this is an unnecessarily uncharitable interpretation. The presence of the *akṣara* is clear in the facsimile, and it seems more plausible to explain the slanting bottom of the letter as scribal error than as fabrication of the entire *akṣara*. Otherwise, the character is clearly readable as *la* (Fig. 1).

[3] Lüders read *ratnagrh[e]*, but from the facsimiles of the inscription I cannot make out the vowel '*e*.' (*Mathura Inscirptions*, p. 212). In his "A List of Brahmi Inscriptions," however, he read *ratnagriha*. In *Bharhut Inscriptions* (p. 13, fn. 2), he noted that "the '*e*' sign is missing in the facsimiles, but probably only by oversight."

[4] The 'four assemblies' (*catuhi pariṣāhī*; Sanskrit *pariṣad*) probably refer to the four sections of the Buddhist community: monks, nuns, laymen (*upāsaka*s) and laywomen (*upāsikā*s). B. C. Law, *Historical Geography of Ancient India*, pp. 106–107, and Franklin Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary*, p. 331.

1. *yavanarajyasya ṣoḍaśottare varṣaśate 100 10 6 hemata māse 4 divase 30 etaye purvaye*
2. *brāhmaṇasya maitreyasa gotrasya ghoṣadatta putrasya sārthavāhasya vīrabalasya māturāhogaṇiya udapāni*
3. *puṣkariṇi saha putreṇa vīrabalena vadhuye bhāgureye pautrehi ca śuradattena ṛṣabhadevena viradattena ca puṇyaṃ vardhatu*

Translation:[5]
"On this day, the year one hundred sixteen, 116, of the Yavana kingdom, in the fourth month of winter on the thirtieth day . . .
[This is] the well and tank of Āhogaṇi, the mother of the merchant Vīrabala, who was the son of Ghoṣadatta, a Brahmin of the Maitreya clan (*gotra*), with [her] son Vīrabala, daughter-in-law Bhāgurī, and grandsons Śuradatta, Ṛṣabhadeva, and Vīradatta.
May (their) merit increase."

Notes:
The inscription is carved on a red sandstone slab, and it was discovered by chance in 1988 in a field in a village outside the city of Mathura. If the Year One Hundred Sixteen can be reckoned to the Yavana era of 186 or 185 BCE, then the inscription itself dates to 70 or 69 BCE. The day on which the well and tank were dedicated coincides with the last day of the year (thirtieth day of the fourth month of winter), which, as noted by Fussman, is a day of festival (*holī*).[6] This inscription does not specifically record the gift or construction of the well and tank, but the donative act is probably implicit.

Fussman read Rāhogaṇā for the name of the donor, dividing the compound *māturāhogaṇiya* as *mātu rāhogaṇiya*. However, because this inscription—like many early inscriptions of Brahmins (see, e.g., Appendix I.10 and I.11)—is written in relatively accurate classical Sanskrit grammar, and the form of *mātur* is a correct Sanskrit genitive, I propose dividing the compound into *mātur* and *āhogaṇiya*. Both Rāhogaṇā and Āhogaṇi, however, are unusual names, not encountered elsewhere, to my knowledge, so there is no extant parallel to argue in favor of one name over the other.

It has been suggested that the Year One Hundred Sixteen should be reckoned to the Azes era of 57 BCE.[7] or the era of Maues of ca. 80 BCE.,[8] but many other inscriptions dating to the Azes or Maues era have been discovered, and none refers to it as the time of Yavana dominion (*yavanarajya*). It is true that 'Yavana' need not refer to Greeks in particular—although the word is derived from 'Ionian'—and it can refer to other kinds of western foreigners in general. However, at this early time, it was much more common for Yavana to refer to the Indo-Greeks than to the Indo-Parthians or Śakas like Azes or Maues,

[5] For alternative although similar, translations of this inscription, see Pushpa Thakurel, "Yavana Inscription from Mathurā," p. 23; B. N. Mukherjee, "Ob odnoj nadpisi iz Matxury i o ee znacenii dlja problemy Javanov i saka-paxlavov" ("A Mathura Epigraph and Its Bearing on the Yavanas and Saka-Pahlavas"), pp. 87–91; G. Fussman, "L'Indo-Grec Ménandre ou Paul Demiéville Revisité," p. 113. I thank Richard Salomon for his helpful comments regarding the translation.
[6] G. Fussman, "L'Indo-Grec Ménandre ou Paul Demiéville Revisité," p. 114.
[7] B. N. Mukherjee, "Ob odnoj nadpisi iz Matxury i o ee znacenii dlja problemy Javanov i saka-paxlavov" pp. 87–91.
[8] Joe Cribb, "The Early Kushan Kings: New Evidence for Chronology," pp. 177–205.

especially since the inscriptions that do refer to these latter groups at Mathura do not use the term Yavana. Hence, I prefer to understand the Year One Hundred Sixteen of Yavana hegemony to concur with the era identified by Richard Salomon as the Yavana era (*yoṇaṇa vaṣae*) and corresponding to 186 or 185 BCE.[9] This yields a date of 70 or 69 BCE.

3. *Mānibhadra Inscription*
Found at Parkham, on the base of the *yakṣa* (Figs. 15–17)
Government Museum, Mathura
GMM C.1

Lüders transcribed the inscription as follows:
1. *(mā)nibhadapuge[h]i kā(r)i(t)ā (bha)ga[va]to (patimā)*
2. *aṭha(h)i [bhātu]hi*
3. *kuṇikatevāsinā gomitakena katā*

Translation by H. Lüders:
"The image of the Holy One was caused to be made by eight brothers, members of the Mānibhada (*māṇibhadra*) congregation. It has been made by Gomitaka, the pupil of Kuṇika."[10]

Notes:
D. C. Sircar stated that Māṇibhadra is just an orthographical variant of the name Maṇibhadra, and the version with the lengthened *ā* does not necessarily refer to followers of Maṇibhadra, but Lüders suggested that it could.[11] Either argument is plausible depending on the context.

4. Yakṣī *Lāyāvā Inscription*
Found at Jhingki Nagara, on the base of the *yakṣī* (Figs. 98–99)
Government Museum, Mathura
GMM 72.1

1. *sā putehi kārito*
2. *yakhilāyāvā kuṇikāte*
3. *(vāsinā nāke) na katā*

Translation: "(This image of the) Yakṣī Lāyāvā has been caused to be made by . . . together with his sons, and made by Nāka, pupil of Kuṇika" (cf. V. S. Agrawala, "Pre-Kusana Art of Mathura," in *Studies in Indian Art*, p. 118).

5. *Māṇibhadra Inscription*
Found at Masharfa, Uttar Pradesh; current location unknown

[9] Richard Salomon, "The Indo-Greek Era of 186/5 BCE in a Buddhist Reliquary Inscription."
[10] H. Lüders, *Mathura Inscriptions*, pp. 177–178.
[11] D. C. Sircar, "Two Brāhmī Inscriptions," p. 42, and H. Lüders, *Mathura Inscriptions*, p. 178.

The carving of this inscription mentioning Maṇibhadra, found at Masharfa near Kauśāmbī, is clear and legible. Its paleography points to a date sometime in the first century BCE, and it is remarkably close to the inscription on the Bhikhu Phagula *śilā* from Kauśāmbī (Fig. 130; Appendix II.6). D. C. Sircar also suggested a date in the late first century BCE. The following transcription is based on the impression published by D. C. Sircar:[12]

1. *namo bhagavat[o]*
2. *sathavāhasa*
3. *māṇibhadasa*
4. *gahapatikasa*
5. *ejāvatiputasa*
vārisa (inserted in small characters between lines 5 and 6)
6. *putogahapatiko*
7. *seliyāputo*
8. *kusapālonāmā*
9. *tasaputena*
10. *gahapatikena*
11. *gotiputena*
12. *aśikāya[ṃ] kāritā*
13. *vedikā piyata*
14. (effaced, but D. C. Sircar posited "*bhagavā*")

Translation:
"Adoration to the Holy One! A *vedikā* was caused to be made at Aśikā by Gotiputa, a householder, who was the son of one named Kusapāla, a householder who was the son of Seliyā and the householder Vāri, the son of Ejāvati, a follower of Maṇibhada and the leader of a caravan. May (the Holy One) be pleased."[13]

Notes:
An alternative translation similar to that proffered by D. C. Sircar reads as follows: "Adoration to the Holy One, the leader (protector?) of caravans, Māṇibhada! A *vedikā* was caused to be made at Aśikā by Gotiputa, a householder, who was the son of one named Kusapāla, a householder who was the son of Seliyā and the householder Vāri, the son of Ejāvati. May (the Holy One) be pleased."[14] However, I prefer the former version because *sathavāha* (Sanskrit *sārthavāha*), which means the leader of a caravan or a merchant trader, seems more appropriate in reference to a person than to a *yakṣa*. Moreover, the Yavanrajya inscription from Mathura dated to the Year One Hundred Sixteen of Yavana hegemony also refers to the son of the primary donor as a *sārthavāha* (see Appendix I.2); hence it seems to refer to a human occupation rather than a divine protectorate.

---

[12] D. C. Sircar, "Two Brāhmī Inscriptions," Pl. I.
[13] This general interpretation is similar to the one suggested by Daya Ram Sahni, "Three Brahmi Inscriptions from Kosam," in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 158–160.
[14] Cf. D. C. Sircar, "Two Brāhmī Inscriptions," p. 45.

6. *Kulūta Inscription*[15]
Found at Mathura; current location unknown

After Lokesh Chandra:
1. *gotīputrasa rāhilasa pautrasa (. . .)si(pt)ī putrasa [p]rahastasa putrasa ku(. . .)ī-putrasa magakasa kulūtasa*
2. *puṣkiriṇī arama sabhā śilāpaṭṭa sakūpeṇe prīyatāṃ bhaga[vaṃ Mahe]śvara*

Translation after Lokesh Chandra:
"May Lord Maheśvara be pleased with the reservoir tank, park, community hall, and stone slab along with a well [constructed for public welfare] by the lord of the treasury (*magaka*) Ku[. . .]īputra Kulūta, the son of [. . .]si(pt)īputra [P]rahasta, and the grandson of Gotīputra Rāhila."

7. *Rasimitra Inscription* (Fig. 42)
Found at Amin, Rajasthan (on the *mithuna* pillar, Fig. 42)
National Museum, New Delhi

1. *bhikhunikā potasa rasimitra mātu dānam*

Translation:
"Gift of the mother of Rasimitra, the grandson of Bhikhunikā"[16]

Notes:
The name of Rasimitra's grandmother, possibly the mother of the donor, Bhikhunikā, might indicate that she was a Buddhist nun and that the pillar from Amin belonged to a Buddhist foundation.

8. *Bharaṇa Kalan* Yakṣa *Inscription* (Figs. 88 and 89)
Found at Bharaṇa Kalan, Mathura
Government Museum, Mathura
GMM 87.145

1. *amatyena prati[hār](e)[na] . . .*
2. *(?)[jayagh](o)[ṣ](eṇa) . . . . . . [to] prai*
3. . . . *(no)*[17]

Translation:
". . . by Jayaghoṣa, the minister in charge of the gate-keepers (?) . . ."
See the translation and notes in Appendix I.9.

[15] See Lokesh Chandra, "Stone Inscription of Kuluta from Mathura," pp. 334–338.
[16] R. C. Agrawala, "Śuṅga Pillars from Amin, Near Kurukshetra," p. 52.
[17] Epigraphs read by Lore Sander. See Doris Meth Srinivasan, "Newly Discovered Inscribed Mathura Sculptures of Probable Doorkeepers, Dating to the Kṣatrapa Period," p. 64 and photos, p. 68.

9. *Bharaṇa Kalan Agni Inscription* (Figs. 86 and 87)
Found at Bharaṇa Kalan, Mathura
Government Museum, Mathura
GMM 87.146

1. *(a)[m](a)ty[e]na pratihāre-*
2. *[na]. . . . jayaghoṣena*
3. *[bh](aga)[v](a)to ā[gn]isa pra[t]i[m](ā)*
opposite side:
1. *[ka]ritā p[rī]yaṃtāṃ[a]ga[ya]*[18]

Translation:
"An image of the Holy One Agni was caused to be made by Jayghoṣa, the minister in charge of the gate-keepers (?).
May [Agni] be pleased!"

Notes:
An alternative reading for *prati* in line 1 is *putra*, such that the missing words in lines 1 and 2 might be names of relatives of Jayaghoṣa instead of his title or occupation. If, however, *āmātya pratihāra* is the correct reading, it is uncertain exactly what this person's position was. Lore Sander understood this person to be a minister who guarded the city gates, but most ministers were not doorkeepers. Hence, I have chosen to understand his function to be more bureaucratic, as a minister who oversees the keeping of the gates.

10. *Mirjāpur Stele Inscription*[19] (Fig. 216)
Found at Mirjāpur, Mathura
Government Museum, Mathura
GMM 79.29

1. *svāmisya mahākṣatrapasya śuṃḍāsasya gāṃjavarasya brāhmaṇasya*
2. *śegravasa gotrasya mūlavasusya bhāryaye vasusya mātare*
3. *kauśikīye pākṣakāye kāritā puṣkariṇi imāṣāṃ yamaḍa pu-*
4. *ṣkaraṇīṇāṃ pūrvapuṣkaraṇi ārāmo sabhā udapāṇā staṃbho śiriye prati[mā]*
5. *ye śilāpaṭā ca*

Translation:
"Kauśikī Pākṣakā, mother of Vasu and wife of Mūlavasu, treasurer of *svāmi mahākṣatrapa* Śuṃḍāsa and a Brahmin belonging to the Śegrava *gotra*, caused the eastern of the twin tanks, a garden, an assembly hall, a well, a pillar, and stone slabs with the image of Śrī to be made."

---

[18] Ibid.
[19] Cf. R. C. Sharma, "New Inscriptions from Mathura," in *Mathura: The Cultural Heritage*, ed. Doris Meth Srinivasan ed., pp. 308–310.

11. *Jamālpur-Ṭīlā Stele Inscription*[20]
Found at Jamālpur-Ṭīlā, Mathura
Current location unknown

1. . . . *svāmisya mahākṣatrapasya śoṃḍāsasya gaṃjavareṇa brāhmaṇena śegravasa gotreṇa [p](uṣka-)*
2. . . . *raṇi imāṣāṃ yamaḍapuṣkaraṇīnāṃ paścimā puṣkaraṇi udapāno ārāmo staṃbho i[yaṃ]*
3. *śilāpaṭṭo ca* . . .

Translation:
"By the treasurer of *svāmi mahākṣatrapa* Soṃḍāsa, a Brahmin of the Śegrava *gotra* . . . a tank, the western tank of these twin tanks, a reservoir, a grove, a pillar, and a stone slab (were caused to be made)."

12. *Fragmentary Inscription on a Broken Slab from Mathura*
Indian Museum, Calcutta
N.S. 6482

1. . . . *ūvulasya putrasya mahākṣatrapasya śo* . . .
2. . . . *ti pārvato prasāde(*or *do) sabhāḥ śilāpaṭā* . . .
3. . . . *tavīryo raṇe rajūlaś ca pi[tā]* . . .
4. . . . *sasyedam arcā* . . .

Translation:
. . . of the *mahākṣatrapa* Śo(ḍāsa), son of (Raj)ūvula . . . a temple like a mountain, an assembly hall, stone slabs . . . whose heroism in battle, and (his) father Rajūla . . . this . . . of his is adored.

Notes:
Lüders and Janert preferred the reading *prasādo* over *prasāde*, but the vowel line is clearly only to the right of the "*-da-*" *akṣara*, giving the reading *de*. However, *prasādo* would not be problematic; instead, it would mean that the *śilāpaṭa* was set up with the temple rather than in the temple.[21]

13. *Morā Well Inscription*[22] (Fig. 267)
Found at Morā, Mathura
Government Museum, Mathura
GMM Q.1

[20] See, *inter alia*, Georg Bühler, *The Academy*, XXXIX, 1891, p. 374; Alexander Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Reports*, III, 1873, p. 30, Pl. 13; Dowson, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, V, 1870, p. 188; F. S. Growse, *Mathura, A District Memoir*, p. 172; Heinrich Lüders, *Indian Antiquary*, p. 149; H. Lüders, "A List of Brahmi Inscriptions," no. 82; and H. Lüders, *Mathura Inscriptions*, pp. 99–100.

[21] H. Lüders, *Mathura Inscriptions*, K. Janert ed., Göttingen, 1961, p. 204.

[22] Cf. *inter alia* V. S. Agrawala, "Catalogue of the Mathura Museum: Architectural Pieces," *Journal f the Uttar Pradesh Historical Society*, XXIV–XXV, 1951–1952, pp. 130–132; Alexander Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey of India Reports*, vol. XX, 1885, p. 49; Heinrich Lüders, *Mathura Inscriptions*, K. Janert ed., 1961, p. 154;

1. *mahakṣatrapasa rāṃjūvulasa putrasa svāmi . . .*
2. *bhagavatāṃ vṛṣṇīnā[ṃ] paṃcavīrāṇāṃ pratimā[ḥ] śailadevagṛ[he] . . .*
3. *ya[s] toṣāyāḥ śailaṃ śrīmadgṛham atulam udadha samadhāra . . .*
4. *ārcādeśāṃ śailām paṃca jvalata iva paramavapuṣā . . .*

Translation:
. . . of the son of *mahakṣatrapa* Rāṃjūvula, *svāmi* . . . The images of the holy *paṃcavīra*s of the Vṛṣṇis . . . the stone shrine . . . whom the magnificent matchless stone house of Toṣā was erected and maintained . . . five objects of adoration made of stone, radiant, as it were with highest beauty . . .

Notes:
The name of Śoḍāsa is illegible due to the damaged stone, but the titles that survive seem to refer unquestionably to Śoḍāsa: "the *mahākṣatrapa*, the son of Rajūvula, the honorable . . ." (*mahakṣatrapasa rāṃjūvulasa putrasa svāmi* . . .). No person besides Śoḍāsa known to date has this same epithet.

14. *Katrā* Toraṇa *Fragment*[23] (Fig. 217)
Found at Mathura
Government Museum, Mathura
GMM 54.3768

1. . . . *śoṃḍāsasa āmātyasa*
2. *-itadeviye toraṇaṃ kāri[ta]ṃ*

Translation:
". . . a gateway was caused to be made by -itadevi (the wife of ?) the minister of Śoṃḍāsa"

Notes:
Both R. C. Sharma and John Rosenfield have rendered the inscription as reading ". . . gateway was made by . . . [the wife?] of the minister of Śoḍāsa" (. . . *Śonḍāsasa armātyasa* . . . *(bhāryā)ye deviye toraṇaṃ kāritaṃ*).[24] However, there is no indication of the existence of the word 'wife' (*bharyā*), and the *akṣara* preceding the hitherto ignored word *deviye* is not '*-ye*.' Rather, two other *akṣaras*, '*(. . .)i*' and '*ta*' are visible before *deviye*, which would probably have formed part of the first half of a woman's name ending in *-devi*. Since a female donor often includes the name of her husband in the donative record, we may suggest that -itadevi could have been the wife of a minister of Śoḍāsa, but no evidence of this spousal relationship

H. Lüders, *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. XXIV, pp. 194 ff., Ramaprasad Chanda, *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, vol. I, p. 22; R. Chanda, "Archaeology and Vaishnava Tradition," *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, vol. V, 1920, pp. 160 ff.; J. P. Vogel, *Catalogue of the Archaeological Museum at Mathura*, Allahabad, 1910, p. 184.

[23] Cf. R. C. Sharma, "New Inscriptions from Mathurā," in *Mathura: The Cultural Heritage*, ed. Doris Meth Srinivasan, p. 311 and p. 318, fn. 18.

[24] Ibid. p. 309 and p. 315 fn. 18; and John M. Rosenfield, "An Early Inscribed Sculpture Fragment from Mathura."

remains in the inscription. Since the name of the female donor can be identified as -itadevi, then R. C. Sharma's theory that the minister of Śoḍāsa mentioned in this inscription can be identified with the Brahmin Mūlavasu of the inscription on the Mirjāpur stele (Appendix I.10) is unlikely, since the wife of Mūlavasu was Kauśikī Pākṣakā.[25] Hence, there are no grounds to support the conclusion that the Katrā *toraṇa* fragment belonged to a Bhagavata Hindu temple site. The fact that it was recovered from Katrā Keśavadeva, the site of the birthplace of Krishna, does not support a Hindu orientation for this sculpture, since Buddhist objects have been found there as well, such as the famous Katrā Buddha.

15. *Vasu Doorjamb Inscription*[26] (Fig. 264)
Found at Mathura
Government Museum, Mathura
GMM 13.367

1. *[va]* . . .
2. *sa [ṣ]ya* . . .
3. *va s-* . . .
4. *p* . . . *śi* . . .
5. *ṣapu[t]reṇa kauśi* . . .
6. *vasunā bhaga[va]* . . .
7. *vasya mahāsthāna* . . .
8. *lam toraṇam ve* . . .
9. *ṣṭhāpito prīto* . . .
10. *devaḥ svāmis-* . . .
11. *pasya śoḍā—* . . .
12. *saṃvartayatāṃ* . . .

(lines 1—5 are un-translatable)
6. by Vasu, the Lord . . .
7. the great temple of—va . . .
8. the gateway . . .
9. was established, pleased . . .
10. —deva of *svāmi* . . .
11. —pa Śoḍā[sa] . . .
12. Let it/him be promoted . . .

Reconstruction by H. Lüders and K. Janert:[27]
1. *(s)[v](āmisya mahākṣatrapasya Śoḍā—)*
2. *sa[s]ya . . . (. . . di—)*

[25] R. C. Sharma, "New Inscriptions from Mathura," in *Mathura: The Cultural Heritage*, ed. Doris Meth Srinivasan, p. 311.
[26] Cf. Ramaprasad Chanda, "Archaeology and the Vaishnava Tradition," pp. 169–173, Pls. XXV and XXVI; H. Lüders, "Epigraphical Notes," pp. 208–210 and *Mathura Inscriptions*, p. 155; D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, p. 123.
[27] H. Lüders, *Mathura Inscriptions*, p. 115.

3. *[vas](e)* . . .
4. *[p] . . . [ṇa] śi[v]a (. . .)*
5. *ṣapu[t]r[e]ṇa kauśi[kī] (putreṇa)*
6. *vasunā bhaga[va](to vāsude-)*
7. *vasya mahāsthāna (. . . śai)*[28]
8. *laṃ toraṇaṃ ve(dikā ca prati-)*
9. *ṣṭhāpito prīto [bha](gavān vāsu-)*
10. *devaḥ svāmi[sya](mahākṣatra-)*
11. *pasya śoḍā[sa](sya . . .)*
12. *saṃvartayatāṃ* . . .

Translation:
". . . a stone *toraṇa* and railing were caused to be erected by Vasu at the . . . of the great temple of lord Vāsudeva. May lord Vāsudeva, being pleased, promote (the dominion or life or vigor) of *svāmi mahākṣatrapa* Śoḍāsa."

16. *Inscription on the Kaṭhika Railing Pillar with Yakṣa*[29] (Figs. 185–187)
Found at Caubārā-Ṭīlā, Mathura
Government Museum, Mathura
GMM J.7

1. *abhyaṃtaropastāyakasa kaṭhikasa dānaṃ*

Translation:
"Gift of Kaṭhika, servant of the interior."[30]

17. *Inscription on the Kaṭhika Railing Pillar with* Yakṣī (Fig. 189)
Found at Caubārā-Ṭīlā, Mathura
Private Collection, Switzerland

After G. Bhattacharya:[31]
1. *(abh)ya(ṃ)taropathāyakasa kaṭhikasa*
2. *(dānaṃ) śaravaṇake ācāryānā mahā-*
3. *(saṃghi)yānaṃ parigrahe*

[28] Sircar preferred the equally plausible '*(devaku)laṃ*' to the "*(śai)laṃ*" reconstruction. D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, p. 123.
[29] Cf. V. S. Agrawala, "Catalogue of the Mathura Museum, Architectural Pieces," p. 10.
[30] For comments on the translation of *abhyaṃtraopastāyaka* as 'servant of the interior,' rather than 'servant in the royal harem.' (Cf. G. Bhattacharya, "Two donations in favour of the Mahāsāṅghikas of Mathura," p. 3).
[31] The transcription and analysis of this inscription are provided by Gouriswar Bhattacharya, "Two donations in favour of the Mahāsāṅghikas of Mathura," pp. 3–4, under the rubric 'Inscription No. 2.'

Translation:
"The gift of Kaṭhika, the servant of the interior at Śaravaṇaka, for the acceptance of the Mahāsāṃghika teachers."[32]

18. *Jankhat Doorjamb Inscription of Virasena*[33] (Figs. 193–194)
Found at Jankhat, Farrukhabad District, Uttar Pradesh
Kannauj Archaeological Museum
KAM 79/219

1. *svamisa virasenasa*
2. *saṃvatsare 10 3 gishmā-*
3. *nāṃ pākshe 4 divase 8 paṃ-*
4. *cāme . . . kā vā-*
5. *ya. . . . ta*
6. *vi . . . naya*
7. *vu . . . na . . .*

Translation:
"On the fifth day of the fourth fortnight of summer, in the Year Thirteen of the Lord Virasena. . . ."

Notes:
Scholars have previously equated the Virasena mentioned in the inscription on the Jankhat doorjamb with a king of the Nāga dynasty whose name appears on coins dating to the third century CE, recovered from Mathura and the neighboring Pañcāla region.[34] Hence, the inscription, as well as the doorjambs, have hitherto been dated to the third century CE. However, the paleography of this inscription concurs with that of others dating to around the late first century BCE, which is the date to which the accompanying sculptures on the doorjamb are best attributed. Nevertheless, scholars such as Pargiter and Jayaswal have propounded opposing and conflicting opinions regarding imputed third century CE paleographical features, in an attempt to attribute a third century CE date for the Jankhat doorjamb inscription simply on the basis of the appearance of the name Virasena, which could refer to an individual other than the king named Vīrasena on coinage of the third century CE.

[32] Bhattacharya prefers to translate *abhyaṃtaropasthāyaka* as 'servant of the royal harem.'

[33] Cf. H. Lüders "A List of Brahmi Inscriptions," no. 684a; Richard Burn, "Note on Indian Coins and Inscriptions," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1900, p. 553; F. E. Pargiter, "Jankhat Inscription of the Time of Virasena," pp. 85–87 and plate; K. P. Jayaswal, *History of India: 150 AD–350 AD*, pp. 19–24; and Joanna Williams, *The Art of Gupta India: Empire and Province*, pp. 16–18.

[34] K. P. Jayaswal, *History of India: 150 AD–350 AD*, pp. 19–24, and Pl. I.

19. *Balahastinī Doorjamb Inscription* (Figs. 234–236)[35]
Found at Mathura
State Musem, Lucknow
SML J.532

1. . . . *mo ahaṃtānaṃ śramaṇa śrāvikāye*
2. *[ba]lahastinīye toraṇaṃ pratisṭāpi* . . .
3. *sahā mātā pitihi sahā*
4. *saśrūsa śaśureṇa*

Translation:
"Adoration to the *arhat*s! A *toraṇa* was set up by Balahastinī, a lay pupil of the ascetics, with her mother, father, mother-in-law, and father-in-law."

Notes:
The first *akṣara* of the name 'Balahastinī' is somewhat effaced, and could also be read as '*ma*' rather than '*ba*,' but 'Malahastinī' would be a very unusual name.

Amohini, the donor of the contemporaneous Amohini *āyavati*, was also a *śramaṇa śrāvikā*, a female lay pupil of the ascetics (Appendix II.15).

20. *Mahāvīra Pedestal Inscription* (Figs. 309 and 310)
Found at Mathura
State Museum, Lucknow
SML J.2

1. *nama svarva śidhaṃ ārahāttanā[ṃ] mahārājasya rājatirājasya svarvacchara svate d-*
2. *200 (?) 90 9(?) hematamāse 2 [di]vase 1 ārahāta mahāvirāsya prātim[ā]*
3. . . . *sya okhārikāye dhitu ukatikāye ca okhāye svāvika bhagīṇī*
4. . . . *śīrikasya śīvadīnasya ca vata ārāhātāyatāne sthāpīto*
5. . . . *devakula ca*

Translation:
"Adoration to the *siddha*s and the *arhat*s! In the Year Two Hundred . . . of the great king, king of kings, 299, in the second month of winter, on the first day, an image of the *arhat* Mahāvīra was caused to be established in the sanctuary of the *arhat*s by Okhārikā and her daughter Ukatikā, and by Okhā, the lay sister . . . in accordance with a vow of Śīrika and Śivadīna . . . and a shrine."[36]

[35] For a reproduction of an impression taken of the entire inscription, see G. Bühler, "New Jain Inscriptions from Mathura," *Epigraphia Indica*, I, 1892, p. 390, No. xvii.

[36] For a similar, but slightly different translation and discussion of this inscription see H. Lüders, "The Era of the Mahārāja and the Mahārāja Rājātirāja," pp. 281ff.

Notes:
The orthography of this inscription is unique among other inscriptions of the first or early second century CE, especially in the use of *sva-* instead of initial *sa-*. I agree with Lüders that the constancy of this alternate spelling cannot be attributed merely to scribal error, but probably reflects a dialect of the donors, whose names are non-Indian.[37]

It is difficult to determine whether the year should be read as 199 or 299. If the *akṣara* at the beginning of the second line reads as a short *a*, then it would be 199, but if it is a long *ā*, then the date would be 299. The problem is that the horizontal stroke that would indicate lengthening is odd and different from other long *ā akṣara*s in the same inscription, such as the eighth *akṣara* of the first line, the fourteenth *akṣara* of the second line, or the thirteenth *akṣara* of the fourth line. The stroke, which is unmistakably present on the numeral at the beginning of the second line, looks like a flag at the very top of the right vertical stroke, instead of a short stubby horizontal stroke two-thirds of the way down the vertical, as it is rendered on all of the other long *-ā akṣara*s just mentioned. This lack of any parallel example of the long, flag-like stroke to indicate long *ā* suggests that perhaps the "flag" on the numeral was not intended to indicate a lengthening of the *akṣara*. Nevertheless, it does not appear to be a stray or accidental scratch; if the scribe intended it to be there, what else could it mean besides lengthening? Furthermore, the words written before the numerals should spell out the date, and they seem to refer to one hundred instead of two hundred, but unfortunately the words are difficult to interpret with certainty and are incomplete because of breakage of the stone.

If the year is 299, then perhaps it should be reckoned to the same era as the *yavanarajya* inscription of the Year One Hundred Sixteen, which is another date in the early corpus of Mathura inscriptions that is in the hundreds. That era has recently been identified as beginning in 186 or 185 BCE, which thereby yields a date of 113 CE for this sculpture, a date that accords well with the style of the sculptures and the paleography, which appear to closely antedate the carvings dated to the early years of the reign of Kaniṣka, ca. 127 CE. Other factors justify the use of the Yavana era for the Mahāvīra pedestal inscription. The names of the donors have been convincingly identified by Lüders as derivative of Greek names.[38] Moreover, the Greeks adopted the Parthian titular 'great king, king of kings,' which is the same title in this inscription. The unnamed ruler remains elusive; perhaps he can be identified as the unnamed Soter Megas, who is likely to have been the Kuṣāṇa monarch Vema Takto, the grandfather of Kaniṣka, who could well have been in power in Mathura in 113 CE. The other possibility is Vema Kadphises, the son of Vema Takto. If Vema Takto began his rule in 78 CE, then perhaps it is more plausible that by 113 CE, his son Vema Kadphises would have succeeded him.

If the year is to be read as 199 and still reckoned to the Yavana era, then the pedestal would date to 13 CE, which falls squarely during the reign of Śoḍāsa. However, no known ruler of Mathura at this time used the title 'great king, king of kings.' Moreover, the

---

[37] Ibid., p. 289. Lüders was able to explain other orthographic peculiarities in this inscription in terms of parallels found in the Śaka language.

[38] He traced the names Okhārikā and Okhā to Greek sources (H. Lüders, "The Era of the Mahārāja and the Mahārāja Rājātirāja," pp. 283–284). In another inscription also on a pedestal of an image of Vardhamāna, a woman named Okharikā is called the daughter of Dimītra, a clearly Greek name (D. R. Sahni, "Seven Inscriptions from Mathura," *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. XIX, 1927–28, p. 67).

sculptural style of the figures on the pedestals is much closer to that of Kuṣāṇa types, and does not concur with the modes of figural representation during the time of Śoḍāsa. So if the date reads 199, a different era would probably have been in use. The only other obvious era would be the Azes era of 58 or 57 BCE, which would yield a date of 142 CE, during the reign of Huviṣka in Mathura. The sculptures on the Mahāvīra pedestal do not have the strength and dynamism of Kuṣāṇa sculptures of this date. Therefore, I conclude that, given the title with unnamed king, the sculptural style, and the paleography, the date should best be read as the Year Two Hundred Ninety-nine of the Yavana era of 186 or 185 BCE, thereby yielding a date of 113 or 114 CE.

This inscribed pedestal then provides evidence that people of Greek descent settled in Mathura, adopted the Jaina faith, and continued to use the old Yavana era up through the early second century CE, during the reign of an unnamed great king, king of kings.

21. *B.18 Buddhist Pedestal Inscription* (Fig. 302)
Found at Mathura
State Museum, Lucknow
SML B.18

1. *. . . varṣamāse 2 divase 6 [pa?] . . . na[gha?]tāṇena bodisāto pratis(th)āpito mi[. . . i?] . . . hābhaye sarava . . .*"

Translation:
"On the sixth day of the second month of the rainy season . . . a bodhisattva was set up by . . . for the sake of . . .".

APPENDIX II

LIST OF *ĀYĀGAPAṬAS* WITH INSCRIPTIONS AND EPIGRAPHICAL NOTES

Listed in chronological order:

1. *Śimitrā* āyāgapaṭa (Figs. 122–123)
Found at Kaṅkālī-Ṭīlā, Mathura
ca. 150 BCE
dark gray sandstone
H. 18" × W. 29" (46 × 74 cm)
State Museum, Lucknow
SML J.256

1. *namo arahato vardhamānasya gotiputrasa*[1] *poṭhayaśa[kasa?]* . . .
kālavāḷasa

2. . . . *kośikiye śimitrāye āyāgapaṭo pra[t]i(thāpito)*

Translation:
"Adoration to the *arhat* Vardhamāna! An *āyāgapaṭa* was set up by Śimitrā, of the Kośiki [family], (wife of?) the *kālavāḷa*, Poṭhayaśa(ka), son of Goti."

Notes:
'Poṭhayaśa(ka)' works well as a name for the husband or other male relation of the donor, especially since the *-yaśa* suffix seems fairly common in names of this period, as seen, for example, in the names 'Phaguyaśa' and 'Śivayaśā' on the Śivayaśā *āyāgapaṭa* (Appendix II.24), and the name "Bhadrayaśa" on the Acalā *āyāgapaṭa* (Appendix II.20). The *-ka* suffix is a common suffix that denotes derivation.

The word *kālavāḷa* is difficult to translate, and it has been variously rendered as 'black serpent' or as an unknown place name or personal name. However, it probably is best understood as an occupation, since a word denoting a profession occurs in this syntactical position in other inscriptions. It possibly refers to a seller or distiller of wine (Sanskrit *kalyavāla, kalyapāla*, or *kallavāla*). However, Lüders suggested that it refers to the title of a high official, because the title *kāla* is found in Kharoṣṭhī documents from Eastern Turkestan.[2] (See also Mātharaka *āyāgapaṭa*, Appendix II.12)

[1] See also the inscription on SML J.56, fragment of a small Jaina image, which reads ". . . *mā arahata pujāye. . . . gotīputrasa īduhā*," and H. Lüders, "A List of Brahmi Inscriptions," nos. 92a, 194, and 442 for other inscriptions with the name Gotiputra from Sanchi and Mathura.
[2] H. Lüders, "Seven Brahmi Inscriptions from Mathura and its Vicinity," p. 204, fn. 3.

The word at the beginning of the second line and immediately preceding *kośikiye*, may be '*bhayāye*' or 'wife,' as has been suggested, but we cannot be sure that it was not another relational word, such as daughter or daughter-in-law, since this word has entirely disappeared.

2. *Okaraṇa* āyāgapaṭa (Fig. 125)
Found at Mathura
ca. 100 BCE
red sandstone
H. 30" × W. 15" (78 × 40 cm)
Patna Museum
PM Arch 5811

1. *okaraṇasa bha[yā](ye) . . .*
2. *āyāgapaṭo dā(nam) . . .*
3. *-ño kitam ara(hata pujāye).*

Translation:
"An *āyāgapaṭa* (was given) by . . ., the wife of Okaraṇa, . . . (for the sake of honoring) the *arhat*s."

Notes:
The right half of the inscription has broken off. The donor in this inscription was previously understood to be 'Okaraṇasata's brother,'[3] but this is a misreading. The first proper name is 'Okaraṇa' with the genitival '-sa' suffix. The '*bha-*' *akṣara* (or 'syllable') seems to be followed by a *-ya*, not a *-ra*. Thus, it is more likely that it was dedicated by 'Okaraṇa's wife' (*bhayāye*), as is common on *āyāgapaṭa*s, rather than his brother.

Only the first two *akṣara*s, '*ara-*,' of what was probably the word '*arahata*' remain in the last line of the inscription, the location where the formulaic '*arahata pujāye*' is found on other *āyāgapaṭa* inscriptions.

3. Āyāgapaṭa *fragment with running animals* (Fig. 126)
Found at Mathura
ca. 100 BCE
buff sandstone
H. 13" × W. 13¾" (33 × 35 cm)
State Museum, Lucknow
SML J.618

This fragment has no surviving inscription.

[3] Stella Kramrisch, *Patna Museum Catalogue of Antiquities*, p. 21.

4. Āyāgapaṭa *fragment with knotted rhizome,* sthāpana, *and* nandyāvarta (Fig. 127)
Found at Mathura
ca. 100 BCE
buff sandstone
SML B.128

This fragment has no surviving inscription

5. *Fragment of -tusikā* āyāgapaṭa (Fig. 129)
Found at Mathura
ca. 75 BCE
red sandstone
H. 19" × W. 11" (48 × 28 cm)
State Museum, Lucknow
SML J.260

1. . . . . *tusikāye*
2. . . . . *(pra)tisṭhāpito*

Translation:
". . . was set up by—tusikā."

Notes:
The *-ye* ending is instrumental, and therefore '—*tusikā*' may have formed the ending of a woman's name, perhaps the name of the donor, the second half of whose name is based on the Sanskrit root *-tuṣ*, 'to please.' However, '—*tusikā*" (Sanskrit—*tuṣikā*) may also form the last three *akṣara*s of *vaituṣika*, which refers to a type of hermit ascetic or *sanyāsin*. *Vaituṣika* hermits may be either Buddhist or Jaina, and they are mentioned in texts dating to the last several centuries BCE, such as the *Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra* (333, 337).

'—*sṭhāpito*' (*sic*.) is the remains of *pratisṭhāpito*, a past passive participle meaning 'was set up' or 'established.'

6. *Bhikhu Phagula* śilā (Fig. 130)
Found at Ghoṣitārāma Monastery, Kauśāmbī
ca. 75 BCE
brown sandstone
H. 21" × W. 21" (55 × 56 cm)
Allahabad University Museum

1. *bhayaṃtasa dharasa āntevāsisa bhikhusa phagulasa . . .*
2. *budhāvase ghoṣitārāme sava budhānāṃ pujāye śilā kā(rito)*[4]

[4] Elements in parentheses are postulated, not read directly from the inscription.

Translation:
"Bhikhu Phagula, the disciple of the honorable Dhara, caused this stone (slab) to be made at Ghoṣitārāma, a place where the Buddha stayed, for the sake of honoring all the Buddhas."

Notes:
Āntevāsisa is best understood as *āntevāsin*, meaning 'a pupil who dwells near or in the house of his teacher,'[5] derivative from *-vasi*, plus the genitival *-sa* suffix, which is parallel in form with the subsequent *bhikhusa Phagulasa*.

The final '*kā-*' *akṣara* of the second line was thought by G. R. Sharma to be the first *akṣara* in the word '*kā(rāpitā)*,'[6] but given the appearance of *kārito*, meaning 'caused to be made,' on the Śivayaśā *āyāgapaṭa* (SML J.255, Appendix II.24) and *kāritā* on the Mirjāpur stele inscription,[7] the lacuna at the end of the inscription may best be filled with *kārito*.

The actual word for 'slab' (Sanskrit *paṭṭa*), was not included in this inscription; only the word for 'stone' (*śilā*) appears; therefore, I have chosen to adhere to the terminology found in the inscription and call this fragment the Bhikhu Phagula *śilā*, rather than *śilāpaṭa*, *āyāgapaṭa*, or *buddhapāda*.

7. *Simla Museum* āyāgapaṭa (Fig. 131)
Found at Kāṅkālī-Ṭīlā, Mathura
ca. 75–50 BCE
red sandstone
H. 14" × W. 16½" × D. 4" (35.56 × 41.91 × 10.16 cm)
State Museum, Himachal Pradesh, Simla
SMHP J.247

This fragment has no surviving inscription.

8. Āyāgapaṭa *fragment with* cakra (Fig. 132)
Found at Kaṇkālī-Tīlā, Mathura[8]
ca. 75 BCE
buff sandstone
H. 7" × W. 10" (17.78 × 25.4 cm)
Government Museum, Mathura
GMM 15.569

This fragment has no surviving inscription.

---

[5] M. Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary* (Oxford, 1992 reprint of first edition, 1899), p. 43.
[6] G. R. Sharma, *History to Prehistory*, p. 9. For a further discussion of this inscription, see A. Ghosh, "Buddhist Inscription from Kausambi," *Epigraphia Indica*, 34 (1961), pp. 14–16.
[7] See Appendix I.10.
[8] V. S. Agrawala, *Mathura Museum Catalogue, Part III Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras and Other Miscellaneous Figures*, p. 37.

9. *Year Twenty-One* āyāgapaṭa (Figs. 133 and 134)
Found at Kathoti Kuā, Mathura
37 or 36 BCE
red sandstone
H. 17" × W. 16" (43 × 40.64 cm)
Government Museum, Mathura
GMM 35.2563

1. . . . *sāvatsare 20 1 m[ā] 2 di 20 6*
2. . . . *sa ca ari[ha]ta pūjāye*

Translation:
"In the year 21, on the twenty-sixth day of the second month . . . for the sake of honoring the *arhat*s . . ."

Notes:
Although both V. S. Agrawala[9] and N. P. Joshi[10] referred the date in the Year Twenty-One *āyāgapaṭa* inscription to the Śaka era of 78 CE, several paleographic, epigraphic, and stylistic reasons argue in favor of the earlier Azes or Vikrama era of 58 or 57 BCE. The long form of the '*di*' *akṣara* in the first line and, in the second line, the rounded form of the '*sa*,' and the bulbous '*ca*' are all pre-Kaniṣka characteristics that had been significantly altered by the time of the inscriptions dated to the reign of Kaniṣka and his successors. Also, N. P. Chakravarti pointed out that typically in Kuṣāṇa inscriptions from Mathura, the date is given in seasons and fortnights, and the name of the month is also usually given.[11] Although the convention of dating in fortnights was not pervasive during the Kuṣāṇa period, this inscription follows a mode of dating found in earlier epigraphs, stating the date with only the year, month and day numbers.[12] These paleographic and epigraphic reasons, taken in conjunction with the artistic style of the carving on the plaque, suggest that this *āyāgapaṭa* dates prior to the Kuṣāṇa period, and it may be reckoned to the Azes era, like the Amohini *āyavati* (Appendix II.15), thereby providing us with a date of 36 BCE for this *āyāgapaṭa*.

The unusual spelling of *arhat* as '*ari[ha]ta*,' instead of the more common *arahata*, is mirrored by the spelling of *devikula* (instead of *devakula*) in the Vasu *śilāpaṭa* inscription (Appendix II.25).

[9] Ibid.
[10] N. P. Joshi, "Early Jaina Icons from Mathura," p. 333.
[11] N. P. Chakravarti, "Curzon Museum of Archaeology, Muttra," p. 113.
[12] It must be noted, however, that very few dates survive from this period in this region, and the surviving evidence shows that date formulas varied significantly from region to region. Thus, the few early dated inscriptions from the northwest or the Deccan may not be helpful in the attribution of an era for this *āyāgapaṭa*. For an analysis of date formulas, see David Pingree, "A Note on the Calendars Used in Early Indian Inscriptions."

10. Āyāgapaṭa *fragment with* aśoka *flowers* (Fig. 139)
Found at Mathura
ca. 75–50 BCE
red sandstone
H. 14½" × W. 11" (37 × 29 cm)
State Museum, Lucknow
SML J.257

1. . . . *āyāgapaṭo arahata* . . .

Translation:
". . . (this) *[āyā]gapaṭa* (was set up for the sake of honoring the) *arhat*s"

Notes:
Pujāye would probably have followed '*arahata*' on the next line. Thus, this part of the fragmentary inscription was probably comparable to the closing line of the Amohini *āyavati* inscription (Appendix II.15).

11. *Dhanamitra* āyāgapaṭa (Figs. 140–142b)
Found at Kāṅkālī-Ṭīlā, Mathura
ca. 20 BCE
red sandstone
H. 35" × W. 32" (89 × 81 cm)
State Museum, Lucknow
SML J.250

1. . . . *dhanami[tra]ye dhitu ara* . . .
2. . . . *vadhuye āyāga[pa]ṭo [pa]* . . .

Translation:
"An *āyāgapaṭa* was set up by . . . the daughter of Dhanamitra, and the daughter-in-law of . . . (for the sake of honoring) [the *arhat*s]."

Notes:
This inscription is now almost completely effaced, but R. D. Banerji was able to decipher much of it when he took it into the sunlight in 1912, and the above transcription is fairly legible from a rubbing made by him at that time.[13] The final *akṣara* of the second line is probably *pa*-, which suggests that this inscription ended with the word *patisthāpita*, meaning 'was set up.'

[13] R. D. Banerji, "New Brahmi Inscriptions of the Scythian Period," p. 120, no. xviii.

12. *Mātharaka* āyāgapaṭa (Figs. 143–145)
Found at Kaṅkālī-Ṭīlā, Mathura
ca. 20 BCE
red sandstone
H. 34" × W. 34" (87 × 87 cm)
State Museum, Lucknow
SML J.248

1. *namo arahato mahāvīrasa mātharaka(sa) (kā)lavāḍasa sā(kaṃ) bhayāye śivarakhitāye āyā[gapaṭo]*

Translation:
"Adoration to the *arhat* Mahāvīra! The *āyāgapaṭa* of Mātharaka, a *kālavāḍa*, and his wife Śivarakhitā"

Notes:
Lüders's interpretation of the word '*[kā]lavāḍa*' as referring to an occupation[14] seems more plausible than the translations offered by other scholars, including G. Bühler[15] and U. P. Shah,[16] who interpreted it as the name of an inhabitant of Mathura. '*Kālavāḍa*' perhaps means 'wine-seller' (Sanskrit *kalyavāla*); however, this interpretation is by no means certain. It is also found in the Śimitrā *āyāgapaṭa* (Appendix II.1) and in donatory inscriptions from Sanchi *Stūpa* I,[17] but these inscriptions offer few clues as to the meaning of the word. Lüders also suggested that the word could be a title of a high-ranking official, since '*kāla*' is found as such in Kharoṣṭhī documents from eastern Turkestan.[18] He further cited the usage of *M[ā]thuri kalavaḍ[ā]* in the inscription on the base of the female figure of Tośā from Morā, saying that since no proper name is associated in this case with the occupation, then it must be a title.

'Mātharaka' is probably a proper name, rather than 'an inhabitant of Mathura.' Close examination of the inscription on the Mātharaka *āyāgapaṭa* reveals that the second *akṣara* appears clearly to be '*tha*' not '*thu*,'[19] and it would be unusual to have both the long *ā* in the first *akṣara* and the *-ka* suffix if the word were to denote an inhabitant of Mathura. For these reasons, we shall consider 'Mātharaka' to be a proper masculine name, either derived from *mātha*, 'one who churns or deals in buttermilk,' or from *Māthaka*, 'a destroyer,' or it may be similar to the patronymic name 'Māthava' found in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*. It would make sense to have a masculine proper name precede the occupation, like 'Poṭhayaśaka *kāḷavāḷa*' in the Śimitrā *āyāgapaṭa* (Appendix II.1).

---

[14] H. Lüders, "Seven Brahmi Inscriptions from Mathura and its Vicinity," p. 205. Theo Damsteegt (*Epigraphical Hybrid* Sanskrit, p. 252) simply stated that *kālavāḷa* is of unknown meaning, but probably denotes 'some sort of functionary.'
[15] G. Bühler, "Further Jaina Inscriptions from Mathura," p. 200, no. 8.
[16] U. P. Shah, *Studies in Jaina Art*, p. 77.
[17] H. Lüders, "A List of Brahmi Inscriptions," nos. 330, 522, 523. "Gift of Datta, the *Kalavaḍa* from Vidiśā."
[18] H. Lüders, "Seven Brahmi Inscriptions from Mathura and its Vicinity," p. 204, fn. 3.
[19] 'Inhabitants of Mathura' is written simply as '*māthura*' in the Dadhikarṇṇa inscription. See G. Bühler, "New Jaina Inscriptions from Mathura," p. 390, no. XVIII, and H. Lüders, "A List of Brahmi Inscriptions," no. 85

Lüders and Bühler postulated the word *sā[hā]* after *[kā]lavāḍa*, but in the other instances wherein this preposition (with) is used, it always has a short *sa-* for its first *akṣara*. In the Mātharaka *āyāgapaṭa* inscription, however, the long *sā-* is clear; therefore, unless it is an orthographical error, perhaps it is better to postulate *sā[kaṃ]*, meaning 'jointly' or 'together with.' The instrumental *-ye* endings of *bhayāye Śivarakhitāye* should then be understood to mean 'with [his] wife Śivarakhitā.'

13. *Ferenc Hopp Museum* āyāgapaṭa (Fig. 146)
Found at Mathura
ca. 50–20 BCE
red sandstone
H. 12" × W. 12½" × D. 3" (30 × 31.75 × 7.62 cm)
Ferenc Hopp Museum, Budapest, Hungary

The fragment has no surviving inscription.

14. Āyāgapaṭa *fragment with overlapping rosette border* (Fig. 147)
Found at Mathura
ca. 20 BCE–15 CE
buff sandstone
H. 12" × W. 11½" × D. 3" (30.48 × 29.21 × 7.62 cm)
State Museum, Lucknow
SML B.146

This fragment has no surviving inscription.

15. *Amohini* āyavati (Figs. 148,149, and 273)
Found at Kāṅkālī-Ṭīlā, Mathura
15 CE
red sandstone
H. 38" × W. 44" (96.5 × 111.76 cm)
State Museum, Luckow
SML J.1

1. *nama arahato vardhamānasa*
2. *svāmisa mahākṣatrapasa śoḍāsasa [saṃ]vatsare 70 2 hemata māse 2 divase 9 haritiputrasa pālasa bhayāye samasāvikāye*
3. *kochiye amohiniye sahā putrehi pālaghoṣena poṭhaghoṣena dhanaghoṣena āyavati pratithāpitā prāya[]bha[]* . . .
4. *āyavati arahata pujāye*

Translation:
"Adoration to the *arhat* Vardhamāna! In the year seventy-two of *svāmi mahākṣatrapa* Śoḍāsa, in the second month of winter, on the ninth day, [this] *āyavati* was set up by Amohini, a Kochi, a female lay disciple of the ascetics, wife of Pāla, son of Hariti, together with her sons Pālaghoṣa, Poṭhaghoṣa, and Dhanaghoṣa. The *āyavati* is for the sake of honoring the *arhat*s."

Notes:
The year, which has also been read by some as forty-two, has been convincingly established as seventy-two by Heinrich Lüders, and this reading of the date is the most plausible, given the known chronology of the *kṣatrapa*s in Mathura and other regions during this time.[20] '*Āyavati*' (or Sanskrit '*āryavatī*') may be an appellation of the female figure (perhaps a *śāsanadevatā*) depicted in the center of the plaque, meaning "she who possesses favor or excellence." On the other hand, this appellation may also refer to the *āyāgapaṭa* itself, under a synonym with feminine gender, for the word *āyavati* appears where *āyāgapaṭa* would appear in other inscriptions—i.e., immediately preceding '*pratithāpita*' and '*arahata pujāye*.' Hence, it seems there is some correlation between the use of the word *āyavati* and the word *āyāgapaṭa*. Here the word *āya-vati* is probably derived from the Sanskrit *ārya*, since the *a* vowel of the second *akṣara* is short, in contrast to *āyāga*, which seems unlikely to be a Prakrit derivation from *ārya+ka*.

The family or clan (*gotra*) name of Amohini, here rendered as '*Kochi*' (Sanskrit *Kautsī*) is also seen in the Amoghadatta *āyāgapaṭa* inscription (Appendix II.22) in its variant form of '*Kotsi*,' and it also occurs in the Buddhist cave temple inscription at Kuḍa, Maharashtra, as the clan name ('*Kochhi*') of the mother of a local chief (*mahābhoja*).[21] 'Hariti' may also refer to the *gotra* of the her mother-in-law, if it does not refer to Amohini specifically.

16. *Pārśvanātha* āyāgapaṭa (Figs. 150–152)
Found at Kāṅkālī Ṭīlā, Mathura
ca. 15 CE
red sandstone
H. 34" × W. 37" (86 × 94 cm)
State Museum, Lucknow
SML J.253

. . . namo arahaṃtānā[ṃ] śivagho[v/m?] . . . pūsaṃ bhari[yā] . . . nā . . . na . . .

Translation:
"Adoration to the *arhat*s! Śiva[gho] . . . the wife . . ."

Notes:
Bühler and Lüders postulated the name 'Śivaghoṣaka,'[22] but the '-*ṣa*' *akṣara* is unlikely, given the rest of the letter, which seems to form the lower left corner of a triangular character, probably either *va* or *ma*. This inscription has been published as being dedicated by 'the wife of Śivaghoṣaka,' but there is space enough for six more syllables in the lacuna between the *gho* and the *bhariyā*, which suggests that other information was provided, and casts doubt as to whether this plaque was dedicated by the wife of Śivagho-, or if this is

[20] See Chapters Four and Six. H. Lüders, "Das Zeichen für 70 in den Inschriften von Mathura aus der Śaka- und Kuṣana-Zeit," pp. 721–726.
[21] H. Lüders, "A List of Brahmi Inscriptions," no. 1058.
[22] G. Bühler, "Further Jaina Inscriptions from Mathura," p. 207, no. 31; H. Lüders, "A List of Brahmi Inscriptions," no. 106.

the name of another relation, such as a father. Therefore, since the name of the donor or the donor's husband is so uncertain, it seems best to identify this plaque by the name of the Jina Pārśvanātha, who is depicted in the center surmounted by the serpent.

17. *Nāṃdighoṣa* āyāgapaṭa (Fig. 153)
Found at Ahichhatra or Kaṅkālī-Ṭīlā, Mathura
ca. 15 CE
red sandstone
H. 33" × W. 29" (85 × 75 cm)
Rajgir Bodh Sangrahalaya, Gorakhpur
RBS J.686A

1. . . . *rusa nāṃdikasa putrena nāṃdighoṣena sovaṇikena a . . . ta . . . ale . . .*
2. . . . *ṇānāṃ bhaṃḍire āyāgapaṭā pratithāpitā pita . . .*

Translation:
"*Āyāgapaṭa*s were set up in the *bhaṃḍira* of the . . . by the goldsmith Nāṃdighoṣa, the son of . . . Nāṃdika."

Notes:
The meaning of *bhaṃḍira*, which names the location in which the *āyāgapaṭa*s were installed, unfortunately is unclear. Theo Damsteegt stated that it refers to the name of a garden or park in Mathura.[23] Previously it was thought to be related to the Sanskrit word *bhāṇḍāra*, meaning 'treasury' or 'storehouse'; however, the phonetic shifts from *bhāṇḍāra* to *bhaṃḍira* are not easily explicable. Lüders hesitantly suggested that *bhaṃḍira* may refer to a tree or a storehouse.[24]

The word *sovaṇika* is a synonym for *hairaṇyaka*, meaning goldsmith.[25] In another inscription on the rim of a bowl surmounting a male head from Sadar Bazaar, Mathura (GMM 12.260), there appears to be a reference to the '*vihāra* of the goldsmiths' (*suvaṇakā*).[26] This Sadar Bazaar inscription suggests that perhaps the guild of goldsmiths donated money for the construction of Buddhist *vihāra*s, which may have contained a treasury or storehouse (*bhaṃdira*), at which Buddhist *āyāgapaṭa*s and figures with ablution bowls may have been set up. Hence, this Nāṃdighoṣa *āyāgapaṭa* originally might have been from a Buddhist site, but there is no satisfactory proof of this other than the coincidence of other Buddhist pieces having been donated by goldsmiths.[27]

Interestingly, the long *ā* ending of *āyāgapaṭā* and its modifying participle *pratithāpitā* means that the word *āyāgapaṭā*, is either feminine singular or masculine plural. Since we have so many other examples of the word *āyāgapaṭa* that are masculine, the latter is the most plausible interpretation. Hence this inscription must be understood as recording the dedication of multiple *āyāgapaṭa*s.

---

[23] Th. Damsteegt, "Epigraphical Hybrid Sanskirt," p. 254, citing Mehta and Chandra, *Prakrit Proper Names*.
[24] H. Lüders, "Epigraphical Notes," inscription no. 27, p. 150.
[25] Cf. H. Lüders, "A List of Brahmi Inscriptions," p. 169, no. 92a: "*gotiputrasa ūtarasa sovaṇ[ika]* . . .".
[26] H. Lüders, *Mathura Inscriptions*, pp. 122–123, inscription no. 89.
[27] See the *bodhisattva* pedestal inscription in Lüders, *Mathura Inscriptions*, no. 150.

18. *British Museum* āyāgapaṭa (Figs. 154 and 155)
Found at Kaṅkālī-Ṭīlā, Mathura
ca. 15 CE
sandstone
H. 15" × W. 15½" × D. 4" (8.5 × 39.8 × 10.5 cm)
British Museum, London
1901, 12–24, 10.B&M

This fragment has no surviving inscription.

19. *Sihanāṃdika* āyāgapaṭa (Figs. 156–158)
Found at Kāṅkālī-Ṭīlā, Mathura
ca. 25–50 CE
buff sandstone
H. 24" × W. 22½" (65 × 57.5 cm)
National Museum, New Delhi
NMD J.249

1. *namo arahaṃtāna siṃhakasa vānikasa putreṇa kośikiputreṇa*
2. *sihanāṃdikena āyāgapāṭo pratithāpito ārahaṃta pujāye*

Translation:
"Adoration to the *arhat*s! An *āyāgapaṭa* was set up by Sihanāṃdika, son of Siṃhaka the *vānika* and son of a Kośiki, for the sake of honoring the *arhat*s."

Notes:
The meaning of the word *vānika* is uncertain. It occurs in a position that in other inscriptions corresponds to the placement of one's occupation. Lüders and Damsteegt tentatively suggested translating *vānika* as 'musician' or 'singer'[28] (cf. *nataka*, meaning 'dancer' or 'actor' on the Śivayaśā *āyāgapaṭa*; Appendix II.24). Another possible translation is 'merchant.' *Vānika* may also be a family or clan name of the donor's father, in which case the translation would read: "An *āyāgapaṭa* was set up by Sihanāṃdika, son of Siṃhaka of the *vānika* (*gotra*) and son of a Kośiki, for the sake of honoring the *arhat*s." 'Kośiki' refers to the *gotra* of the mother, and it is often found in *āyāgapaṭa* inscriptions and on other inscriptions datable to the time of Śoḍāsa.[29]

The long *-pā* syllable in *āyāgapāṭa* is unique among the extant examples of the word. *Pāṭa*, refers to 'breadth, expanse, or extension,'[30] which is a rather unsatisfactory translation for this context. Its occurrence may best be explained as an orthographical error, which is not uncommon in mixed-dialect inscriptions. The scribe may have intended to

[28] H. Lüders, "A List of Brahmi Inscriptions," index, p. 222; Theo Damsteegt, *Epigraphical Hybrid Sanskrit*, p. 253.
[29] See the Śimitrā *āyāgapaṭa* (Appendix II.1) and the Mirjāpur stele inscription of Kauśikī Pākṣaka, wife of a Brāhman (Appendix I.10), and the reference to a *kauśi(ki)-* on the Vasu doorjamb inscription (Appendix I.15).
[30] Monier Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*.

write *āyāgapaṭā*, thus referring to the donation of several *āyāgapaṭa*s, as is seen in the Nāṃdighoṣa *āyāgapaṭa* (RBS J.686A, Appendix II.17), but of this we cannot be sure.

20. *Acalā* āyāgapaṭa (Fig. 159)
Found at Kaṅkālī-Ṭīlā, Mathura
ca. 25–50 CE
buff sandstone
H. 31" × W. 28" (79 × 71 cm)
State Museum, Lucknow
SML J.252

1. *namo arahaṃtānaṃ m[o]lan[ā]ṇasa dhitu bhadrayaśasa vadhuye bhadranadisa bhayāye*
2. *a[calā]ye [āyā]gapaṭo pratithāpito arahata pujāye*

Translation:
"Adoration to the *arhat*s! An *āyāgapaṭa* was set up by Acalā, daughter of M[o/ā]lan[ā]ṇa, daughter-in-law of Bhadrayaśa and the wife of Bhadranadi for the sake of honoring the *arhat*s."

Notes:
Much more of this inscription is legible in the rubbing published by Bühler[31] than can be read directly from the stone now. The '*dhitu*' in the first line is not in the instrumental case, but this also occurs in the Vasu *śilāpaṭa* inscription (Appendix II.25), where most epithets of the donor are provided with the *-ye* or other instrumental ending, except for *dhitu*, which was undeclined.

The name Acalā is found twice among the inscriptions at Sanchi *Stūpa* I.[32] The name of the donor's father is unusual, and previously has been read as 'Mala . . . na,' but names are not known to begin with *mala-*. Instead, it is possible that the first two *akṣara*s are *mola* or *māla*. Nāna also exists as a man's name, so it seems plausible that the father of Acalā was Mālanāṇa or Molanāṇa. We may also consider the possibility that this name is of foreign origin, which could explain why it is so unusual.

21. *Chaubiāpādā* āyāgapaṭa (Fig. 160)
Found at Chaubiāpādā-Ṭīlā, Mathura
ca. 75–100 CE
red sandstone
H. 15" × W. 26" (38 × 66 cm)
Government Museum, Mathura
GMM 48.3426

This fragment has no remaining inscription.

---

[31] G. Bühler, "Further Jaina Inscriptions from Mathura," p. 207, inscription no. 32.
[32] H. Lüders, "A List of Brahmi Inscriptions," nos. 175 and 462.

22. *Amoghadatta* āyāgapaṭa (Fig. 161)
Found at Mathura
ca. 75–100 CE
red sandstone
H. 17" × W. 13" (44 × 33 cm)
State Museum, Lucknow
SML J.264

1. . . . *(a)moghadattasya bharyāye ko[tsi]ye*
2. *[pu?]. . . . (pratisṭhā)pitā . . . arahaṃta pu[jāye]*

Translation:
". . . was set up by the wife of (A)moghadatta, a Kotsi, . . . for the sake of honoring the *arhat*s."

Notes:
R. D. Banerji suggested that the name of the donor's husband should be 'Amoghadatta,' and I see no objection to this, since I find the '*gha*' *akṣara* to be legible on the original, although he did not. Other names ending with *-ghadatta* are rare if not unknown.[33]

23. Āyāgapaṭa *fragment with grapevine border* (Figs. 162–164)
Found at Kaṅkālī-Tīlā, Mathura
ca. 75–100 CE
buff sandstone
H. 18½" × W. 15½" × D. 5" (46.3 × 39.37 × 12.7 cm)
Government Museum, Mathura
GMM Q.3

Obverse: No surviving inscription.

Later inscription carved on the reverse:
1. . . . *(nā)ye mogaliputasa puphakasa bhayāye*
2. *pūsāye pasādo*

Translation:
"The shrine (*pasāda*) of Pūsā, the wife of Puphaka, the son of Mogali . . ."

Notes:
The inscription is on the back of this *āyāgapaṭa* fragment, and the text area measures 14½" × 5½", enclosed within a border of overlapping rosettes that are carved in low relief. It is not oriented to the same direction as the relief carvings of the *āyāgapaṭa* itself on the obverse. The inscription on the reverse of this *āyāgapaṭa* fragment is probably not

[33] R. D. Banerji, "New Brahmi Inscriptions of the Scythian Period," p. 120, no. xvii.

contemporaneous with the *āyāgapaṭa* carvings on the obverse. The paleography of the letters points to a date, probably late in the second century CE, thus suggesting that the *āyāgapaṭa* was reused to record the dedication of a temple, shrine, or palace (*prasāda*) by a woman named Pūsā. The dry, scratchy carving of the rosettes in the border on the reverse further supports the later date for the inscription on the back of the plaque.

*Āyāgapaṭa*s were commonly reused, perhaps supplanted in the temples or monasteries by three-dimensional images, for their reverse sides provided broad, flat areas of finished, uncarved stone. Other *āyāgapaṭa*s whose back sides were used for different purposes at later dates include the Jīvanāṃdā *āyāgapaṭa* (SML J.44; Fig. 174), whose reverse was carved with an image and another inscription, and the Laghaka *āyāgapaṭa* (SML J.251; Fig. 179), which was recut into the form of an architectural lion capital with a tenon.

24. *Śivayaśā* āyāgapaṭa (Figs. 165–167)
Found at Kaṅkālī Ṭīlā, Mathura
ca. 75–100 CE
buff sandstone
H. 21" × W. 28" (53 × 71 cm)
State Museum, Lucknow
SML J.255

1. *namo arahatānaṃ phaguyaśasa*
2. *natakasa bhayāye śivayaśā*
3. *a . . . i . . . ā . . . ā . . . kāye*

1. *āyāgapaṭo kārito*
2. *arahata pujāye*

Translation:
"Adoration to the *arhat*s! An *āyāgapaṭa* was caused to be made by Śivayaśā, wife of the actor Phaguyaśa, . . . for the sake of honoring the *arhat*s."

Notes:
What remains of the inscription is extremely clear, and there is little controversy regarding its reading. *Natakasa* is from the root *-nat*, meaning to dance, act, or mime. Bühler and Smith[34] preferred the translation 'dancer,' apparently in connection with the appearance of the dancing women on the railing in the carving. Dancing women are a common motif, however, so there is no reason that their appearance should inform the translation of the occupation of the donor's husband; thus, I here follow Monier-Williams in the translation of '*nataka*' specifically as 'actor,' especially given the male gender of the donor's husband. Either 'actor' or 'dancer' is probably acceptable.

[34] G. Bühler, "Further Jaina Inscriptions from Mathura," p. 200, no. 5; V. A. Smith, *The Jain Stupa and Other Antiquities of Mathura*, p. 25; and H. Lüders, "A List of Brahmi Inscriptions," no. 100.

25. *Vasu* śilāpaṭa (Figs. 168–172)
Found at Maholi, Mathura
ca. 75–100 CE
red sandstone
H. 28" × W. 22" (73 × 57 cm)
Government Museum, Mathura
GMM Q.2

1. *namo ārahato vardhamānasa ādāye gaṇikā-*
2. *ye loṇaśobhikāye dhitu śramaṇasāvikāye*
3. *nādāye gaṇikāye vasuye ārahato devik[u]la*[35]
4. *āyāgasabhā prapā śil[ā]paṭo patisth[ā]pito nigaṭhā-*
5. *na(ṃ) ārahatāyātane sah[ā] matare bhaginiye dhitare putreṇa*
6. *sarveṇa ca parijanena arahata pujāye*

Translation:
"Adoration to the *arhat* Vardhamāna! A shrine of the *arhat* (*ārahato devikula*), an assembly hall for an object of worship (*āyāgasabhā*), a cistern (*prapā*), and a stone slab (*śilāpaṭa*) were established in the sanctuary of the Nirgrantha *arhat*s by Vasu, a junior (?) courtesan, [who is] the daughter of Loṇaśobhikā, the matron (?) courtesan, and the female disciple of the ascetics (*śramaṇasāvikā*), with her mother, her sister, her daughter, her son and her whole household, for the sake of honoring of the *arhat*s."

Notes:
The meanings of the words *ādā* and *nādā* that precede the word for courtesan (*gaṇikā*) are unclear, but it is thought that they may be names referring to ranks in the hierarchy of courtesans.[36]

This inscription is particularly worthy of note, since it is one of the few that specifies the location in which the plaque itself was set up, *viz.* in the sanctuary of the Nirgrantha *arhat*s (*nigaṭhānaṃ ārahatāyātane*). In other inscriptions that mention the location where the plaque was set up, either the meaning of the locale (*bhaṃdire*) is unknown (the Nāṃdighoṣa *āyāgapaṭa* inscription, Appendix II.17), or the inscription is so fragmentary that it is not clear whether the locale (*vihāre*) is the place at which the *āyāgapaṭa* itself was set up (the Koḷiya Gaṇa *āyāgapaṭa* inscription, Appendix II.28).

The fact that the Vasu *śilāpaṭa* (Fig. 168) is called a *śilāpaṭa* in its inscription though it is carved with almost identical imagery as the Śivayaśā *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 165), which is called an *āyāgapaṭa* in its inscription (Appendix II.24), leads us to infer that the words "*śilāpaṭa*" and "*āyāgapaṭa*" were sometimes used interchangeably. *Āyāgapaṭa*s seem to be a more specialized subset of *śilāpaṭa*s, such that all *āyāgapaṭa*s are *śilāpaṭa*s, but not all *śilāpaṭa*s are necessarily *āyāgapaṭa*s.

---

35 Elements in brackets are unclear but probable readings from the inscription.
36 See J. P. Vogel, *Catalogue of the Archaeological Museum at Mathura*, p. 185.

26. *Jīvanāṃdā* āyāgapaṭa (Fig. 174)
Found at Kaṅkālī-Ṭīlā, Mathura
ca. 150 CE
buff sandstone
H. 6" × W. 9" (15 × 23 cm)
State Museum, Lucknow
SML J.44

Obverse Inscription:
1. . . . *(bha)[yā]ye jīvanāṃdāye* . . .

Translation:
"... by Jīvanāṃdā, [wife of] ..."

Notes:
This simple fragment is clearly legible, and since the first two extant *akṣara*s form the ending *-[yā]ye,* we can extrapolate that they originally formed part of the word *bharyā*, meaning wife.' This fragment probably formed part of an *āyāgapaṭa*, and the proportions of the one-line epigraph to the stone are similar to those of the *āyāgapaṭa* fragment with *aśoka* flowers (SML J.257; Appendix II.10, Fig. 139).

Reverse Inscription (Fig. 175):
1. *siddham namastvarhadbhyaḥ*
2. *mahārāja mahākṣatrapa mahā-* . . .
3. . . .

Translation:
"Hail! Adoration to the *arhat*s! The great king, the great satrap, the great ..."

Notes:
The inscription on the reverse of this fragment is carved on a pedestal of a frontally standing figure, only the lower legs and feet of which survive. It probably dates to the third or fourth century CE, since the *i* superscript curves exaggeratedly over the letter, as it does in inscriptions dated to the early Gupta period. Furthermore, the opening invocation '*siddham*' is indicative of a late Kuṣāṇa date (cf. Kaṇa plaque, dated to the Year Ninety-nine, SML J.623; Appendix II.27). Hence, SML J.44 represents an example of an *āyāgapaṭa* that was reused at a later date. The reusing of *āyāgapaṭa*s was fairly common, because their back sides provided a flat, clear surface. (For other examples, see the *āyāgapaṭa* fragment with grapevine border [Appendix II.23] and Laghaka *āyāgapaṭa* [Appendix II.29].)

Neither Bühler nor Lüders noted the remains of the *hā- akṣara* at the current broken end of the second line.[37] Hence, they and others after them have assumed that "*mahārāja*

[37] G. Bühler, "Further Jaina Inscriptions from Mathura," p. 199, no. 3; and H. Lüders, "A List of Brahmi Inscriptions," no. 83.

mahākṣatrapa ma-" refers to a *kṣatrapa* king named Ma—. However, the clear *-hā* immediately following the last *ma-* suggests that yet another title beginning with *mahā-* followed *mahākṣatrapa* or that the name of the ruler began with 'Mahā-.'

The third line is, unfortunately, damaged and illegible.

27. *Kaṇa Plaque* (Fig. 177)
Probably found at Kaṅkālī-Ṭīlā, Mathura
226 CE
buff sandstone
H. 21½" × W. 19" (8.5 × 7.5 cm)
State Museum, Lucknow
SML J.623

1. *s[i]ddha[ṃ] saṃ 90 9 gri 2 di 10 6 koḷyāt[o] gaṇato ṭhaniyāto kulāto vai[rā]to . . . [vo]to aryyasura[po] . . .*
2. *śiśiṇi dhamaśriye . . . ṇavartinā. . . . grahadatasya dhi[tu] dhanahathi . . .*

A. *ā . . . gha[?]ṣṭhivijī*
B. *kaṇa śramaṇa*

Translation:
"Hail! In the Year Ninety-nine in the second month of summer, on the sixteenth day . . . the daughter of Grahadata, [the wife of ?] Dhanahathi . . . as requested by Dhamaśiri, the female pupil of Aryyasura[po]—of the Koḷiya *gaṇa*, the Ṭhaniya (Sthānīya) *kula*, and the Vaira [. . . *vo*]."
"*Ānagha—ṣṭhavijī*"
"The ascetic Kaṇa"

Notes:
There is some uncertainty regarding the reading of the year, as it has been variously read as Year Ninety-nine or Year Ninety-five. Whichever the case may be, this plaque dates to the late Kuṣāṇa period.

The inscription in line A has been previously read as '*anagha śreṣṭhi vijā*,' meaning 'the sinless merchant Vijā.' The '*śre*' *akṣara*, however, does not seem probable upon close examination of the stone. Furthermore, the first syllable appears to be long *ā-*, rather than short *a-*. Hence, as Lüders suggested, perhaps this compound word simply refers to a name.[38] The standing female figure's central position and status as object of veneration by the figures at the right of the plaque (including a *nāga* deity and a Jaina nun) and the fact that she is shown in *abhaya-mudrā* suggests that she is to be considered a divinity, such as a *yakṣī śāsanadevatā*, like the central figure on the Amohini *āyavati* (Figs. 148 and 273).

[38] H. Lüders, "A List of Brahmi Inscriptions," no. 75.

28. *Koḷiya Gaṇa* āyāgapaṭa (Fig. 178)
Found at Manohar Purā Ṭīlā, Mathura
ca. third century CE
buff sandstone
H. 9½" × W. 19" × D. 3" (24 × 48.5 × 8 cm)
Government Museum, Mathura
GMM 20–21.1603

1. . . . *vihāre koḷiyāto*[39] *gaṇāto ṭhāṇikiyāto kula(to)* . . . *śa(khāto)* . . .[40]

Translation:
". . . in the living quarters of the Koḷiya *gaṇa*, Ṭānikiya *kula*, and the . . . *śakhā* . . ."

Notes:
This inscription is badly defaced, as is the entire plaque, but it runs along the top and right side of the otherwise plain border. The letters are scratchy and sans-serif, and most likely of a third or fourth century CE date, which also seems to correspond to what is left of the carvings. The inscription is to be read from the right and top sides of the plaque; thus, it is not oriented in the same direction as the *stūpa* in the central medallion or the seated figure of the Jina.

The *śākhā*, or 'branch,' most commonly found in connection with the Koḷiya *gaṇa* and Ṭānikiya (Sthāniya) *kula* is the Vaira *śākhā*, so we can confidently postulate the name Vaira, or some form thereof, before the word *śa(khāto)* (see the inscription on the Kaṇa Plaque, SML J.623; Appendix II.27). These are all names of divisions and subdivisions in the Jaina monastic hierarchy, the Koḷiya *gaṇa* apparently being the most prominent, as it appears more often in Jaina inscriptions than do the names of other *gaṇa*s. This inscription confirms that *āyāgapaṭa*s were made and used by this specific Jaina sect and that this *āyāgapaṭa* probably was set up in the *vihāra* of a monastic compound.

29. *Laghaka* Āyāgapaṭa *Fragment* (Fig. 179)
Found at Mathura
ca. first century CE
buff sandstone
H. 7½" (including a half-inch tenon) × W. 7" (19.05 × 17.78 cm)
State Museum, Lucknow
SML J.251

1. *namo arahato va(rdhamānasa)* . . .
2. *laghakasa putrasa* . . .
3. . . . *sa āyā(gapaṭo)*

[39] Theo Damsteegt noted that 'Koḷiya' derives from 'Kauṭika,' the -ika suffix being interchangeable with the -iya suffix in the dialect of the Mathura region. Theo Damsteegt, *Epigraphical Hybrid Sanskrit*, p. 267.
[40] Cf. V. S. Agrawala, *Mathura Museum Catalogue, Part III Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras and Other Miscellaneous Figures*, p. 37.

Translation:
"Adoration to the *arhat* Vardhamāna! . . . this *āyāgapaṭa* of . . ., son of Laghaka . . ."

Notes:
The *va- akṣara* following *arahato* in the first line is quite clear, as are the first two *akṣara*s of *āyāgapaṭa*, which, along with the surviving ornament consisting of an arc of what was once a circular twisted garland and the end of a fishtail, lead to the identification of this piece as almost assuredly having been an *āyāgapaṭa* in its original state. The surviving fragment has been recut in the form of a seated lion on a platform with a tenon below.

Occupations Mentioned in the *Āyāgapaṭa* Inscriptions

āntevāsin, disciple	(Bhikhu Phagula *śilā*)
gaṇikā, courtesan	(Vasu *śilāpaṭa*)
kālavāḍa/ḷa seller of wine, or a high-ranking official	(Mātharaka *āyāgapaṭa* and Śimitrā *āyāgapaṭa*)
mahākṣatrapa, great satrap	(Amohini *āyavati*)
nataka, actor or dancer	(Śivayaśā *āyāgapaṭa*)
sovaṇika, goldsmith	(Nāṃdighoṣa *āyāgapaṭa*)
vānika, merchant, singer, or musician (?)	(Sihanāṃdika *āyāgapaṭa*)

Proper Names Mentioned in the *Āyāgapaṭa* Inscriptions

*Jina*s

Mahāvīra	(Mātharaka *āyāgapaṭa*)
Pārśvanātha	(Pārśvanātha *āyāgapaṭa*)
Vardhamāna	(Amohini *āyāvati*, Laghaka *āyāgapaṭa*, Śimitrā *āyāgapaṭa*, Vasu *śilāpaṭa*)

MEN

Amoghadatta	(SML J.264 Amoghadatta *āyāgapaṭa*)
Aryyasurapo-	(SML J.623 Kaṇa plaque)
Bhadranadi	(SML J.532 Acalā *āyāgapaṭa*)
Bhadrayaśa	(SML J.532 Acalā *āyāgapaṭa*)
Dhanaghoṣa	(SML J.1 Amohini *āyavati*)
Dhanahathi	(SML J.623 Kaṇa plaque)
Dhanamitra	(SML J.250 Dhanamitra *āyāgapaṭa*)
Goti	(SML J.256 Śimitrā *āyāgapaṭa*)
Grahadata	(SML J.623 Kaṇa plaque)
Kaṇa	(SML J.623 Kaṇa plaque)
Laghaka	(SML J.251 Laghaka *āyāgapaṭa*)
Mātharaka	(SML J.248 Mātharaka *āyāgapaṭa*)

Nāṃdighoṣa	(RBS J.686a Nāṃdighoṣa *āyāgapaṭa*)
Nāṃdika	(RBS J.686a Nāṃdighoṣa *āyāgapaṭa*)
Okaraṇa	(PM Arch 5811 Okaraṇa *āyāgapaṭa*)
Pāla	(SML J.1 Amohini *āyavati*)
Pālaghoṣa	(SML J.1 Amohini *āyavati*)
Phaguyaśa	(SML J.555 Śivayaśā *āyāgapaṭa*)
Poṭhaghoṣa	(SML J.1 Amohini *āyavati*)
Poṭhayaśa(ka)	(SML J.256 Śimitrā *āyāgapaṭa*)
Puphaka	(GMM Q.3 *āyāgapaṭa* fragment with grapevine border)
Siṃhaka	(NMD J.249 Sihanāṃdika *āyāgapaṭa*)
Sihanāṃdika	(NMD J.249 Sihanāṃdika *āyāgapaṭa*)
Śoḍāsa	(SML J.1 Amohini *āyavati*)

WOMEN

Acalā	(SML J.532 Acalā *āyāgapaṭa*)
Amohini	(SML J.1 Amohini *āyavati*)
Dhamaśiri	(SML J.623 Kaṇa plaque)
Hariti	(SML J.1 Amohini *āyavati*)
Loṇaśobhikā	(GMM Q.2 Vasu *śilāpaṭa*)
Śimitrā	(SML J.256 Śimitrā *āyāgapaṭa*)
Śivarakhitā	(SML J.248 Mātharaka *āyāgapaṭa*)
Śivayaśā	(SML J.255 Śivayaśā *āyāgapaṭa*)
Vasu	(GMM Q.2 Vasu *śilāpaṭa*)
—tusikā	(SML J.260 fragment of—tusikā *āyāgapaṭa*)

Uncertain

M[ā/o]lan[ā]ṇa	(SML J.532 Acalā *āyāgapaṭa*)
Śiva[gho?]-	(SML J.253 Pārśvanātha *āyāgapaṭa*)

Dates Found in *Āyāgapaṭa* Inscriptions

Year Twenty-One: *sāvatsare 20 1 m[ā] 2 di 20 6*
(GMM 35.2563; Year Twenty-One *āyāgapaṭa*)

Year Seventy-Two: *[saṃ]vatsare 70 2 hemata māse 2 divase 9*
(SML J.1; Amohini *āyavati*)

Year Ninety-nine: *saṃ 90 9 gri 2 di 10 6*
(SML J.623; Kaṇa plaque)

GLOSSARY

abhaya-mudrā—hand position exhorting freedom from fear, with the right hand held up, palm facing out
abhiṣeka—ritual lustration
ācārya—spiritual guide or teacher
akṣara—syllable
alasakanyā—beautiful woman, often shown in coquettish poses
āmalaka (or *āmalasāraka*)—grooved disk; sunburst
aṇḍa—literally 'egg'; dome of a *stūpa*
añjalī-mudrā—hand-gesture indicating worship, with both hands held up before the chest with palms pressed together
ardhaphālaka—sect of Jaina monks at Mathura who wore a single cloth draped over their left forearm
arhat—one who is qualified to achieve liberation from *saṃsāra*
aśoka—flowering tree with feathery red blossoms
aṣṭadikpalikā (or *aṣṭadikkumārikā*)—celestial maidens of the eight directions
aṣṭamaṅgala—eight auspicious symbols
āyāgapaṭa—carved plaque of a divinity to be worshipped
bhadrāsana—auspicious symbol denoting an empty seat
bhagavata (or *bhagavan*, or *bhagavat*)—'lord'; an epithet of a divinity
Bhagavata—branch of Hinduism in which Viṣṇu in the form of Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa is considered the supreme being
bimba—image
bodhi tree—tree under which a Buddha achieved enlightenment
bodhighara—hypaethral shrine surrounding the *bodhi* tree
brahmacārin—young, celibate Brāhmin student
Brāhmī—script used in early Indian languages were written beginning in the 3rd century BCE
buddhapāda—footprints of the Buddha
caitya—a sacred space
caityavṛkṣa—sacred tree
cakra—wheel
cakravartin—universal monarch, ideal king
candraśālā—literally a "room for viewing the moon"; in architecture, an ogee-shaped window
cāraṇamuni—monk sage with the power to fly through the air as a result of high levels of meditational practice
cauri—fly-whisk
colapaṭṭa—small folded piece of cloth worn over the arm of an *ardhaphālaka* monk
cūḍa—topknot of hair
daṇḍa—staff
deva—celestial being or a god
devakulika—small shrine
devatā—divinity
dharma—law, teaching, righteousness, duty
dharmacakra—wheel of the law
dharmacakrastambha—pillar topped with the wheel of the law
dhoti—lower garment worn by men
dhyāna—meditation
dhyāna-mudrā—posture of the hands placed in the lap, one atop the other, palms facing up, as they are held in meditation
die—block set between architraves, separating one architrave from another
dvārapāla—door guardian
ekaśāṭaka—Jaina monk who wears a single piece of cloth; an *ardhaphālaka*
gandharva—celestial being, often celestial musicians
gaṇā—dwarfish beings
gopuram—gateway to a temple compound in South India
harmikā—square railing surrounding the apex of the dome of a *stūpa*
jagatī—raised terrace or platform
janapada—political state or region of ancient India
Jina—literally 'one who has conquered'; supreme, liberated being in the Jaina religion, a *tīrthaṅkara*
kalpa—age, unit of time
kapardin—having hair in the shape of a coiled shell

kāmaloka—world of erotic love and desire
kāyotsarga—a form of Jaina austerity, wherein one stands in an axially straight posture with both arms held down at one's sides for extended lengths of time
kinnara or *kinnarī*—male or female celestial being whose lower half is ornithomorphic and whose upper half is anthropomorphic
kṣatrapa—satrap
kuṇḍala—earring
liṅga—abstract phallic symbol of the god Shiva, referring to his formless state prior to the generation of creation
lokapāla—god presiding over directional protection
makara—crocodilian creature
maṅgala—auspicious symbol
mantra—series of syllables comprising a sacred formula or mystical verse
mithuna—amorous couple
mudrā—hand position
mukhapaṭikā—small cloth used by Jaina monks to cover their mouths so they don't accidentally inhale small insects
muni—sage
nāga—serpent
nandyāvarta—a three-pronged auspicious symbol (also *triratna, triśūla, tilakaratna, nandipāda*)
naramakara or *narīmakara*—composite being of the waters whose upper half is in the form of a male or female human and lower half is bifurcate serpentine *makara*
naṭī—dancing girl
nirgrantha—lit. "non-grasper"; term for a Jaina ascetic
padmāsana—cross-legged seating position used in meditation
pādukā—footprints
paṭṭa—slab, tablet; a square or rectangular section of cloth used for a religious purpose; a sacred painting on cloth
pratimā—image, representation
pūjā—act of worship in which a devotee brings offerings, dedicates prayers, and comes to see and be seen by the divinity
rajoharaṇa—whisk broom used by Jaina monks to sweep living creatures out of the path before them as they walk
sabhā—assembly hall
śākhā—"branch"; a branch of a Jaina sect; one in a series of vertical components of a doorjamb
śālabhañjikā—'she who breaks the *śāla* tree,' referring to a female figure, usually a *yakṣī*, who is depicted as intertwined with a tree
samavasaraṇa—assembly of gods and other beings in a celestial temple setting to hear the teachings of a Jina
saṃghāti—outer robe of a Buddhist monk
saṃsāra—world in which beings are trapped in cycles of birth, death, and rebirth
saṅgha—assembly of Buddhist monks, nuns, or laypeople
śaṅka—conch shell
sarvatobhadrikā—Jaina sculpture depicting four addorsed Jinas facing the four directions
śāsanadevatā—attendant divinity of a Jina who mediates between the liberated realm and the mundane world
siddha—highly accomplished monk or adept who has attained supernatural powers
śikhā—tuft of hair worn by Brāhmans at the apex of the cranium
śilā—stone
śilāpaṭa—stone slab
śramaṇa—holy man who has renounced society
śrīvatsa—'babe of Śrī,' an auspicious symbol
stambha—pillar
sthāpana—abstract formation of crossed sticks that non-figurally refers to the presence of a venerated Jaina *ācārya*
svastika—four-armed auspicious symbol (swastika)
tapasvin—ascetic
tilakaratna—see *nandyāvarta*
tīrthaṅkara—Jina
toraṇa—gateway
ūrṇa—small circular mark between the eyebrows, either a curl of hair or a small mole said to emit a ray of light; mark of a Buddha
uṣṇīṣa—literally 'turban'; the cranial protuberance at the top of the head; mark of a Buddha; coping stone

uttarīya—shawl-like upper garment worn over the shoulders or elbows, but often twisted and tied about the hips
vajra—thunderbolt
vedikā—fence, or railing
vihāra—monastery
vyāla—rearing leonine creature; a griffin
yajñopavīta—sacred thread worn by Brahmins after initiation
yakṣa or *yakṣī*—male or female divinity personifying the productive forces of nature
yavana—Indo-Greek
yavanarajya—Indo-Greek hegemony
yogapaṭṭa—strap used to support the legs of a yogi in meditation
yūpa—post with a curved apex set up within the ritual precinct of a Vedic sacrifice

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources

Ācārāṅga-sūtra, edited as *The Āyāraṃga Sutta of the Śvetāmbara Jains* by H. Jacobi. London: Pali Text Society, 1882.
Ādi Purāṇa of Jinasena. Pannalal Jain, trans. Varanasi: Bharatiya Jnanpith Prakashan, 1963–1965.
Aṅgavijjā. Muni Shri Punyavijayaji, ed. Varanasi: Prakrit Text Society Series, 1957.
Aṅguttara Nikāya, edited as *The Book of Gradual Sayings* by F. L. Woodward and E. M. Hare. Pali Text Society Translation Series, nos. 22, 24–27; 5 vols. London: Pali Text Society, 1932–36.
Buddhacarita of Aśvaghoṣa, translated as *Aśvaghoṣa's Buddhacarita or Acts of the Buddha* by E. H. Johnston. New Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1984.
The Gātakamālā or Garland of Birth-Stories by Aryasūra. J. S. Speyer, trans. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1990.
The Geography of Strabo. Horace Leonard Jones, trans. Loeb Classical Library Series. Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1949.
Gilgit Manuscripts. Nalinaksha Dutt, ed. Srinagar, Kashmir: J. C. Sarkhel, at the Calcutta Press, 1939.
Jaiminīya Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa. H. W. Bodewitz, trans. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1973.
Jaina Sūtras. Trans. H. Jacobi. Sacred Books of the East, XLV. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1968.
The Jātaka or Stories of the Buddha's Former Births. E. B. Cowell, ed. 6 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1895–1905.
The Mahābhārata. J. A. B. van Buitenen, ed. and trans. 3 vols. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1973.
Mṛcchakaṭikā of Śūdraka, in *Two Plays of Ancient India*. J. A. B. van Buitenen, trans. New York: Columbia University Press, 1968.
Natural History of Pliny. H. Rackham, trans. Loeb Classical Library Series. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1989.
The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea: Travel and Trade in the Indian Ocean by a Merchant of the First Century. Wilfred Schoff, ed. and trans. New York: Longman's, Greene, and Co., 1912.
Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki, ed. as *The Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki with the Commentary (Tilaka) of Rāma*. Kāśīnātha Pāṇdurang Parab ed. Bombay: The "Nirṇaya-Sāgara" Press, 1888.
Rāmāyaṇa, edited as *The Vālmīki-Rāmāyaṇa*, Critical Edition, by G. H. Bhatt. Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1960.
Rāyapraseṇiya-sūtra. Byavara, Rajasthan: Sri Agamaprakasana-Samiti, 1982.
Ṛg Veda, edited and translated as *The Hymns of the Ṛgveda* by Ralph T. H. Griffith. Chowkhamba Sanskrit Studies Vol. XXXV. Varanasi: Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series Office, 1963.
Si-Yu-Ki: Buddhist Records of the Western World. Samuel Beal trans. New York: Paragon Book Reprint Corp., 1968. First published London: K. Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1880.
Śrīmanmahābhāratam. Gorakhpur: Gītā Press, 1956.
Suttāgame. Puppha Bhikkhu, ed. Gurgaon-Delhi: Sūtrāgama-prakāśaka-samiti, 1953.
Tattvārthādhigama sūtra of Umāsvati. J. L. Jaini, trans. Arah: Central Jaina Publishing House, 1920.
Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita of Hemacandra. Mumbai: Sri Jinasasana Aradhana Trasta, 1988.
Uttaradhyayana-sūtra in *Jaina Sūtras*. H. Jacobi, trans. Sacred Books of the East, XLV. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1968.
Vājasaneyi Saṃhitā. Ram Sakala Misra, ed. Benares: H. D. Gupta & Sons, 1912.
Varāṅgacarita of Jaṭāsiṃhanandi. A. N. Upadhye, ed. Bombay: Manikachandra Digambara Jaina Granthamālā, 1938.
The Vasudevahiṇḍi. Jagdishchandra Jain, trans. Ahmedabad: L. D. Institute of Indology, 1977.
The Vyākaraṇa-Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali. F. Kielhorn, ed. 3 vols. Poona: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 1962.

Secondary Sources

Agrawala, Prithvi Kumar. *Mathura Railing Pillars*. Indian Civilization Series VI. Varanasi: Prithivi Prakashan, 1966.
——. *Śrīvatsa: The Babe of Goddess Śrī*. Indian Civilization Series XVI, edited by V. S. Agrawala. Varanasi: Prithivi Prakashan, 1974.
Agrawala, R. C. "A Short Note on Unpublished Reliefs from Bharhut." *Lalit Kalā*, XIV (1969): 55.
——. "Śuṅga Pillars from Amin, Near Kurukshetra." *Lalit Kalā*, XIV (1969): 50–52.
——. "Unpublished Bharhut Reliefs in the National Museum, New Delhi." *Lalit Kalā*, XIV (1969): 53–55.
——. "Unpublished Yaksha-Yakshī Statues from Besnagar." *Lalit Kalā*, XIV (1969): 47–49.
Agrawala, Vasudeva Sharana. "Ancient Indian Palace Architecture," in *Shri Mahavir Jaina Vidyalaya Golden Jubilee Volume*. Bombay: Shri Mahavir Jaina Vidyalaya, 1968, pp. 242ff.
——. *A Catalogue of the Brahmanical Images in Mathura Art*. Lucknow: Uttar Pradesh Historical Society, 1951.

——. "Catalogue of the Mathura Museum: Architectural Pieces." *Journal of the Uttar Pradesh Historical Society* XXIV–XXV (1951–1952): 1–160.
——. "Catalogue of the Mathura Museum I: Buddha and Bodhisattva Images," *Journal of the Uttar Pradesh Historical Society* XXI (1948): 42–98.
——. *Handbook to the Sculptures in the Curzon Museum of Archaeology, Muttra*. Allhabad: Superintendent, Printing and Stationery, United Provinces, 1933.
——. *Indian Art: A History of Indian Art from the Earliest Times up to the Third Century AD* Varanasi: Prithivi Prakashan, 1965.
——. "Jainism in the Uttara Pradesha," Mahavir Jayanti Special Issue, *Jain Journal* (1969): 183–189.
——. *Masterpieces of Mathura Sculpture*. Varanasi: Prithivi Prakashan, 1965.
——. *Mathura Museum Catalogue. Part III: Jaina Tirthankaras and Other Miscellaneous Figures*. Varanasi: Prithivi Prakashan, 1963.
——. *Prācīna Bhāratīya Lokadharma*. Jñanodaya Granthamālā Series No. 3. Ahmedabad: Prithvi Prakashan, 1964.
——. "Pre-Kushāṇa Art of Mathura," in *Studies in Indian Art*. Varanasi: Vishwavidyalaya Prakashan, 1965, pp. 111–132.
——. *A Short Guide-book to the Archaeological Section of the Provincial Museum, Lucknow*. Lucknow: Provincial Museum, 1940.
——. *Studies in Indian Art*. Varanasi: Vishwavidyalaya Prakashan, 1965.
——. "Yakshas and Nagas in Indian Folk-Art Tradition." *Folklore* VII, no. 1 (1966): 1–9.
Agrawala, Vasudeva Sharana, and B. S. Upadhya. "A Relief of Ṛṣya Śṛṅga in the Mathurā Museum." *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art* 4 (1936): 62–64.
Andronikos, Manolis. *Vergina: The Royal Tombs and the Ancient City*. Athens: Ekdotike Athenon, 1984.
Apte, Vaman Shivram. *The Practical Sanskrit-English Dictionary*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1965.
Bachhofer, Ludwig. *Early Indian Sculpture*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1929.
Bailey, H. W. "Two Kharoṣṭhī Casket Inscriptions from Avaca." *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1978: 3–13.
Banerjea, Jitendra Nath. *The Development of Hindu Iconography*. Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 1956. Reprint, New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1974.
——. "The Holy Pañchavīras of the Vṛṣṇis." *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art* X (1942): 65–68.
Banerji, Rakhal Das. "New Brahmi Inscriptions of the Scythian Period." *Epigraphia Indica* X (1912): 106–121.
Barrett, Douglas. *A Guide to the Karla Caves*. Bombay: Bhulabhai Memorial Institute, 1957.
——. *Sculptures from Amaravati in the British Museum*. London: Hunt, Barnard, and Co., 1954.
Begley, Vimala, and Richard Daniel De Puma, eds. *Rome and India: The Ancient Sea Trade*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1991.
Bhattacharya, B. C. *The Jaina Iconography*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1974.
Bhattacharya, Gouriswar. "The So-called Ṛṣyaśṛṅga." *South Asian Studies* VII (1991): correspondence page.
——. "Two Donations in favour of the Mahāsaṅghikas of Mathura." H. Sarkar volume (forthcoming).
Bhattacharyya, N. N. *Jainism and Prakrit in Ancient and Medieval India*. New Delhi: Manohar, 1994.
Boardman, John, ed. *The Oxford History of Classical Art*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993.
Brough, John. *The Gāndhārī Dharmapada*. London Oriental Series 7. London: Oxford University Press, 1962.
Bühler, Georg. "Epigraphic Discoveries at Mathura." *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunst des Morgenlandes* X (1896): 171–174.
——. "Further Jaina Inscriptions from Mathura." *The Academy* no. 989 (1891): 373–374.
——. "Further Jaina Inscriptions from Mathura." *Epigraphia Indica* I (1892): 393–397.
——. "Further Jaina Inscriptions from Mathura." *Epigraphia Indica* II (1894): 195–212.
——. "Further Proofs of the Authenticity of the Jaina Tradition," *Vienna Oriental Journal* II, no. 2 (1888): 141–146.
——. "Further Proofs for the Authenticity of the Jaina Tradition." *Vienna Oriental Journal* III, no. 3 (1889): 233–240.
——. "Further Proofs of the Authenticity of the Jaina Tradition." *Vienna Oriental Journal* IV, no. 4 (1890): 313–331.
——. *Indian Palaeography from about 350 BC to about AD 1300*. New York: Westermann, 1904.
——. "New Jaina Inscriptions from Mathura." *Epigraphia Indica* I (1892): 371–393.
——. "On the Authenticity of the Jaina Tradition." *Vienna Oriental Journal* I, no. 3 (1887): 165–180.
——. "Specimens of Jaina Sculptures from Mathura." *Epigraphia Indica* II (1894): 311–323.
Callieri, Pierfrancesco. "The North-West of the Indian Subcontinent in the Indo-Greek Period: The Archaeological Evidence." In *In the Land of the Gryphons*, ed. A. Invernizzi. Monografie di Mesopotamia, V. Florence: Le Lettere, 1995.
Carter, Dagny. *The Symbol of the Beast: The Animal-Style Art of Eurasia*. New York: Ronald Press, 1957.
Casson, Lionel. "Ancient Naval Technology and the Route to India." In *Rome and India: The Ancient Sea Trade*. Vimala Begley and Richard Daniel De Puma ed. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1991, pp. 8–11.
Chakraberti, Kanchan. *Society, Religion, and Art of the Kushāṇa India: A Historico Symbiosis*. Calcutta: K. P. Bagchi, 1981.
Chakravarti, N. P. "Curzon Museum of Archaeology, Muttra," *Archaeological Survey of India*, *Annual Report*, 1935–36, pp. 113–114.
Chakravarty, Kalyan Kumar. *Early Buddhist Art of Bodh-Gayā*. Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1997.

Chanda, Ramaprasad. *Archaeology and Vaishnava Tradition*. Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, no. 5. Calcutta: Superintendent Government Printing, India, 1920.
——. "The Mathura School of Sculpture." *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1922–1923, pp. 164–170.
——. "The Śvetāmbara and the Digambara Images of the Jinas." *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1925–26, pp. 176–180.
Chandra, Lokesh. "Stone Inscription of Kuluta from Mathura." In *Central Asia in the Kushan Period*. Vol. I. Moscow: Committee on the Study of Civilizations of Central Asia of the Commission of the U.S.S.R. for Unesco, 1974.
Chandra, Pramod. *On the Study of Indian Art*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1983.
——. *The Sculpture of India*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1985.
——. *Stone Sculpture in the Allahabad Museum: A Descriptive Catalogue*. Poona: American Institute of Indian Studies, 1970.
——. "Yakṣa and Yakṣī Images from Vidiśā." *Ars Orientalis* VI (1966): 157–163.
Chattopadhyaya, Bhaskar D. *Kushāna State and Indian Society—A Study in Post Mauryan Polity and Society*. Calcutta: Punthi Pustak, 1975.
——. "Mathurā from the Śuṅga to the Kuṣāṇa Period: An Historical Outline." In *Mathura: The Cultural Heritage*, ed. Doris Meth Srinivasan, pp. 19–28. Delhi: American Institute of Indian Studies, 1989.
Chattopadhyaya, Sudhakar. *The Śakas in India*. Visva Bharati Studies 21. Calcutta: Visva Bharati, 1955.
Chaturvedi, Rawat Pandit Chaturbhuj Das. "Yaksha and Wife from Bharatpur," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1947: 151.
Churn, Bimala. *D. R. Bhandarkar Volume*. Calcutta: Indian Research Institute, 1940.
Coomaraswamy, Ananda Kentish. "The Buddha's Cūḍā, Hair, Uṣṇīṣa, and Crown." *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1928: 815–841.
——. " 'The Conqueror's Life' in Jaina Painting: Explicitur Reductio Haec Artis Ad Theologiam." *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art* III (1935): 127–144.
——. "Early Indian Architecture I. Cities and City-Gates, Etc." *Eastern Art* II (1930): 209–225.
——. "Early Indian Architecture II: *Bodhi-Gharas*." *Eastern Art* II (1930): 225–235.
——. "Early Indian Architecture III: Palaces," *Eastern Art* III (1931): 181–217.
——. "Early Indian Iconography I: Indra, with Special Reference to 'Indra's Visit,' " *Eastern Art* I (1928): 33–41.
——. "Early Indian Iconography II: Śrī-Lakṣmī," *Eastern Art* I (1929): 175–189.
——. *Elements of Buddhist Iconography*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1935.
——. *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*. New York: Dover Publications, 1927.
——. "Notes on Indian Coins and Symbols." In *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*. Berlin and Leipzig: Verlag von walter de Gruyter, 1927–1928, pp. 175–188.
——. "The Origin of the Buddha Image." *Art Bulletin* IX (June 1927): 287–328.
——. "Ornament." In *Figures of Speech, or, Figures of Thought: Collected Essays on the traditional, or, "normal" view of art*, New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1981, pp. 85–99. First published London: Luzac and Co., 1946.
——. "A Royal Gesture and Some Other Motifs." In *Feestbundel uitgegeven door het Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, 150 jarig bestaan 1778–1928*. Weltevreden: G. Kolff, 1929, pp. 57–61.
——. *La Sculpture de Bharhut*. Annales du Musée Guimet, Bibliothèque d'Art, Nouvelle Serie VI. Paris: Vanoest, 1956.
——. *La Sculpture de Bodhgaya*. Ars Asiatica XVIII. Paris: Les Éditions d'Art et d'Histoire, 1935.
——. "Sculptures from Mathura." *Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin* XXV (1927): 50–54.
——. "Symbolism of the Dome." *Indian Historical Quarterly* XIV (1938): 1–56.
——. "Uṣṇīṣa and Chatra." *The Poona Orientalist* III, no. 1 (1938): 1–19.
——. *Yakṣas: Essays in the Water Cosmology*. Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1993. First published in two volumes, vol. I in 1928, and vol. II in 1931.)
Cribb, Joe. "The Early Kushan Kings: New Evidence for Chronology. Evidence from the Rabatak Inscription of Kanishka I." In *Coins Art and Chronology: Essays on the pre-Islamic History of the Indo-Iranian Borderlands*, eds. Deborah Klimburg-Salter and Michael Alram. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1999, pp. 177–206.
——. "The 'Heraus' Coins: Their Attribution to the Kushan king Kujula Kadphises, *c.* AD 30–80." In *Essays in Honour of Robert Carson and Keneth Jenkins*, ed. Martin Price, Andrew Burnett, and Roger Bland. London: Spink, 1993.
——. "New Evidence of Indo-Parthian Political History." *Coin Hoards* VII (1985): 282–305.
——. "Numismatic Evidence for the Date of the 'Periplus'." In *Indian Numismatics, History, Art, and Culture: Essays in Honour of Dr. P. L. Gupta*, ed. D. W. MacDowall, Savita Sharma, Sanjay Garg. Vol. I. Delhi: Agam Kala Prakashan, 1992, pp. 131–145.
——. "Numismatic Evidence for Kushano-Sasanian Chronology." *Studia Iranica* XIX (1900): 151–193.
——. "A Re-Examination of the Buddha Images on the Coins of King Kaniṣka: New Light on the Origins of the Buddha Image in Gandharan Art." In *Studies in Buddhist Art of South Asia*, ed. A. K. Narain. New Delhi: Kanak Publications, 1985.

——. "Western Satraps and Satavahanas: Old and New Ideas of Chronology." In *Ex Moneta: Essays on Numismatics, History and Archaeology in Honour of Dr. David W. MacDowall*, ed. Amal Kumar Jha and Sanjay Garg. Nashik: Bapu, 1995, pp. 151–164.

Cunningham, Alexander. *Report of a Tour in Eastern Rajputana in 1882–1883*. Archaeological Survey of India Vol. XX. Reprinted Delhi: Indological Book House, 1969.

——. *The Stūpa of Bharhut*. London: W. H. Allen, 1879

Czuma, Stanislaw J., and Rekha Morris. *Kushan Sculpture: Images from Early India*. Cleveland, Ohio: Cleveland Museum of Art in Cooperation with Indiana University Press, 1985.

Damsteegt, Theo. *Epigraphical Hybrid Sanskrit: Its Rise, Spread, Characteristics and Relationship to Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit*. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1978.

Dani, Ahmad Hasan. *Indian Paleography*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963.

——. "Mathura Lion Capital Inscription (A Paleographical Study)," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Pakistan* V: 128–147.

Davis, Norman, and Colin M. Kraay. *The Hellenistic Kingdoms: Portrait Coins and History*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1973.

Deb, Harit Krishna. "Mathura Lion-Capital Inscriptions." *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal. Letters*, X (1944): 13–37.

Dehejia, Vidya. "Aniconism and the Multivalency of Emblems." *Ars Orientalis* XXI (1992): 45–66.

——. "Circumambulating the Bharhut Stupa: The Viewers' Narrative Experience." In *Picture Showmen: Insights into the Narrative Tradition in Indian Art*, ed. Jyotindra Jain. Mumbai: Marg Publications, 1998, pp. 22–31.

——. *Discourse in Early Buddhist Art*. New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1997.

——. *Early Buddhist Rock Temples: A Chronological Study*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1972.

Deo, Shantaram Balachandra. *History of Jaina Monachism from Inscriptions and Literature*. Poona: Deccan College Post-graduate Research Institute, 1965.

——. "Jainism in Indian History." *Jain Journal* VI, no. 4 (1972): 177–208.

——. "Roman Trade: Recent Archaeological Discoveries in Western India." In *Rome and India: The Ancient Sea Trade*, ed. Vimala Begley and R. D. Ed Puma. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1991, pp. 39–45.

Deshpande, M. N. "Kushan Bronzes from Chausa and Satavahana Bronzes." In *Indian Bronze Masterpieces*, ed. Asha Rani Mathur. New Delhi: Brijbasi Printers, 1988. pp. 23–33.

Dhaky, M. A., and U. P. Shah. *Aspects of Jaina Art and Architecture*. Ahmedabad: Gujarat State Committee for the Celebration of 2500th Anniversary of Bhagavān Mahāvīra Nirvāṇa, 1975.

Drake-Brockman, D. L., ed. *Mathura—A Gazetteer*. New Delhi: Usha, 1984.

Dutt, Sukumar. *The Buddha and Five After-Centuries*. Calcutta: Sahitya Samsad, 1978.

Dwivedi, R. C., ed. *Jain Art and Architecture*. Jaipur: Center for Jain Studies, 1980.

Edgerton, Franklin. *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1970. First published New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953.

Einoo, Shingo. "Studien zum Śrautaritual I." *Indo-Iranian Journal* XXV, no. 1 (1983): 11ff.

Faccenna, Domenico. *A Guide to the Excavations in Swat (Pakistan) 1956–1962*. Rome: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1964.

——. *Sculptures from the Sacred Area of Butkara I*. Rome: Istituto Poligrafico dello Stato, 1962.

Falk, Harry. *The Discovery of Lumbinī*. Lumbini, Nepal: Lumbini International Research Institute, 1998.

——. "The *Yuga* of Sphujiddhavaja and the Era of the Kuṣāṇas." *Silk Road Art and Archaeology* 7 (2001): 121–136.

Fleet, James F. "Moga, Maues, and Vonones." *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1907: 1013–1040.

——. "St. Thomas and Gondophernes." *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1905: 223–236.

Foucher, Alfred. "The Greek Origin of the Image of Buddha." *The Beginnings of Buddhist Art*. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1917, pp. 111–137.

Führer, A. "Abstract from Dr. Führer's Article on 'Indo-Scythic Architecture and Sculpture of the Mathura School.'" *Journal of Indian Art and Industry* V, no. 58, January 1894.

Fussman, Gérard. "L'Indo-Grec Ménandre ou Paul Demiéville Revisité," *Journal Asiatique* CCLXXXI (1993): 61–138.

——. "Nouvelles Inscriptions Śaka: Ère d'Eucratide, Ère d'Azès, Ère Vikrama, Ère de Kaniṣka." *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient* LXVII (1980): 1–43.

Gail, Adalbert J. "Ein Jaina-Mönch beim Parinirvāṇa des Buddha." In *Festschrift: Klaus Bruhn zur Vollendung des 65. Lebensjahres dargebracht von Schülern, Freunden und Kollegen*, ed. Nalini Balbir and Joachim K. Bautze. Reinbek: Dr. Inge Wezler, Verlag für Orientalische Fachpublikationen, 1994, pp. 333–337.

Gangoly, O. C. "A Kuṣāna Caryatid from Mathura." *Rūpam* XXXI (July 1927): 73–74.

Ganguli, Kalyan Kumar. "Some Symbolic Representations in Early Jaina Art." *Jain Journal* I, no. 1 (July 1966): 31–36.

Garde, M. B. "The Site of Padmāvatī." In *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report 1915–1916*, pp. 105–106.

Ghosh, A. *Jaina Art and Architecture*. New Delhi: Bharatiya Jnanpith, 1974.

Glynn, Catherine. "Evidence of Royal Painting for the Amber Court." *Artibus Asiae* LVI (1996): 67–93.

Goswamy, Prem. "Two Early Kuṣāṇa (?) Railing Pillars from Haryānā." *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*. New Series, Vol. XV (1985–86): 1–7.

Growse, Frederic Salmon. *Mathura: A District Memoir.* Allahabad: North-Western Provinces and Oudh Government Press, 1874; second edition, 1883.

Grünwedel, Albert. *Buddhist Art in India.* Revised and enlarged by Jas. Burgess. London: Bernard Quaritch, 1901.

Gupta, Shakti M. *Plants in Indian Temple Art.* Delhi: B. R. Publication Corporation, 1996.

Gupta, S. P. *Kushāṇa Sculptures from Sanghol (1st–2nd Century CE): A Recent Discovery.* New Delhi: National Museum, 1985.

——. *The Roots of Indian Art.* Delhi: B. R. Publication Corporation, 1980.

Harle, J. C. "The Significance of Wrapped Heads in Indian Sculpture." In *South Asian Archaeology 1979*, ed. H. Härtel. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 1981, pp. 401–410.

Härtel, Herbert. *Excavations at Sonkh: 2500 Years of a Town in Mathura District.* Berlin: D. Reimer, 1993.

Hayward Gallery. *In the Image of Man. The Indian Perception of the Universe Through 2000 Years of Painting and Sculpture*, ed.George Michell, Linda Leach, Kapila Vatsyayan, and T. S. Maxwell. London: Arts Council of Great Britain in Association with Seidenfeld and Nicolson, 1982.

Hinüber, Oskar von. "Das Nandyāvarta-Symbol." *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Suppl. II: xviii. Deutscher Orientalistentag, vom 1, bis 5 (1974): 56–65.

Horvath, Vera. "Mathura Art in Francis Hopp Museum in Budapest." *Bulletin of Museums and Archaeology in Uttar Pradesh* XIV (December 1974): 19–22.

Huntington, John C. "Mathurā Evidence for the Early Teachings of Mahāyāna." In *Mathura: The Cultural Heritage*, ed. Doris Srinivasan. New Delhi: American Institute of Indian Studies, 1989, pp. 87–92.

——. "The Origin of the Buddha Image: Early Image Traditions and the Concept of *Buddhadarśanapunya*." In *Studies in Buddhist Art and Archaeology*, ed. A. K. Narain. New Delhi: Kanak Publications, 1985.

Huntington, Susan L. *The Art of Ancient India.* New York: Weatherhill, 1985.

Ingholt, Harald. *Gandhāran Art in Pakistan.* New York: Pantheon Books, 1957.

Irwin, John. " 'Aśokan' Pillars: A Reassessment—II: Structure." *The Burlington Magazine* CXVI, no. 861 (1974): 711–727.

Jacobi, Hermann. "Ueber die Entstehung der «vetāmbara und Digambara Sekten," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 1884): 1–42.

Jain, Champat Rai. *Riṣabha Deva: The Founder of Jainism.* Allahabad: Indian Press, 1929.

Jaini, Padmanabh S. "Jaina Monks from Mathura: Literary Evidence for their Identification on Kuṣāṇa Sculptures." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* LVIII, Pt. 3 (1995): 479–494.

——. *The Jaina Path of Purification.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979.

Jash, Pranabananda. "Doctrines of an Obsolete Sect." *Jain Journal* XVII, no. 4 (1983): 135–139.

Jayaswal, K. P. *History of India: 150 AD to 350 AD* Lahore: Motilal Banarsi Das, 1933.

——. "Jaina Image of Maurya Period." *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* XXIII (1937): 130–132.

Joshi, M. C. "Mathurā as an Ancient Settlement." In *Mathurā: The Cultural Heritage*, ed. Doris Meth Srinivasan. New Delhi: American Institute of Indian Studies, 1989, pp. 165–170.

Joshi, Nilakanth Purushottam. "Early Jaina Icons from Mathura." In *Mathurā: The Cultural Heritage*, ed. Doris Srinivasan. New Delhi: American Institute of Indian Studies, 1989, pp. 332–367.

——. *Mathura Sculptures: A Handbook to Appreciate Sculptures in the Archaeological Museum.* Mathura: Archaeological Museum, 1966.

Kak, Pandit R. C., and Ramaprasad Chanda. *Catalogue of the Museum of Archaeology at Sanchi, Bhopal State.* Calcutta: Superintendent of Government Printing, India, 1922.

Kalyani-Das. *Early Inscriptions of Mathura: A Study.* Calcutta: Punthi Pustak, 1980.

Kenoyer, Jonathan Mark. *Ancient Cities of the Indus Valley Civilization.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1998.

Khadabadi, B. K. *Vaḍḍārādhane: A Study.* Research Publications Series, 38. Dharwad: Karnatak University, 1979.

Kinnard, Jacob. "The Polyvalent *Pādas* of Viṣṇu and the Buddha." *History of Religions* 40 (2000): 32–57.

Klimburg-Salter, Deborah, and Michael Alram. *Coins, Art, and Chronology: Essays on the Pre-Islamic History of the Indo-Iranian Borderlands.* Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1999.

Knox, Robert. *Amaravati: Buddhist Sculpture from the Great Stūpa.* London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1992.

Konow, Sten. *Kharoshṭhī Inscriptions with the Exception of those of Aśoka.* Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol. II, Part I. Calcutta: Government of India, 1929.

Kottkamp, Heino. *Der Stupa als Repräsentation des buddhistischen Heilsweges: Untersuchungen zur Entstehung und Entwicklung architektonischer Symbolik.* Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1992.

Kramrisch, Stella. *Patna Museum Catalogue of Antiquities.* Patna: Patna Museum, 1965.

——. "The Representation of Nature in Early Buddhist Sculpture." In *Exploring India's Sacred Art*, ed. Barbara Stoler Miller. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1983 (first published in *Rūpam*, 1921), pp. 123–129.

Kreisel, Gerd. *Die Śiva-Bildwerke der Mathurā-Kunst.* Monographien zur Indischen Archaologie, Kunst und Philologie, Bd. 5. Stuttgart: F. Steiner, 1986.

Kumar, Nathmal Tati Muni Mahendra. *Aspects of Jaina Monasticism.* Ladnun: Jain Vishva Bharati, 1981.

Kurita, Isao. *Gandhāran Art.* 2 vols. Tokyo: Nigensha, 1988.

Kurz, O. "Begram et l'Occident Gréco-Romain." In *Nouvelles Recherches Archéologiques àBegram.* Memoires de la Delegation Archéologiques Française en Afghanistan, Vol. 11. Paris: Imprimérie Nationale, 1954.

Law, Bimala Churn. *Historical Geography of Ancient India*. Delhi: Ess Ess Publications, 1976 reprint.
——. *Tribes in Ancient India*. Bhandarkar Oriental Series No. 4. Poona: Dr. R. N. Dandekar, the Secretary, bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 1943.
Lehmann, Karl. "The Dome of Heaven." *Art Bulletin* XXVII (March 1945): 1–27.
Levi, Sylvain. "Kaniṣka et Sātavahāna." *Journal Asiatique* 1936: 16–21.
——. "Notes sur les Indo-Scythes." *Journal Asiatique* 1896: 444–484.
——. "Notes sur les Indo-Scythes." *Journal Asiatique* 1897: 5–42.
——. "Sur Quelques Terms Employé dans les Inscriptions des Kṣatrapas." *Journal Asiatique* 1902: 95–125.
Liddell, H. G., and R. Scott. *An Intermediate Greek-English Lexicon*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1889.
Linrothe, Rob. "Inquiries into the Origin of the Buddha Image: A Review." *East and West* 43 (December 1993): 241–256.
Lohuizen-de Leeuw, Johanna Engelberta van. "New Evidence with Regard to the Origin of the Buddha Image." In *South Asian Archaeology 1979*, ed. H. Härtel. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 1981, pp. 377–400.
——. *The "Scythian" Period; An Approach to the History, Art, Epigraphy, and Paleography of North India from the 1st Century BC to the 3rd Century AD* Orientalia Rheno-Traiectina, v. 2. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1949.
Lüders, Heinrich. *Bharhut Inscriptions*. Revised and supplemented by E. Waldschmidt and M. A. Mehendale. Ootacamund: Government Epigraphist for India, 1963.
——. "Epigraphical Notes." *Indian Antiquary* XXXIII (1904): 33–41, 101–109, 149– 156.
——. "The Era of the Mahārāja and the Mahārāja Rājātirāja." In *D. R. Bhandarkar Volume*, ed. Bimala Churn Law. Calcutta: Indian Research Institute, 1940, pp. 281–289.
——. "The Lingual *ḷa* in the Northern Brahmi Script." *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1911: 1081–1089.
——. "A List of Brahmi Inscriptions from the Earliest Times to about 400 AD." *Epigraphia Indica* X, appendix (1912): 1–126.
——. "The Māṇikiāla Inscription." *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1909: 645–666.
——. *Mathura Inscriptions, Unpublished Papers*. Klaus L. Janert, ed. Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Philologisch-Historische Klasse; 3. Folge, Nr. 47. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1961.
——. "Die Sage von Ṛṣyaśṛṅga." In *Philologica Indica*. Ausgewahlte Kleine Schriften. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1940, pp. 1–73.
——. "Seven Brahmi Inscriptions from Mathura and its Vicinity." *Epigraphia Indica* XXIV (1938/39): 194–210.
——. "On Some Brahmi Inscriptions in the Lucknow Provincial Museum." *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1912: 153–179.
——. "Taxila Vase Inscription." *Epigraphia Indica* VIII (1905/06): 296–298.
——. "Three Early Brahmi Inscriptions." *Epigraphia Indica* IX (1907/08): 239–248.
——. "Das Zeichen für 70 in den Inschriften von Mathura aus der Śaka- und Kuṣana-Zeit." In *Philologica Indica*. Ausgewälte Kleine Schriften. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1940, pp. 721–726.
Malalasekera, G. P. *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names*. 2 vols. New Delhi: Oriental Books Reprint Corp., 1983. First published London: J. Murray, 1937–1938.
Marshall, John. "Greeks and Śakas in India." *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1947: 3–32.
Mathur, I. D. *Rare Sculptures: Selections from Some Indian Museums Exhibited in Japan*. New Delhi: National Museum, 1984.
Mehendale, M. A. "Language of Mathurā Inscriptions." In *Mathura: The Cultural Heritage*, ed. Doris Meth Srinivasan. New Delhi: American Institute of Indian Studies, 1989, pp. 247–254.
Meyer, Prudence. "Bodhisattvas and Buddhas: Early Buddhist Images from Mathura." *Artibus Asiae* XLVII, 2 (1986): 107–142.
Mirashi, V. V. *The History and Inscriptions of the Sātavāhanas and the Western Kshatrapas*. Bombay: Maharashtra State Board for Literature and Culture, 1981.
Mishra, R. S. "*Raṅgavali* in Jain Literature and Early Jain Art." *Jain Art and Architecture*, ed. R. C. Dwivedi. Jaipur: Center for Jain Studies, 1980.
Mitchiner, Michael. *Indo-Greek and Indo-Scythian Coinage*. 9 vols. London: Hawkins, 1976.
Mitra, Debala. "Mathura: Early History." In *Jaina Art and Architecture*, Vol. I, ed. A. Ghosh. New Delhi: Bharatiya Jnanpith, 1974, pp. 49–68.
——. *Udayagiri and Khandagiri*. New Delhi: Director General, Archaeological Survey of India, 1975.
Mitterwallner, Gritli von. "Inscribed Fragmentary Scultpure of the Year 14 in the State Museum, Lucknow." *Essays on Indology, Polity and Administration In Honour of Padmabhushan Sh. R. K. Trivedi*, Vol. I, ed. S. D. Trivedi. Delhi: Agam Kala Prakashan, 1989, pp. 35–49.
——. *Kuṣāṇa Coins and Kuṣāṇa Sculptures from Mathurā*. Mathura: Government Museum, 1986.
——. "Yakṣas of Ancient Mathura." In *Mathurā: The Cultural Heritage*, ed. Doris Meth Srinivasan. New Delhi: American Institute of Indian Studies, 1989, pp. 368–382.
Mohan, Vishwa Mitra. *The Śakas in India and Their Impact on Indian Life and Culture*. Varanasi: Chaukhambha Orientalia, 1976.
Monier-Williams, Monier. *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992. First published Oxford, 1899.
Mukherjee, B. N. "A Casket Inscription of the Time of Vijayamitra, the Ruler of Avaca." *Indian Museum Bulletin* XXI (1986): 7–10.

——. "The Great Kushāṇa Testament." *Indian Museum Bulletin* XXX (1995): 1–105.
——. "An Interesting Kharoshṭī Inscription." *Journal of Ancient Indian History* XI (1977–78): 93ff.
——. "A Mathura Image Inscription." *Indian Museum Bulletin* XXII (1987): 28–29.
——. *Mathurā and Its Society: The Śaka-Pahlava Phase*. Calcutta: Firma K. L. M. Private, 1981.
——. "Ob odnoj nadpisi iz Matxury i o ee znacenii dlja problemy Javanov i saka-paxlavov" [An Inscription of Mathura Concerning the Problem of the Yavanas and the Saka-Pahalavas]. *Vestnik Drevnej Istorii*, 1992.
——. *The Rise and Fall of the Kushāna Empire*. Calcutta: Firma K. L. M., 1988.
——. "The Vikrama and Śaka Eras—Observations on their Beginnings and their Early Use in Eastern India." *Indian Museum Bulletin* XX (1985): 7–27.
Narain, A. K., ed. *Studies in Buddhist Art of South Asia*. New Delhi: Kanak Publications, 1985.
Noe, S. P. *A Bibliography of Greek Coin-Hoards*. New York: American Numismatic Society, 1925.
Ojha, Pandit Gaurishankar Hirachand. *The Palaeography of India*, 2nd Edition. Ajmer: Rai Bahadur Pandit Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha, 1918.
Pai, M. G. "Chronology of Śakas, Pahlavas and Kushānas." *Journal of Indian History* XVI (1935): 309–342.
Pal, Pratyapaditya. *Art from the Indian Subcontinent*. Asian Art at the Norton Simon Museum, vol. 1. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2003.
——. *Indian Sculpture*. Vol. I. Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1986.
——, ed. *The Peaceful Liberators: Jain Art from India*. Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1994.
——. "A Pre-Kushan Buddha Image." In *Pot-Pourri of Indian Art*, ed. Pratapaditya Pal. Bombay: Marg Publications, 1988, pp. 1–20.
Panigrahi, K. C. *Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneswar*. Bombay: Orient Longmans, 1961.
Pargiter, F. E. "Jankhat Inscription of the Time of Virasena." *Epigraphia Indica* XI (1911–12): 85–87.
Paul, Debjani. "Antiquity of the Viṣṇupāda at Gaya. Tradition and Archaeology," *East and West*, 35 (1985): 133–141.
Pingree, David. "A Note on the Calendars Used in Early Indian Inscriptions." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 102, no. 2 (April–June, 1982): 355–359.
Puri, Barj Nath. *India in the Time of Patañjali*. Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1968.
——. *Kuṣāṇa Bibliography*. Calcutta: Naya Prokash, 1977.
Quagliotti, Anna Maria. *Buddhapadas: an essay on the representations of the footprints of the Buddha with a descriptive catalogue of the Indian specimens from the 2nd century BC to the 4th century AD*. Memoirs of the Institute of Silk Road Studies, no. 2. Kamakura: Institute of Silk Road Studies, 1998.
Quintanilla, Sonya Rhie. "*Āyāgapaṭas*: Characteristics, Symbolism, and Chronology." *Artibus Asiae*, vol. L, no. 1 (2000), pp. 79–137.
——. "Closer to Heaven than the Gods: Jaina Monks in the Art of Pre-Kushan Mathura." *Marg*. Vol. 52, no. 3 (March 2001), pp. 57–68.
——. "Exemplars of *Ahimsa* and *Anekanta*: The Case of the Early Jains at Mathura in Art and Epigraphy. In *Ahimsa, Anekanta, and Jainism*, ed. Tara Sethia. New Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 2004, pp. 187–216.
Raducha, Joan Anastasia. "Iconography of Buddhist Relief Scenes from Kushan Mathurā." (Ph.D. dissertation). Ann Arbor, Mich.: University Microfilms International, 1984.
Rao, T. A. Gopinatha. *Elements of Hindu Iconography*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1993. First published 1914 in Madras.
Rapson, E. J. "The Date of the Amohini Votive Tablet of Mathura." In *Indian Studies in Honor of Charles Rockwell Lanman*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1929, pp. 49–52.
——, ed. *The Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I. Ancient India. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1935.
Rau, Heimo. "Die Āyākapaṭas auf den Stūpa-Darstellungen von Amarāvaṭī, Gummaḍidurru und Nāgājunakoṇḍa." *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Suppl. I, XVII. Deutscher Orientalistentag, vom 21, bis 27, Juli 1968 in Würzburg (1969): 905–911.
Renou, Louis, and Jean Filliozat. *L'Inde Classique*. 2 vols. Paris: Le Puy-en-Velay, 1947.
Rhi, Ju-Hyung. "From Bodhisattva to Buddha: The Beginning of Iconic Representations in Buddhist Art." *Artibus Asiae* LIV, no. 3 / 4 (1994): 207–225.
Rhie, Marylin Martin. *Early Buddhist Art of China and Central Asia*, Vol. I. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1999.
Robertson, Martin. "Early Greek Mosaic." *Macedonia and Greece in Late Classical and Early Hellenistic Times*. Studies in the History of Art, Vol. X. Washington D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1982, pp. 241–249.
Rosenfield, John M. *The Dynastic Arts of the Kushans*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967.
——. "An Early Inscribed Sculpture Fragment from Mathura." (Forthcoming in the Takata memorial volume.)
Sahni, Daya Ram. *Catalogue of the Museum of Archaeology at Sarnath*. Calcutta: Superintendent of Government Printing, 1914.
Salomon, Richard. "An Additional Note on *Arapacana*." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 113 (1993): 275–276.
——. *Ancient Buddhist Scrolls from Gandhāra*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1999.
——. "The 'Avaca' Inscription and the Origin of the Vikrama Era." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* CII (1982): 66–68.
——. "The Bhagamoya Relic Bowl Inscription." *Indo-Iranian Journal* XXVII (1984): 107–120.
——. "Epigraphic Remains of Indian Traders in Egypt." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 113 (1993): 731–736.

——. *A Gāndhārī Version of the Rhinoceros Sūtra*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2000.
——. *Indian Epigraphy: A Guide to the Study of Inscriptions in Sanskrit, Prakrit, and the Other Indo-Aryan Languages*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1998.
——. "The Indo-Greek Era of 186/5 BC in a Buddhist Reliquary Inscription." In *Afghanistan, Ancien Carrefour entre l'Est et l'Ouest*, ed. O. Bopearachchi and Marie-Françoise Boussac. Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2005, pp. 359–402.
——. "The Indravarman (Avaca) Casket Inscription Reconsidered: Further Evidence for Canonical Passages in Buddhist Inscriptions." *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* VII (1984): 107–123.
——. "An Inscribed Silver Buddhist Reliquary of the Time of King Kharaosta and Prince Indravarman." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 116 (1996): 418–452.
——. "The Inscription of Senavarma, King of Oḍi," *Indo-Iranian Journal* XXIX (1986): 261–293.
——. "A Kharoṣṭhī Inscription on a Silver Goblet." *Bulletin of the Asia Institute* IV (1990): 149–157.
——. "A Kharoṣṭhī Reliquary Inscription of the Time of the Apraca Prince Viṣṇuvarma." In *South Asian Studies* XI (1995): 27–32.
——. "The Kṣatrapas and Mahākṣatrapas of India." *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens* XVIII (1974): 5–25.
——. "The Reliquary Inscripiton of Utara: A New Source for the History of the Kings of Apraca." *Indo-Iranian Journal* XXXI (1988): 169–177.
Salomon, Richard, and Gregory Schopen. "The Indravarman (Avaca) Casket Inscription Reconsidered: Further Evidence for Canonical Passages in Buddhist Inscriptions." *Journal of the International Association of Buddhist Studies* 7, no. 1 (1984): 107ff.
Schlingloff, Dieter. "Jainas and Other 'Heretics' in Buddhist Art." In *Jainism and Prakrit in Ancient and Medieval India*, ed. N. N. Bhattacharyya. New Delhi: Manohar, 1994.
Schopen, Gregory. "On Monks, Nuns and 'Vulgar' Practices: The Introduction of the Image Cult into Indian Buddhism." *Artibus Asiae* XLIX, no. 1/2 (1988/89): 153–168.
——. "The Phrase *'sa pṛthivīpradeśaś caityabhūto bhavet'* in the *Vajracchedikā*: Notes on the Cult of the Book in Mahāyāna." *Indo-Iranian Journal* XVII, nos. 3 and 4 (1975): 147–181.
Sengupta, R. "The Jaina Āyāga-Platforms at Mathura: An Interpretation." *Bulletin of Museums and Archaeology in Uttar Pradesh* IX (1972): 23–29.
——. "On the Identification of Ṛṣyaśriṅga and Egyptian Crowns." *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art* XXII and XXIII (1993–1995): 139–144.
Settar, S. "The Classical Kannaḍa Literature and the Digambara Jaina Iconography." In *Aspects of Jaina Art and Architecture* ed. U. P. Shah and M. A. Dhaky. Ahmedabad: Gujarat State Committee for the Celebration of 2500th Anniversary of Bhagavān Mahāvīra Nirvāṇa, 1975, pp. 25–48.
Seyrig, Henri. *Antiquités Syriennes*. Institut Français d'Archaéologie de Beyrouth Series, no. 7. Paris: P. Geuthner, 1934.
Shah, Chimanlal J. *Jainism in Northern India*. New York: Longmans, Green, & Co., 1932.
Shah, Umakant Prasad. "Beginnings of Jaina Iconography." *Bulletin of Museums and Archaeology in Uttar Pradesh* (June, 1972): 1–14.
——. "Harinegameṣin." *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art* XIX (1952–53): 19–41.
——. *Jaina-Rūpa-Maṇḍana*. New Delhi: Abhinav Publications, 1987.
——. *Studies in Jaina Art*. Banaras: Jaina Cultural Research Society, 1955.
——. "*Varddhamāna-Vidyā-Paṭa*." *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art* IX (1941): 42–51.
Shah, U. P. and M. A. Dhaky, eds. *Aspects of Jaina Art and Architecture*. Ahmedabad: Gujarat State Committee for the Celebration of 2500th Anniversary of Bhagavān Mahāvīra Nirvāṇa, 1975.
Sharma, G. R. *History to Prehistory: Contribution of the Department to the Archaeology of the Ganga Valley and the Vindhyas*. Archaeology of the Vindhyas and the Ganga Valley, No. 11. Allahabad: Department of Ancient History, Culture, and Archaeology, University of Allahabad, 1980.
Sharma, Ramesh Chandra. "Art Data in *Rāyapaseṇiya*." *Bulletin of Museums and Archaeology in Uttar Pradesh* IX (1972): 38–44.
——. *Buddhist Art, Mathura School*. New Delhi: Wiley Eastern Ltd., 1995.
——. *Mathura Museum and Art: A Comprehensive Pictorial Guidebook*. Mathura: Government Museum, 1976.
——. "New Rare Sculptures in Mathura Museum." *Bulletin of Museums and Archaeology in Uttar Pradesh* VIII (December, 1971): 71ff.
——. "Pre-Kaniṣka Buddhist Iconography at Mathurā." *Bulletin of Museums and Archaeology in Uttar Pradesh* V–VI (1970): 24.
——. *The Splendour of Mathura, Art and Museum*. New Dellhi: D. K. Printworld, 1993.
Shrava, Satya. *Śakas in India*. New Delhi: Pranava Prakashan, 1981.
Simonetta, Alberto. "A New Essay on the Indo-Greeks, the Śakas, and Pahlavas." *East and West* IX (1958): 154–173.
Sims-Williams, Nicholas, and Joe Cribb. "A New Bactrian Inscription of Kanishka the Great." *Silk Road Art and Archaeology* IV (1996): 75–142.

Sircar, Dines Chandra. "Date Of Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya." *The Indian Historical Quarterly* XV (1939): 633 ff.
——. "Observations on the Study of Some Epigraphic Records from Mathura." In *Mathura: The Cultural Heritage*, ed. Doris Meth Srinivasan. New Delhi: American Institute of Indian Studies, 1989, p. 259.
——. *Select Inscriptions Bearing on Indian History and Civilization*. Vol. I. Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 1965.
——. *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidas, 1960.
——. "Two Brāhmī Inscriptions." *Journal of the Bihar Research Society* XXXIX (1953): 41ff.
Smith, Vincent A. "The Indo-Parthian Dynasties from about 120 BC–100 AD" *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft* 60 (1906): 49–72.
——. *The Jain Stupa and Other Antiquities at Mathura*. Archaeological Survey of India, New Imperial Series, vol. XX; North-Western Provinces and Oudh, vol. V: Muttra Antiquities. Allahabad: F. Luker, Superintendant Government Press, 1901.
——. "The Kushān or Indo-Scythian Period of Indian History, BC 165–AD 320." *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1903: 1–64.
——. "The Śakas in Northern India," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft.* Vol. 61 (1907): 403–421.
Sompura, P. O. and M. A. Dhaky. "The Jaina Architecture and Iconography in the Vāstusāstras of Western India." In *Aspects of Jaina Art and Architecture*, ed. U. P. Shah and M. A. Dhaky. Ahmedabad: Gujarat State Committee for the Celebration of 2500th Anniversary of Bhagavān Mahāvīra Nirvāṇa, 1975, pp. 13–19.
Soper, Alexander Coburn. "The 'Dome of Heaven' in Asia." *Art Bulletin* XXIX, no. 1 (March 1947): 225–248.
Sotheby's. *Indian and Southeast Asian Art.* Auction catalogue. New York, September 21, 1995.
Srinivasan, Doris Meth. *Many Heads, Arms, and Eyes*. Leiden: Brill, 1997.
——, ed. *Mathurā: The Cultural Heritage*. New Delhi: American Institute of Indian Studies, 1989.
——. "Newly Discovered Inscribed Mathurā Sculptures of Probable Doorkeepers, Dating to the Kṣatrapa Period." *Archives of Asian Art* XLIII (1990): 63–68.
——. "Vaiṣṇava Art and Iconography from Mathurā." *Mathura: The Cultural Heritage*, ed. Doris Meth Srinivasan. New Delhi: American Institute of Indian Studies, 1989, pp. 383–392.
Srivastava, V. N. "Some Interesting Jaina Sculptures in the State Museum, Lucknow." *Bulletin of Museums and Archaeology in Uttar Pradesh* IX (1972): 45–52.
Stern, Philippe. "Les Ivoires et Os Découverts à Begram: Leur Place dans l'Évolution de l'Art de l'Inde." In *Nouvelles Recherches Archéologiques à Begram.* Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologiques Française en Afghanistan, Vol. 11, ed. J. Hackin. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1954, pp. 42–43.
Stietencron, Heinrich von. "Orthodox Attitudes Towards Temple Service and Image Worship in Ancient India." *Central Asiatic Journal* XXI, no. 2 (1977): 126ff.
Strong, John S. *The Legend and Cult of Upagupta*. Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1992.
——. *The Legend of King Aśoka: A Study and Translation of the* Aśokāvadāna. Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1983.
Taddei, Maurizio. "Oral Narrative, Visual Narrative, Literary Narrative in Ancient Buddhist India." In *India, Tibet, China: Genesis and Aspects of Traditional Narrative*, ed. Alfredo Cadonna. Florence: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 1999, pp. 71–85.
Takata, Osamu. *Butsuzo no Kigen*. Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1967.
Tarn, W. W. *The Greeks in Bactria and India*. Cambridge: University Press, 1951.
Thakurel, Pushpa. "Yavana Inscription from Mathurā." *Indian Museum Bulletin* XXVI (1991): 23–25.
Thomas, F. W. "The Inscriptions on the Mathura Lion-Capital." *Epigraphia Indica* IX (1907): 135–147.
——. "Sandanes, Nahapāna, Caṣṭana and Kaniṣka: Tung-li, P'an-ch'ao and Chinese Turkestan." *New Indian Antiquary* VII (1944): 380ff.
Tokyo National Museum. *Ancient Sculptures of India*. Tokyo, 1984.
Trabold, Janine L. "A Chronology of Indian Sculpture: The Sātavahāna Chronology at Nasik." *Artibus Asiae* XXXII (1970): 49–88.
Upadhye, A. N. *Upadhye: Papers*. Mysore: University of Mysore, 1983.
——. "Yāpanīya Saṅgha—A Jaina Sect." *Journal of the University of Bombay* I (1933): 224–231.
Verardi, Giovanni. "Avatāraṇa: a Note on the Bodhisattva Image Dated in the Third Year of Kaniṣka in the Sārnāth Museum." *East and West* 35 (1985): 67–101.
Verma, Thakur Prasad. *The Palaeography of Brāhmī Script in North India (From c. 236 BC to c. 200 AD)*. Varanasi: Siddharth Prakashan, 1971.
Vincent, William. *The Commerce and Navigation of the Ancients in the Indian Ocean*. London: T. Cadwell and W. Davies, 1807.
Vogel, Jean Philippe. *Catalogue of the Archaeological Museum at Mathura*. Allahabad: Superintendent, Government Press, United Provinces, 1910.
——. "Explorations at Mathura." *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report, 1911–1912*. Calcutta: Superintendent Government Printing, 1915.
——. "The Mathura School of Sculpture." *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report, 1909–1910*. Calcutta: Superintendent Government Printing, 1914.

——. *La Sculpture de Mathura*. Ars Asiatica XV. Paris: Les Éditions G. Van Oest, 1930.
Wackernagel, Jakob. *Altindische Grammatik*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1957.
Wayman, Alex. "The Mathurā Set of Aṣṭamaṅgala (Eight Auspicious Symbols) in Early and Later Times." In *Mathura: The Cultural Heritage*, ed. Doris Meth Srinivasan. New Delhi: American Institute of Indian Studies, 1989.
Wheeler, R. E. M., A. Ghosh, and Krishnadeva. "Arikamedu: An Indo-Roman Trading-station on the East Coast of India." *Ancient India* II (1946): 117–121.
Williams, Joanna Gottfried. *The Art of Gupta India: Empire and Province*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1982.
Witzel, Michael E. J. "The Case of the Shattered Head." *Studien zur Indologie und Iranistik* 13/14 (1987): 363–415.
——. "Sur le chemin du ciel." *Bulletin d'Études Indiennes* II (1984) 213–279.
Yadav, Jagdish S. *Cultural Heritage of Mathura—A Bibliography*. New Delhi: Manohar Publications for the American Institute of Indian Studies, 1991.
Zimmer, Heinrich. *The Art of Indian Asia*. Bollingen Series XXXIX. New York: Pantheon Books, 1955.
Zin, Monika. "The Identification of the Bagh Painting." *East and West* 51, nos. 3–4 (2001): 299–322.

INDEX

ILLUSTRATIONS

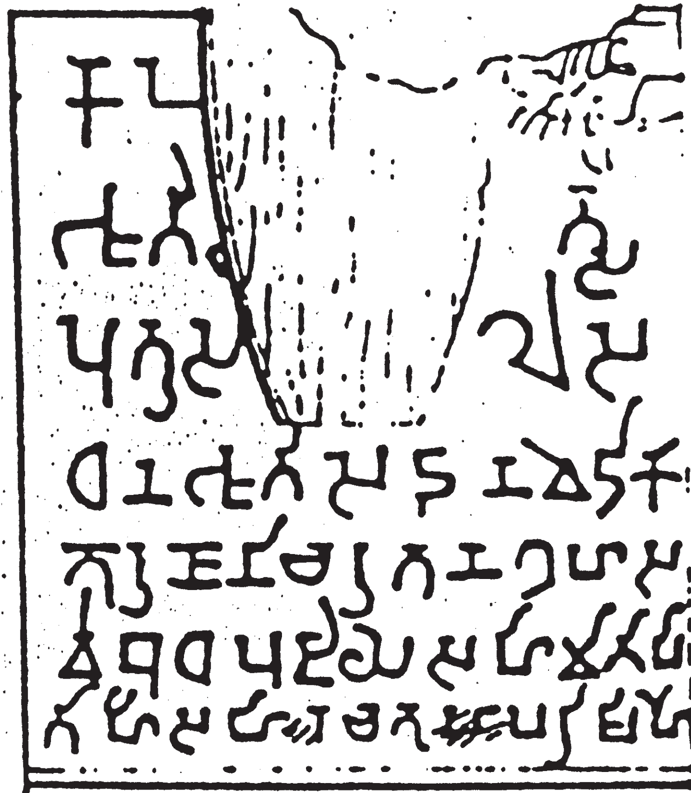


Fig. 1. Dhanabhuti inscription from Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; possibly ca. 150 BCE. Current location unknown. Drawing: From A. Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey of India*, *Report for the Year 1871–72*, Vol. III, Pl. XVI, No. 21.



Fig. 2. Mehrauli *yakṣī*, from Mehrauli, Haryana; ca. 150 BCE. Red sandstone; H. 2' 6½" × W. 9 ½" × D. 8" (0.775 × 0.225 × 0.29 m). National Museum, New Delhi; 59.539. Photo: S. R. Quintanilla.



Fig. 3. Detail of Fig. 2. Photo: S. R. Quintanilla.



Fig. 4. Detail of Fig. 2. Photo: S. R. Quintanilla.



Fig. 5. Culakokā *devatā*, from Bharhut, Madhya Pradesh; ca. 150 BCE. Plum sandstone. Indian Museum, Calcutta. Photo: From A. K. Coomaraswamy, *La Sculpture de Bharhut*, Pl. XIX, Fig. 48.



Fig. 6. *Vessantara Jātaka*, from Bharhut, Madhya Pradesh; ca. 150 BCE. Plum sandstone. Indian Museum, Calcutta. Photo: From A. K. Coomaraswamy, *La Sculpture de Bharhut*, Fig. 246.



Fig. 7. Male *cauri* bearer, from Jamālpur-Ṭīlā, Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 150 BCE. Red sandstone; H. 1' 4" (0.405 m). Government Museum, Mathura; I.15. Photo: American Institute of Indian Studies.



Fig. 8. Railpost fragment with *stūpa* worship, from Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 150 BCE. Buff sandstone; H. 1' 4" × W. 7" × D. 3" (40.5 × 17.8 × 7.62 cm). Government Museum, Mathura; 95.18. Photo: S. R. Quintanilla.



Fig. 9. Railpost fragment with *stūpa* worship, from Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 150 BCE. Buff sandstone; H. 1' 4" × W. 7" × D. 3" (40.5 × 17.8 × 7.62 cm). Government Museum, Mathura; 95.18. Photo: S. R. Quintanilla.



Fig. 10a. Tympanum spandrel, from Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 150 BCE. Pink sandstone. H. 1' × 1' 10" (57 × 32 cm). State Museum, Lucknow; 56.395. Photo: American Institute of Indian Studies.



Fig. 10b. Tympanum spandrel, from Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 150 BCE. Pink sandstone. H. 1' × 1' 10" (57 × 32 cm). State Museum, Lucknow; 56.395. Photo: American Institute of Indian Studies.



Fig. 11. Tympanum fragment, from Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 150 BCE. Buff sandstone; H. 12½" × W. 17" × D. 2" (31.8 × 43.18 × 5.08 cm). Government Museum, Mathura; 47.3367. Photo: S. R. Quintanilla.



Fig. 12a. Flower bearer from a gateway architrave baluster, from Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 150 BCE. Red sandstone; H. 11 × W. 4 3/4 × D. 2 3/4 in. (27.94 × 12.07 × 6.99 cm). Los Angeles County Museum of Art, From the Nasli and Alice Heeramaneck Collection, Museum Associates Purchase; M.76.2.29. Photo: © 2006 Museum Associates/ LACMA.



Fig. 12b. Worshipper from a gateway architrave baluster, from Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 150 BCE. Red sandstone; H. 11 × W. 4 3/4 × D. 2 3/4 in. (27.94 × 12.07 × 6.99 cm). Los Angeles County Museum of Art, From the Nasli and Alice Heeramaneck Collection, Museum Associates Purchase; M.76.2.29. Photo: © 2006 Museum Associates/ LACMA.



Fig. 13. Dance scene on a coping stone, from Bharhut, Madhya Pradesh; ca. 150 BCE. Plum sandstone. National Museum, New Delhi. Photo: From R. C. Agrawala, "A Short Note on Unpublished Reliefs from Bharhut," Pl. XXII, Fig. 3.



Fig. 14. Crossbar medallion with elephant and riders, from Gāyatrī-Ṭīlā, Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 150 BCE. Buff sandstone; H. 1'4" × W. 1'2" (40.64 × 35.56 cm). Government Museum, Mathura; 1341. Photo: From J. P. Vogel, *La Sculpture de Mathura*, Pl. XIII b.



Fig. 15. Parkham Yakṣa, from Parkham, 14 miles (22.5 km) south of Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 150 BCE. Buff sandstone; H. (with pedestal) 8' 8" (2.62 m). Government Museum, Mathura; C.1. Photo: American Institute of Indian Studies.



Fig. 16. Reverse of Fig. 15. Photo: American Institute of Indian Studies

Fig. 17. Detail of Fig. 15. Photo: S. R. Quintanilla



Fig. 18. Baroda *yakṣa*, from Baroda Village, eighteen miles (19 km) south of Mathura, four miles (6.43 km) from Parkham, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 150 BCE. Buff sandstone; H. 4' 2" (1.27 m). Government Museum, Mathura; C.23. Photo: S. R. Quintanilla



Fig. 19. Palwal *yakṣa*, from Palwal, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 150 BCE. Buff sandstone; H. 2' 10" × W. 2' 7" (87 X. 79 cm). State Museum Lucknow; O.107. Photo: S. R. Quintanilla



Fig. 20. *Nāga*, from Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 150 BCE. Red sandstone; H. 5' (1.52 m). Government Museum, Mathura; 17.1303. Photo: American Institute of Indian Studies.



Fig. 21. Centaur architrave, from Kaṅkālī-Ṭīlā, Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 100 BCE. Red sandstone; H. 9" × W. 4' (0.229 × 1.22 m). State Museum, Lucknow; J.535. Photo: From L. Bachhofer, *Early Indian Sculpture*, Pl. 72.



Fig. 22. Centaur architrave, from Kaṅkālī-Ṭīlā, Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 100 BCE. Red sandstone; H. 9" × W. 4' (0.229 × 1.22 m). State Museum, Lucknow; J.535. Photo: From L. Bachhofer, *Early Indian Sculpture*, Pl. 72.



Fig. 23. Detail of Fig. 21. Photo: P. Chandra.



Fig. 24. Detail of Fig. 22. Photo: P. Chandra.



Fig. 25. Dance of Nīlāñjanā and the renunciation of Ṛṣabhanātha, from Kaṅkālī-Ṭīlā, Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 100 BCE. Buff sandstone. State Museum, Lucknow; J.354/609. Photo: American Institute of Indian Studies.



Fig. 26. Detail of Fig. 25. Photo: S. R. Quintanilla.



Fig. 27. Detail of Fig. 25. Photo: S. R. Quintanilla.



Fig. 28. Detail of Fig. 25. Photo: S. R. Quintanilla.



Fig. 29. Katrā architrave, from Katrā, Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 100 BCE. Red sandstone; H. 10" × W. 4' 9 ½" (0.254 × 1.46 m). Government Museum, Mathura; M.1. Photo: American Institute of Indian Studies.



Fig. 30. Katrā architrave, from Katrā, Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 100 BCE. Red sandstone; H. 10" × W. 4' 9 ½" (0.254 × 1.46 m). Government Museum, Mathura; M.1. Photo: American Institute of Indian Studies.



Fig. 31. Detail of Fig. 29. Photo: S. R. Quintanilla.



Fig. 32. Detail of Fig. 29. Photo: S. R. Quintanilla.



Fig. 33. Detail of Fig. 29. Photo: S. R. Quintanilla.



Fig. 34. Detail of Fig. 30. Photo: P. Chandra.



Fig. 35. Double-sided Bayana die with male devotee, from Bayana (or Bājnā), Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 100 BCE. Red sandstone; H. 9 ¾" (24.8 cm). Government Museum, Mathura; 18.1448. Photo: P. Chandra.



Fig. 36. Double-sided Bayana die with male devotee, from Bayana (or Bājnā), Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 100 BCE. Red sandstone; H. 9 ¾" (24.8 cm). Government Museum, Mathura; 18.1448. Photo: American Institute of Indian Studies.



Fig. 37. Ranipur baluster, from Ranipur, Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 100 BCE. Red sandstone; H. 10" (25.5 cm). Government Museum, Mathura; 19.1562. Photo: American Institute of Indian Studies.



Fig. 38. Ranipur baluster, from Ranipur, Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 100 BCE. Red sandstone; H. 10" (25.5 cm). Government Museum, Mathura; 19.1562. Photo: American Institute of Indian Studies.



Fig. 39. Bracket with *yakṣī* on a *gaṇā*, from Kaṅkālī-Ṭīlā, Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 120–100 BCE. Red sandstone; H. 3' (91.4 cm) . State Museum, Lucknow; J.593A. Photo: American Institute of Indian Studies.



Fig. 40. Bracket with *yakṣī* on an elephant protome, from Kaṅkālī-Ṭīlā, Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 100 BCE. Red sandstone; H. 3' 4" (1.01 m). State Museum, Lucknow; J.545. Photo: R. C. Sharma



Fig. 41. Reverse of Fig. 40. Photo: R. C. Sharma



Fig. 42. Amin *mithuna*, from Amin, Haryana; ca. 100 BCE. Red sandstone; H. 4' × W. 1' 4" × D. 1' (1.22 × 0.405 × 0.305 m). National Museum, New Delhi. Photo: S. R. Quintanilla.



Fig. 43. Pillar with Amin *yakṣa*, from Amin, Haryana; ca. 100 BCE. Red sandstone; H. 46" (1.17 m). National Museum, New Delhi. Photo: S. R. Quintanilla.



Fig. 44. Detail of Fig. 43. Photo: S. R. Quintanilla.



Fig. 45. Detail of Fig. 43. Photo: S. R. Quintanilla.



46a.



46b.



46c.

Figs. 46a, 46b, and 46c. *Kāmaloka* pillar, from Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 100 BCE. Red sandstone; H. 5' 3½" × W. 11½" (1.61 × 0.292 m). Government Museum, Mathura; I.11. Photos: S. R. Quintanilla



Fig. 47. Detail of Fig. 46a. Photo: American Institute of Indian Studies.



Fig. 48. Detail of Fig. 46a. Photo: P. Chandra.



Fig. 49. Detail of Fig. 46b. Photo: P. Chandra.



Fig. 50a. Detail of Fig. 46b. Photo: P. Chandra.



Fig. 50b. Detail of Fig. 46b. Photo: P. Chandra.



Fig. 51. Doorjamb with *mithuna*s, from Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 150 BCE. Buff sandstone; H. 14½" × W. 1' × D. 6½" (36.8 × 30.48 × 16.5 cm). Government Museum, Mathura; 17.1295. Photo: S. R. Quintanilla.



Fig. 52. Railpost with a *yakṣī* tying her sash, from Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 100 BCE. Dark red sandstone; H. 6' 5" × W. 10 ¾" × D. 10" (1.96 × 0.273 × 0.254 m). Government Museum, Mathura; J.2. Photo: American Institute of Indian Studies.



Fig. 53. Detail of Fig. 52. Photo: American Institute of Indian Studies.



Fig. 54. Detail of Fig. 52. Photo: American Institute of Indian Studies.



Fig. 55. Detail of Fig. 52. Brahmin addressing an assembly. Photo: S. R. Quintanilla.



←
Fig. 56. Hathin *yakṣa*, from Hathin, Haryana; ca. 100 BCE. Spotted red sandstone; H. 5' × 10" (154 × 26 cm). Haryana Archaeological Survey Museum, Chandigarh; 1/331. Photo: From Prem Goswamy, "Two Early Kuṣāṇa (?) Railing Pillars from Haryānā," *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, New Series, vol. XV, 1985–86, Pl. I.



Fig. 57. Detail of Fig. 56. Photo: From Prem Goswamy, "Two Early Kuṣāṇa (?) Railing Pillars from Haryānā," *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, New Series, vol. XV, 1985–86, Pl. I.



Fig. 58. Detail of Fig. 56. Photo: From Prem Goswamy, "Two Early Kuṣāṇa (?) Railing Pillars from Haryānā," *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, New Series, vol. XV, 1985–86, Pl. I.



Fig. 59. Detail of Fig. 56. Photo: From Prem Goswamy, "Two Early Kuṣāṇa (?) Railing Pillars from Haryānā," *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, New Series, vol. XV, 1985–86, Pl. I.



Fig. 60. Detail of Fig. 56. Photo: From Prem Goswamy, "Two Early Kuṣāṇa (?) Railing Pillars from Haryānā," *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, New Series, vol. XV, 1985–86, Pl. I.



Fig. 61. Bhādas *yakṣa*, from Bhādas, Haryana; ca. 100 BCE. Spotted red sandstone; H. 4' 10" × 8" (149 × 24 cm). Haryana Archaeological Survey Museum. Chandigarh; 1/332. Photo: From Prem Goswamy, "Two Early Kuṣāṇa (?) Railing Pillars from Haryānā," *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, New Series, vol. XV, 1985–86, Pl. II, fig. 8.

Fig. 62. Kuwanwāligalī *cauri* bearer, from Kuwanwāligalī, Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 100 BCE. Red sandstone; H. 3' 6" (93 cm). Government Museum, Mathura; 48.3423. Photo: American Institute of Indian Studies.



Fig. 63. Corner post with bas relief panels showing veneration of a lion pillar, musicians and dancer, amorous scenes, from Kaṅkālī-Ṭīlā, Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 100 BCE. Red sandstone; H. 2' × W. 7" (61 × 17.8 cm). State Museum, Lucknow; J.268. Photo: S. R. Quintanilla.



Fig. 64. Detail of Fig. 63. Photo: J. M. Rosenfield.



Fig. 65. Detail of Fig. 63. Photo: S. R. Quintanilla



Fig. 66. Adjacent side of Fig. 63. Photo: American Institute of Indian Studies.



Fig. 67. Detail of Fig. 66. Photo: S. R. Quintanilla



Fig. 68. Fragmentary *mithuna* panel with female onlooker, from Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 100 BCE. Red sandstone; H. 8½" × 6" (21.5 × 15 cm). Government Museum, Mathura; 60.4985. Photo: American Institute of Indian Studies.



Fig. 69. Pillar fragment with *caityavṛkṣa*, from Mahādevghāt, Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 100 BCE. Red sandstone. Governmenet Museum, Mathura; 18.1516. Photo: S. R. Quintanilla.



Fig. 70. Upright with medallion with a horse and rider, from Kaṅkālī-Ṭīlā, Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 100 BCE. Red sandstone; H. 6' 4" × 2' 6" (195 × 75 cm). State Museum, Lucknow; J.339. Photo: American Institute of Indian Studies.



Fig. 71. Medallion with *bodhighara*, from Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 100 BCE. Red sandstone; H. 28 15/16" (73.5 cm). Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; 26.26. Photo: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.



Fig. 72. Crossbar with *naramakara* and duck, from Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 100 BCE. Red sandstone; H. 9" × W. 14½" (22.9 × 36.8 cm). Philadelphia Museum of Art: Purchased with the Joseph E. Temple Fund; 1968-164-1. Photo: Philadelphia Museum of Art.



Fig. 73. Medallion with horse and rider, from Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 100 BCE. Red sandstone; H. 11½" × W. 1' 7" (29.2 × 48.3 cm). Government Museum, Mathura; L.2. Photo: American Institute of Indian Studies.



Fig. 74. Lotus medallion with male head, from Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 100 BCE. Red sandstone; H. 10¾" (27.3 cm). Government Museum, Mathura; L.22. Photo: American Institute of Indian Studies.



Fig. 75. Coping stone of Utāra, the goldsmith, from Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 100 BCE. Red sandstone; H. 8" × W. 18" (21 × 61 cm). State Museum, Lucknow; J.475. Photo: American Institute of Indian Studies.



Fig. 76. Coping stone with bull and running griffin, from Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 100 BCE. Red sandstone; H. 8" × W. 18" (21 × 61 cm). State Museum, Lucknow; J.481. Photo: American Institute of Indian Studies.



Fig. 77. Coping stone with fishtail griffin, from Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 100 BCE. Red sandstone; H. 9" × W. 1' 7" (23 × 49 cm); State Museum, Lucknow; J.491. Photo: American Institute of Indian Studies.



Fig. 79. Coping stone with rhinoceros, from Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 100 BCE. Red sandstone; H. 9" × 1' 9" (23 × 54 cm). State Museum, Lucknow; J.483. Photo: American Institute of Indian Studies.



Fig. 80. Coping stone with bull, from Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 100 BCE. Red sandstone; H. 9" × W. 1' 6" (23 × 46 cm). State Museum, Lucknow; J.492. Photo: American Institute of Indian Studies.

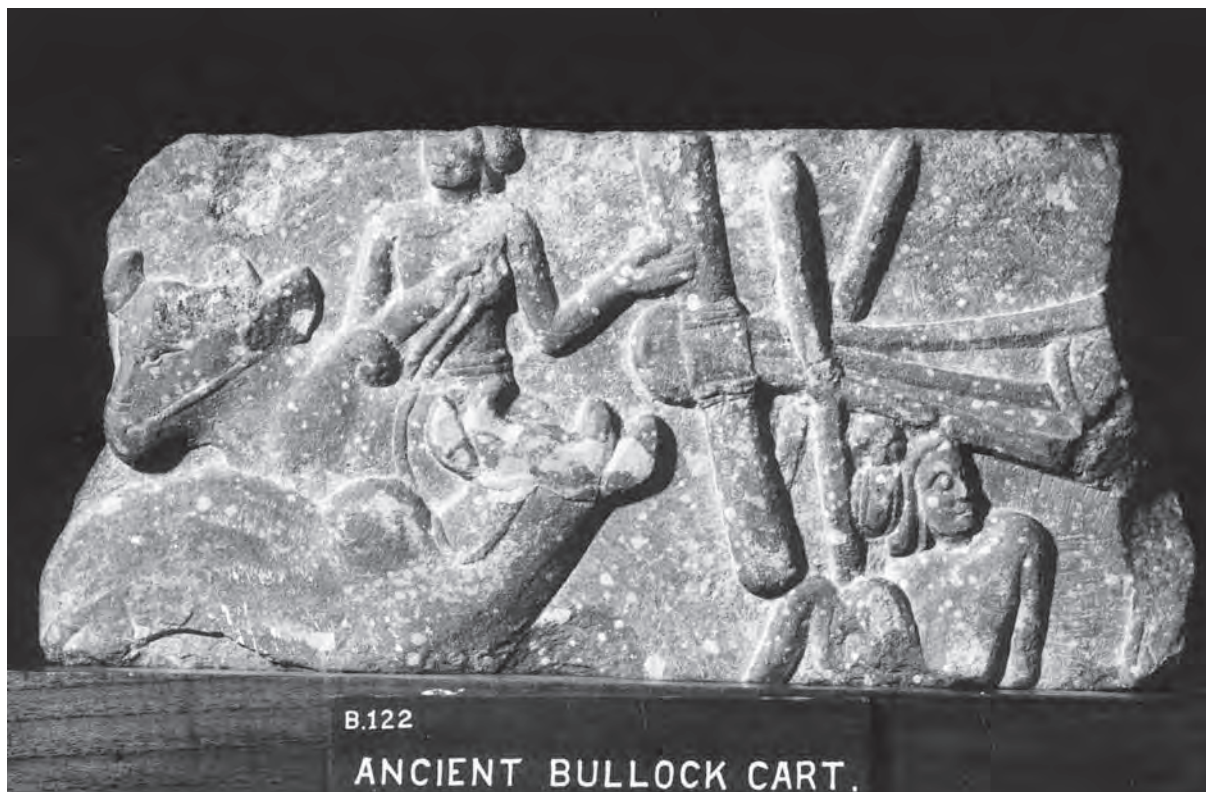


Fig. 81. *Vaṇṇupatha Jātaka*, from Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 100 BCE. Red sandstone; H. 6" × W. 12" (15.2 × 30.5 cm). State Museum, Lucknow; B.122. Photo: American Institute of Indian Studies.



Fig. 82. *Vaṇṇupatha Jātaka*, from Bharhut, Madhya Pradesh; ca. 150 BCE. Plum sandstone. Indian Museum, Calcutta. Photo: From A. K. Coomaraswamy, *La Sculpture de Bharhut*, Fig. 84.



Fig. 83. Man driving a bull, from Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 100 BCE. Red sandstone; H. 6½" × W. 9½" (17 × 24 cm). State Museum, Lucknow; J.628. Photo: American Institute of Indian Studies.



Fig. 84. Fragment with *kinnara*, from Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 100 BCE. Red sandstone; H. 21" × W. 18½" (53.54 × 47 cm). State Museum, Lucknow; J.106. Photo: American Institute of Indian Studies.



Fig. 85. *Yakṣa* with sword and child, from Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 100 BCE. Buff sandstone; H. 1' 3" (38.1 cm). Government Museum, Mathura; I.18. Photo: American Institute of Indian Studies.



Fig. 86. Bharaṇa Kalan Agni, from Bharaṇa Kalan, twenty miles (32 km) northwest of Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 100 BCE. Buff sandstone; H. 6' 6" (1.98 m) with base. Government Museum, Mathura; 87.146. Photo: S. R. Quintanilla.



Fig. 87. Detail of Fig. 86. Photo: S. R. Quintanilla.



Fig. 88. Bharaṇa Kalan *yakṣa*, from Bharaṇa Kalan, twenty miles (32 km) northwest of Mathura, Uttar Pradesh, ca. 100 BCE. Buff sandstone; H. 6' 5" (1.96 m) with base. Government Museum, Mathura; 87.145. Photo: S. R. Quintanilla.



Fig. 89. Detail of Fig. 88. Photo: S. R. Quintanilla.



Fig. 90. Hariparvat-Ṭīlā *yakṣa*, from Hariparvat-Ṭīlā, Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 150 BCE. Buff sandstone; H. 14" (34 cm). Government Museum, Mathura; 44.3130. Photo: American Institute of Indian Studies.



Fig. 91. Noh *yakṣa*, from Noh, near Bharatpur, Rajasthan; ca. 100 BCE. Buff sandstone; H. 7' 7" × W. 3' × D. 1' 1" (2.31 × 0.914 × 0.33 m). Enshrined in Noh Village. Photo: S. R. Quintanilla.



Fig. 92. Detail from reverse of Fig. 91. Photo: From R. C. Agrawala, “Unpublished Yaksha-Yakshī Statues from Besnagar,” *Lalit Kala*, No. 14, 1969, Fig. 7.



Fig. 93. Fragmentary *yakṣa*, from Noh, near Bharatpur, Rajasthan; ca. 100 BCE. Dark red sandstone; H. 3' 4" × W. 21" × D. 9" (1.02 × 0.533. × 0.229 m). State Museum, Bharatpur; 213.64. Photo: S. R. Quintanilla.



Fig. 94. Virabai *yakṣa*, from Virabai, Rajasthan, 6 miles (9.66 km) from Noh, near Bharatpur; ca. 100 BCE. Gray sandstone; H. 3½' × W. 21" (1.07 × 0.533 m). State Museum, Bharatpur; 301. Photo: S. R. Quintanilla.



Fig. 95a. Side view of Fig. 94.
Photo: S. R. Quintanilla.



Fig. 95b. Detail of reverse of Fig. 94. Photo: S. R. Quintanilla.



Fig. 96. Standing headless *yakṣa*, from Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 100 BCE. Buff sandstone; H. 4' 8" (1.42 m). Government Museum, Mathura; 56.4248. Photo: S. R. Quintanilla.



Fig. 97. *Yakṣa* head, from Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 150 BCE. Red sandstone; H. 19" × 15¾" × 14" (45.2 × 40 × 35.6 cm). Cleveland Museum of Art; 1962.45. Photo: ©The Cleveland Museum of Art, Norman O. Stone and Ella A. Stone Memorial Fund.



Fig. 98. Jhingki-Nagara *yakṣī*, from Jhingki-Nagara (or Nagla Jhinga), about 7 miles (11.3 km) southwest of Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 100 BCE. Red sandstone; H. 4½' × 2' (1.37 × 0.61 m). Government Museum, Mathura; 72.1. Photo: American Institute of Indian Studies.



Fig. 99. Detail of Fig. 98. Photo: American Institute of Indian Studies.



Fig. 100. Jansuti Balarāma, from Jansuti, Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 100 BCE. Dark red sandstone; H. 2' 6" (68 × 26 cm). State Museum, Lucknow; G.215. Photo: American Institute of Indian Studies.



Fig. 101. Nanakpura Balarāma, from Nanakpura, Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 150 BCE. Buff sandstone; H. 4' (1.22 m). Government Museum, Mathura; 93.37. Photo: S. R. Quintanilla.



Fig. 102. Standing Pārśvanātha and attendant, from Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 100–75 BCE. Gray sandstone; H. 46" × W. 29" (1.17 × 0.737 m). State Museum, Lucknow; J.82/75. Photo: S. R. Quintanilla.



Fig. 103. Detail of Fig. 102. Photo: S. R. Quintanilla.



Fig. 104. Detail of Fig. 102. Photo: S. R. Quintanilla.



Fig. 105. Ṛṣabhanātha seated in two stages of meditation, from Amber, Rajasthan; ca. 1680 CE. Opaque watercolor and gold on paper; H. 10 23/32" × W. 16 21/32" (27.2 cm × 42.3 cm). San Diego Museum of Art (Edwin Binney 3rd Collection); 1990:214. Photo: San Diego Museum of Art.



Fig. 106. Worship of a Jaina symbol, in situ in the Mañcapuri Cave, Udayagiri, Orissa; ca. 75–50 BCE. Photo: P. Chandra.



Fig. 107a. *Mithuna* panel of a *vedikā* upright, from Bodhgaya, Bihar; ca. 100 BCE. Gray sandstone. Archaeological Museum, Bodhgaya. Photo: S. R. Quintanilla.



Fig. 107b. Coping stone reliefs with lotus flowers, from Bodhgaya, Bihar; ca. 100 BCE. Gray sandstone. Archaeological Museum, Bodhgaya. Photo: S. R. Quintanilla.

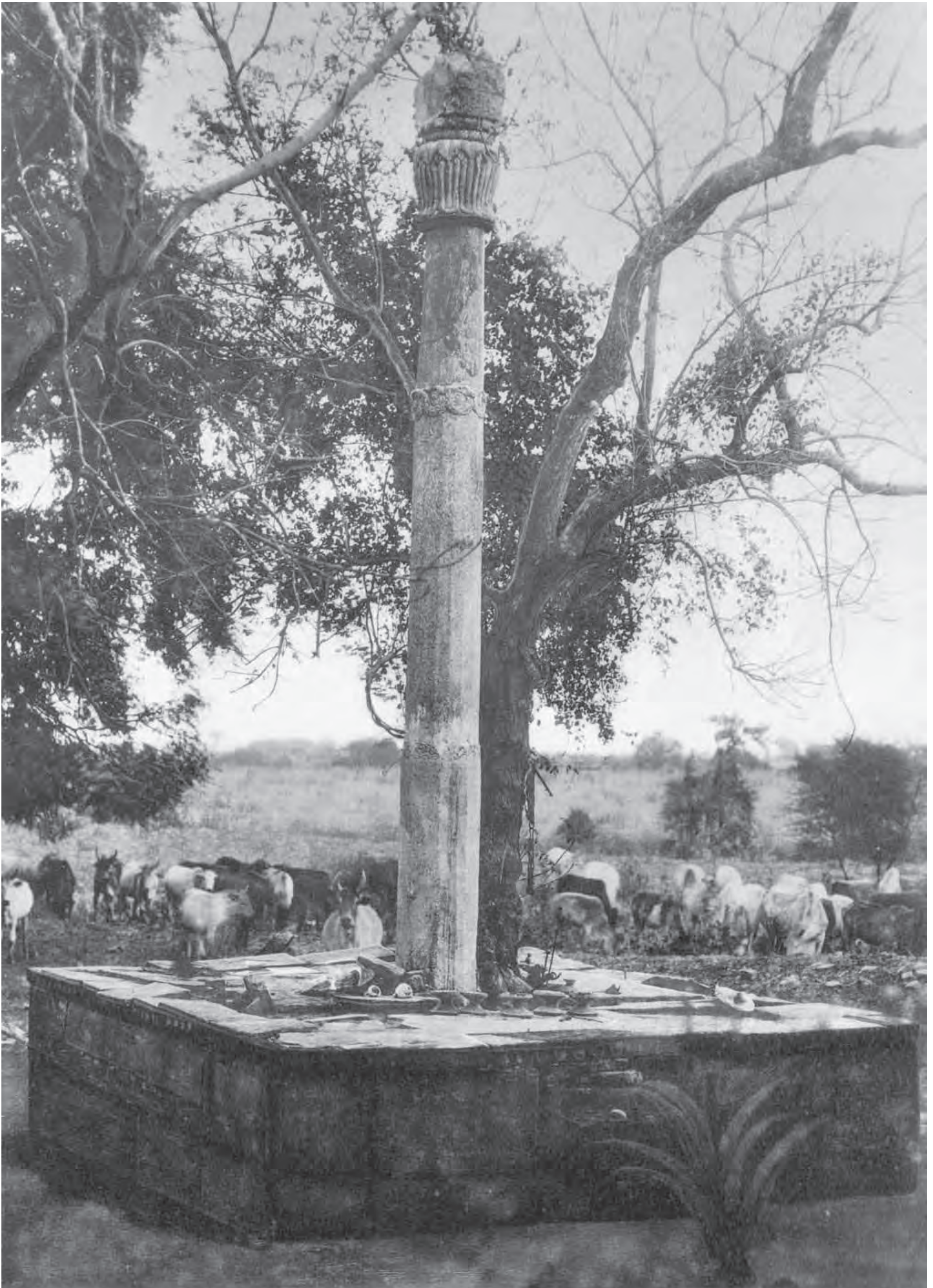


Fig. 108. Heliodoros pillar, at Besnagar, Madhya Pradesh; ca. 120–100 BCE. Buff sandstone; H. 21' 4" (6.5 m). Photo: From L. Bachhofer, *Early Indian Sculpture*, Pl. 14.



Fig. 109. Vaiśālī Aśokan lion pillar, at Vaiśālī, Bihar; ca. 250–200 BCE. Buff-colored Chunār sandstone; H. 36' (11 m). Photo: S. R. Quintanilla.

Fig. 110. Detail of Fig. 109. Photo: S. R. Quintanilla.





Fig. 112. Fragment with *ardhaphālaka cāraṇamuni* and *kinnara*, from Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 100 BCE. Red sandstone; H. 22" × W. 23" (55.8 × 58.4 cm). State Museum, Lucknow; J.105. Photo: American Institute of Indian Studies.

←

Fig. 111. Vidiśā *yakṣa*, from Vidiśā (Besnagar), Madhya Pradesh; ca. 100 BCE. Buff sandstone; H. ca. 12' (3.66 m). Vidiśā Museum. Photo: S. R. Quintanilla



Fig. 113. Double-sided crossbar with mythical animals, from Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 150 BCE. Red sandstone; H. 9½" × W. 13" (24 × 33 cm). Patna Museum; Arch 5828. Photo: American Institute of Indian Studies.



Fig. 114. Double-sided crossbar with mythical animals, from Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 150 BCE. Red sandstone; H. 9 ½" × W. 13" (24 × 33 cm). Patna Museum; Arch 5828. Photo: American Institute of Indian Studies.



Fig. 115. *Yakṣī* bust, from Bharhut, Madhya Pradesh; ca. 150 BCE. Plum sandstone; 11" (28 cm). Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; 1931.435. Photo: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.



Fig. 116. *Yakṣī* climbing a tree, from Bodhgaya, Bihar; ca. 100 BCE. Gray sandstone. Archaeological Museum, Bodhgaya. Photo: S. R. Quintanilla.



Fig. 117. Sanchi *yakṣī*, east gate bracket, *Stūpa* I at Sanchi; ca. 50–20 BCE. Buff sandstone. Photo: Eliot Elisophon, in Heinrich Zimmer, *The Art of Indian Asia*, vol. II, Pl. 15.



Fig. 118. *Yavanarajya* inscription, from Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; 70 or 69 BCE (Year One Hundred Sixteen). Red sandstone. Government Museum, Mathura; 88.150. Photo: From G. Fussman, "L'Indo-Grec Ménandre ou Paul Demiéville Revisité," p. 113.



Fig. 119. Maṇibhadra inscription, from Masharfa, near Allahabad, Uttar Pradesh; ca. first century BCE. Photo: From D.C. Sircar, "Two Brāhmī Inscriptions," Pl. I.



Fig. 120. Relief panel on rock-cut *vihāra* at Bhaja, Maharashtra; ca. 150 BCE. Deccan trap. Photo: American Institute of Indian Studies.



Fig. 121. Scene in Uttarakuru, from Bharhut, Madhya Pradesh; ca. 150 BCE. Plum sandstone. Indian Museum, Calcutta. Photo: From A. K. Coomaraswamy, *La Sculpture de Bharhut*, Fig. 131.

Fig. 122. Śimitrā *āyāgapaṭa*, from Kaṅkālī-Ṭīlā, Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 150 BCE. Dark gray sandstone; H. 18" × W. 29" (46 × 74 cm). State Museum, Lucknow; J.256. Photo: American Institute of Indian Studies.

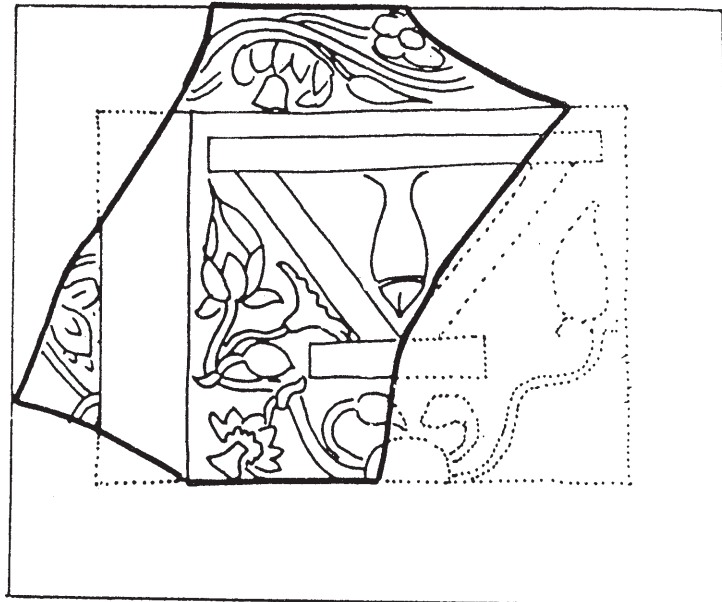


Fig. 123. Śimitrā *āyāgapaṭa*. Conjectural reconstruction of Fig. 122. From N. P. Joshi, "Early Jaina Icons from Mathura, Uttar Pradesh," Fig. 34.5.



Fig. 124. Architrave with flower-offering platform, from Bharhut, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 150 BCE. Plum sandstone. Indian Museum, Calcutta. Photo: From A. K. Coomaraswamy, *La Sculpture de Bharhut*, Pl. III.



Fig. 125. Okaraṇa *āyāgapaṭa*, from Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 100 BCE. Red sandstone; H. 30" × W. 15" (78 × 40 cm). Patna Museum; Arch 5811. Photo: American Institute of Indian Studies.



Fig. 126. *Āyāgapaṭa* fragment with running animals, from Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 100 BCE. Buff sandstone; H. 13" × W. 13¾" (33 × 34.9 cm). State Museum, Lucknow; J.618. Photo: S. R. Quintanilla.



Fig. 127. *Āyāgapaṭa* fragment with knotted rhizome, *sthāpana*, and *nandyāvarta*, from Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 100 BCE. Buff sandstone. State Museum, Lucknow; B.128. Photo: S. R. Quintanilla.



128a.



128b.

Figs. 128a and 128b. Coping stone reliefs with running animals, from Bodhgaya, Bihar; ca. 100 BCE. Gray sandstone. Archaeological Museum, Bodhgaya. Photos: S. R. Quintanilla.





Fig. 130. Bhikhu Phagula *śilā*, from Ghoṣitārāma Monastery, Kauśāmbī, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 75 BCE. Brown sandstone; H. 21" × W. 21" (55 × 56 cm). Allahabad University Museum. Photo: American Institute of Indian Studies.



Fig. 129. Fragment of -tusikā *āyāgapaṭa*, from Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 75 BCE. Red sandstone; H. 19" × W. 11" (48 × 28 cm). State Museum, Lucknow; J.260. Photo: American Institute of Indian Studies.



Fig. 131. Shimla Museum *āyāgapaṭa*, from Kāṅkālī-Ṭīlā, Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 75– 50 BCE. Red sandstone; H. 14" × W. 16 ½" × D. 4" (35.6 × 41.9 × 10.2 cm). State Museum, Himachal Pradesh, Simla; J.247. Photo: State Museum, Himachal Pradesh.



Fig. 132. *Āyāgapaṭa* fragment with *cakra*, from Kaṇkālī-Tīlā, Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 75 BCE. Buff sandstone; H. 7" × W. 10" (17.78 × 25.4 cm). Government Museum, Mathura; 15.569. Photo: S. R. Quintanilla.

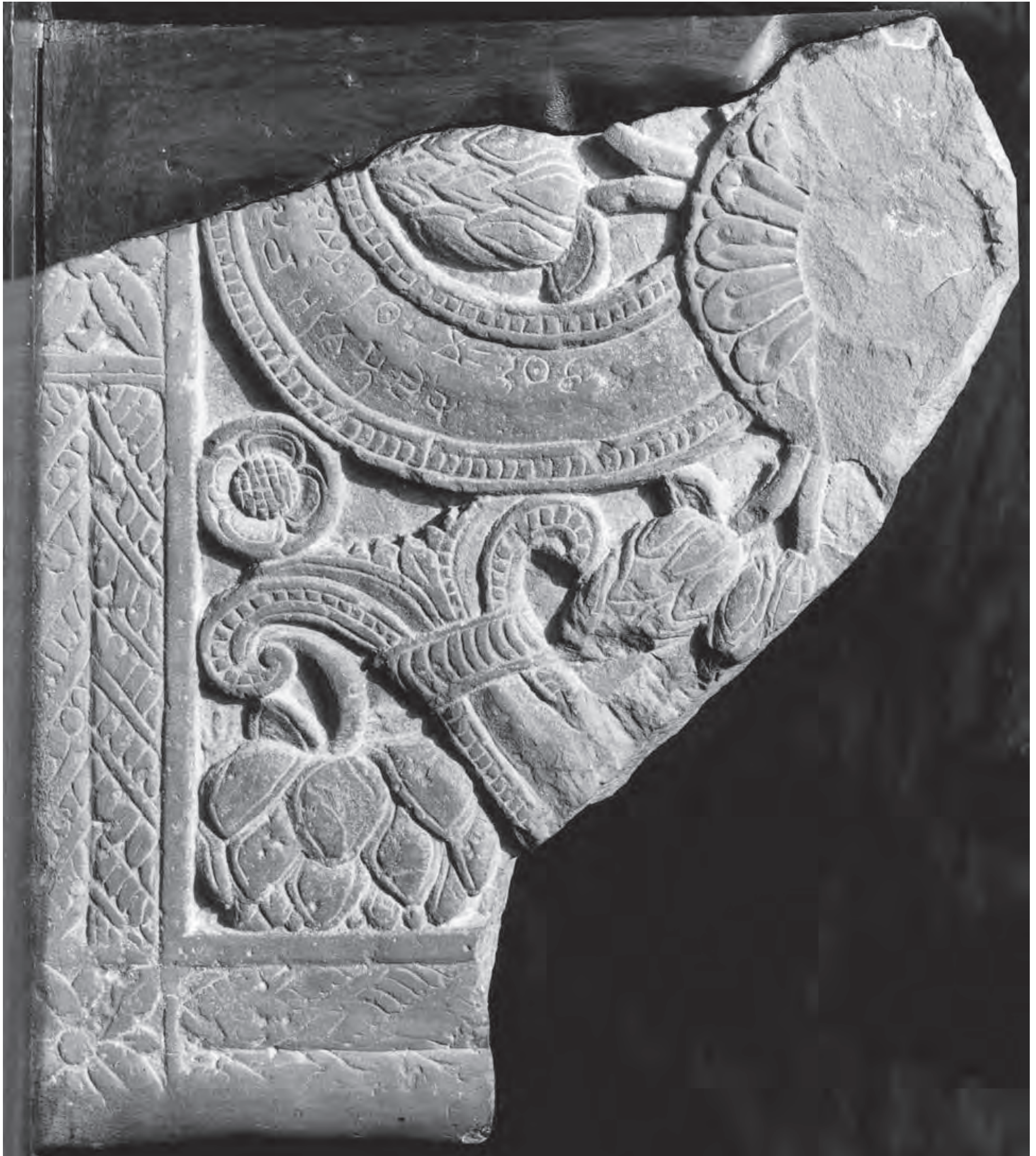


Fig. 133. Year Twenty-One *āyāgapaṭa*, form Kathoti Kuā, Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; 37 or 36 BCE (Year 21). Red sandstone; H. 17" × W. 16" (43 × 40.64 cm). Government Museum, Mathura; 35.2563. Photo: J. M. Rosenfield.



Fig. 134. Detail of the inscription on the Year Twenty-One *āyāgapaṭa* (Fig. 133). Photo: S. R. Quintanilla.



Fig. 135. *Chattra* of the Bala Buddha (see Fig. 173), from Sarnath, Uttar Pradesh, exported from Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; 130 CE (Year Three of Kaniṣka). Red sandstone. Sarnath Archaeological Museum; no. 348. Photo: P. Chandra.



Fig. 136. Seated Buddha, from Sonkh, Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; 150 CE (Year Twenty-Three of Kaniṣka). Red sandstone. Government Museum, Mathura; 20.1602. Photo: From R. C. Sharma, *Buddhist Art*, *Mathura School*, Fig. 80.



→

Fig. 137. Seated Buddha with attendants, from Ahichhatra, Uttar Pradesh; 159 CE (Year Thirty-Two). Red sandstone. National Museum, New Delhi; L.55.25. Photo: S. R. Quintanilla.



Fig. 138. Pillars of the east gate, Sanchi *Stūpa* I, at Sanchi, Madhya Pradesh; ca. 50–20 BCE. Buff sandstone. Photo: Eliot Elisophon in Heinrich Zimmer, *The Art of Indian Asia*, Pl. 16.



Fig. 139. *Āyāgapaṭa* fragment with *aśoka* flowers, from Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 75–50 BCE. Red sandstone; H. 14½" × W. 11" (37 × 29 cm). State Museum, Lucknow; J.257. Photo: American Institute of Indian Studies.



Fig. 140. Dhanamitra *āyāgapaṭa*, from Kāṅkālī Ṭīlā, Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 20 BCE. Red sandstone; H. 35" × W. 32" (89 × 81 cm). State Museum, Lucknow; J.250. See also Fig. 192. Photo: J. M. Rosenfield.



Fig. 141. Detail of Fig. 140. Photo: J. M. Rosenfield.



Fig. 142a. Detail of Fig. 140. Photo: J. M. Rosenfield.



Fig. 142b. Detail of Fig. 140. Photo: S. R. Quintanilla.



Fig. 143. Mātharaka *āyāgapaṭa*, from Kaṅkālī-Ṭīlā, Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 20 BCE. Red sandstone; H. 34" × W. 34" (87 × 87 cm). State Museum, Lucknow; J.248. Photo: J. M. Rosenfield.



Fig. 144. Detail of Fig. 143. Photo: J. M. Rosenfield.

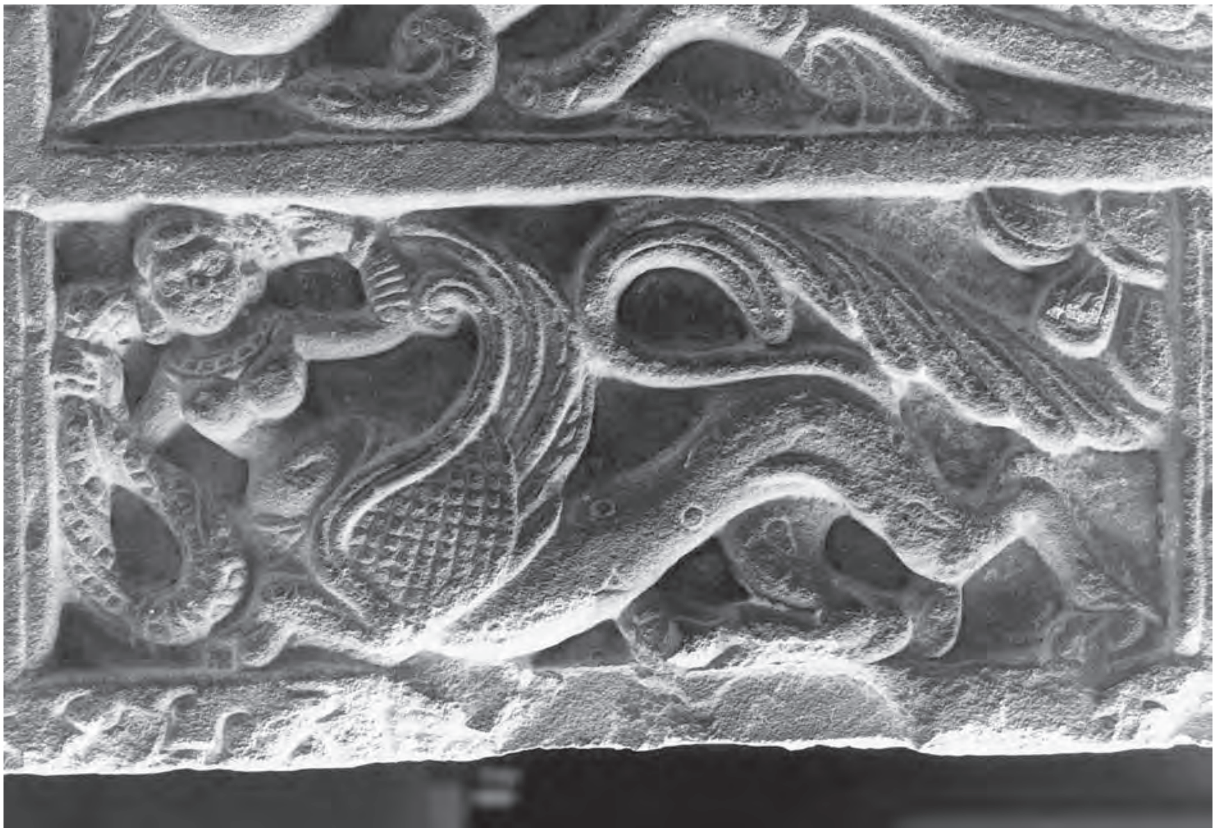


Fig. 145. Detail of Fig. 143. Photo: J. M. Rosenfield.



Fig. 146. Ferenc Hopp Museum *āyāgapaṭa*, from Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 50–20 BCE. Red sandstone; H. 12" X. W. 12½" × D. 3" (30 × 31.75 × 7.62 cm). Ferenc Hopp Museum of Eastern Asiatic Arts, Budapest, Hungary. Photo: Ferenc Hopp Museum of Eastern Asiatic Arts, Budapest.



Fig. 147. *Āyāgapaṭa* fragment with overlapping rosette and palmette border, from Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 20 BCE–15 CE. Buff sandstone; H. 12" × W. 11½" × D. 3" (30.5 × 29.2 × 7.62 cm). State Museum, Lucknow; B.146. Photo: S. R. Quintanilla.



Fig. 148. Amohini *āyavati*, from Kāṅkālī-Ṭīlā, Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; 15 CE (Year 72). Red sandstone; H. 38" × W. 44" (96.5 × 111.76 cm). State Museum, Lucknow; J.1. See also Fig. 273. Photo: American Institute of Indian Studies.



Fig. 149. Detail of Fig. 148. Photo: American Institute of Indian Studies.



Fig. 150. Pārśvanātha *āyāgapaṭa*, from Kāṅkālī Ṭīlā, Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 15 CE. Red sandstone; H. 34" × W. 37" (86 × 94 cm). State Museum, Lucknow; J.253. Photo: J. M. Rosenfield.



Fig. 151. Detail of Fig. 150. Photo: S. R. Quintanilla.



Fig. 152. Detail of Fig. 150. Photo: S. R. Quintanilla.



Fig. 153. Nāṃdighoṣa *āyāgapaṭa*, from Ahichhatra, Uttar Pradesh or Kaṅkālī-Ṭīlā, Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 15 CE. Red sandstone; H. 33" × W. 29" (85 × 75 cm). Rajgir Bodh Sangrahalaya, Gorakhpur; J.686A. Photo: J. M. Rosenfield.



Fig. 154. British Museum *āyāgapaṭa*, from Kaṅkālī-Ṭīlā, Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 15 CE. Sandstone; H. 15" × W. 15½" × D. 4" (39.37 × 39.8 × 10.5 cm). British Museum, London; 1901, 12–24, 10.B&M. Photo: Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

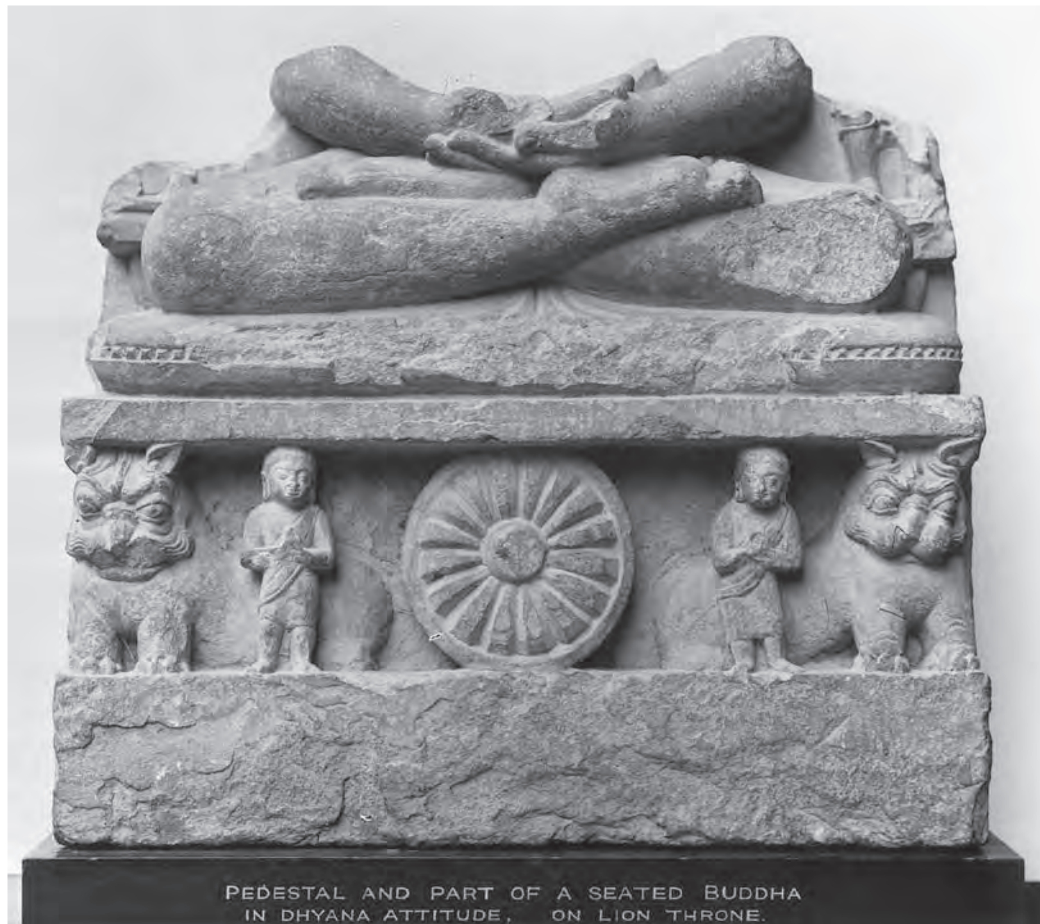


Fig. 155. Seated Jina, reverse of *āyāgapaṭa* in Fig. 154, from Kaṅkālī-Ṭīlā, Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 200 CE. Sandstone; H. 15 ½" × W. 15" × D. 4" (39.8 × 39.37 × 10.5 cm). British Museum, London; 1901, 12–24, 10.B&M. Photo: Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.



Fig. 156. Sihanāṃdika *āyāgapaṭa*, from Kāṅkālī-Ṭīlā, Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 25–50 CE. Reddish sandstone; H. 24" × W. 22½" (65 × 57.5 cm). National Museum, New Delhi; J.249. Photo: S. R. Quintanilla.



Fig. 157. Detail of Fig. 156. Photo: S. R. Quintanilla.



Fig. 158. Detail of Fig. 156. Photo: S. R. Quintanilla.



Fig. 159. Acalā *āyāgapaṭa*, from Kaṅkālī-Ṭīlā, Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 25–50 CE. Buff sandstone; H. 31" × W. 28" (79 × 71 cm). State Museum, Lucknow; J.252. Photo: John M. Rosenfield.



Fig. 160. Chaubiāpādā *āyāgapaṭa*, from Chaubiāpādā-Ṭīlā, Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 75–100 CE. Red sandstone; H. 15" × W. 26" (38 × 66 cm). Government Museum, Mathura; 48.3426. Photo: courtesy of the Los Angeles County Museum of Art, by Ranjit K. Datta Gupta.



Fig. 161. Amoghadatta *āyāgapaṭa*, from Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 75–100 CE. Red sandstone; H. 17" × W. 13" (44 × 33 cm). State Museum, Lucknow; J.264. Photo: American Institute of Indian Studies.



Fig. 162. *Āyāgapaṭa* fragment with grapevine border, from Kaṅkālī-Tīlā, Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 75–100 CE. Buff sandstone; H. 18 ½" × W. 15½" × D. 5" (46.3 × 39.37 × 12.7 cm). Government Museum, Mathura; Q.3. Photo: S. R. Quintanilla.



Fig. 163. Inscription on reverse of *āyāgapaṭa* fragment with grapevine border (reverse of Fig. 162); ca. second–third century CE. Photo: S. R. Quintanilla.



Fig. 164. Detail of Fig. 162. Photo: S. R. Quintanilla.

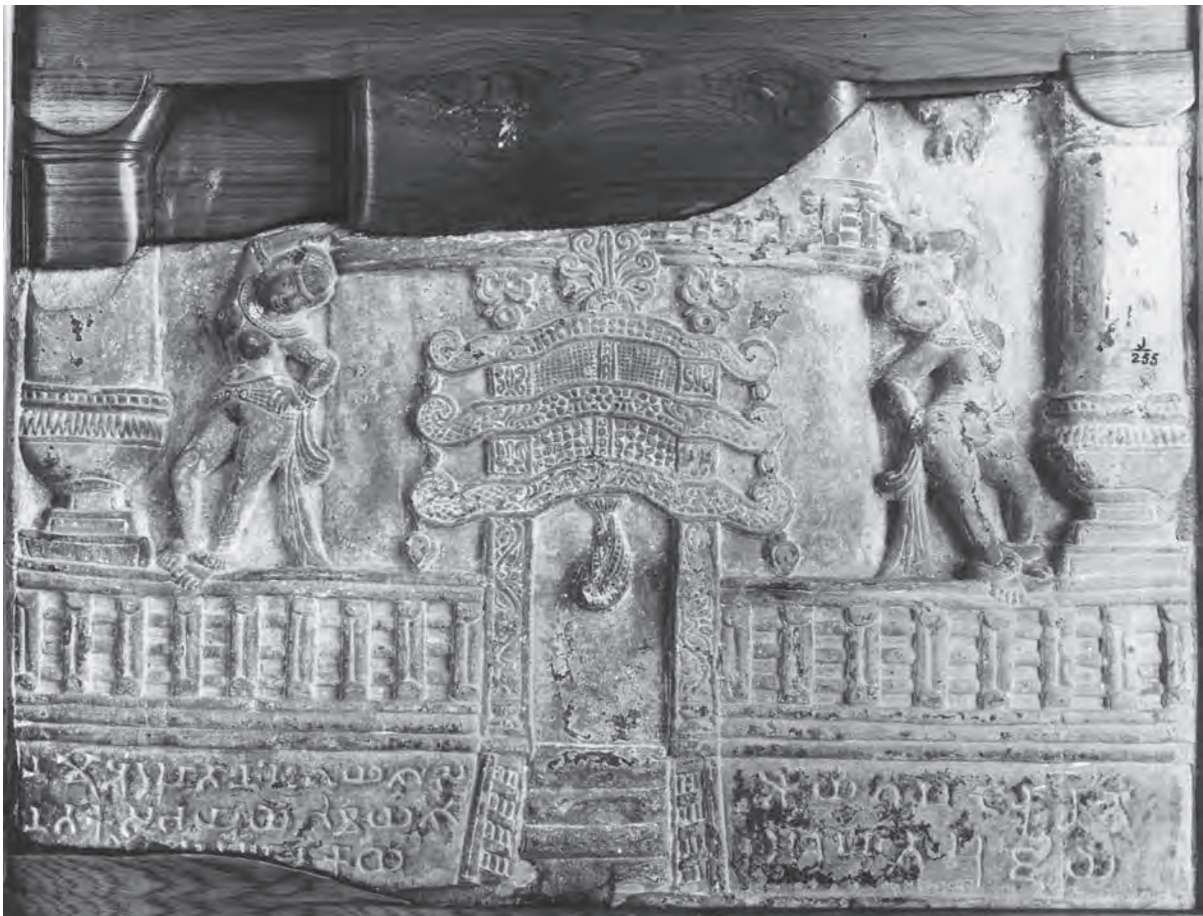


Fig. 165. Śivayaśā *āyāgapaṭa*, from Kaṅkālī-Ṭīlā, Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 75–100 CE. Buff sandstone; H. 21" × W. 28" (53 × 71 cm). State Museum, Lucknow; J.255. Photo: S. R. Quintanilla.



Fig. 166. Detail of Fig. 165. Photo: J. M. Rosenfield.



Fig. 167. Detail of Fig. 165. Photo: J. M. Rosenfield.



Fig. 168. Vasu *śilāpaṭa*, from Maholi, Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 75–100 CE. Red sandstone; H. 28" × W. 22" (73 × 57 cm). Government Museum, Mathura; Q.2. Photo: From L. Bachhofer, *Early Indian Sculpture*, Pl. 91.



Fig. 169. *Cāraṇamuni*, detail of Fig. 168. Photo: S. R. Quintanilla.



Fig. 170. *Cāraṇamuni*, detail of Fig. 168. Photo: S. R. Quintanilla.



Fig. 171. *Yakṣī* in niche, detail of Fig. 168. Photo: S. R. Quintanilla.



Fig. 172. *Yakṣa* Naigameṣin grasping the head of an infant, detail of Fig. 168. Photo: S. R. Quintanilla.



Fig. 173. Standing Buddha dedicated by the monk Bala, from Sarnath, Uttar Pradesh, exported from Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; 130 CE (Year Three). Red sandstone; H. 8 ¾' (2.7 m). Sarnath Archaeological Museum; B(a)I. Photo: From L. Bachhofer, *Early Indian Sculpture*, Pl. 79.



Fig. 174. Jīvānāṃda *āyāgapaṭa*, from Kaṅkālī-Ṭīlā, Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 150 CE. Buff sandstone; H. 6" × W. 9" (15 × 23 cm). State Museum, Lucknow; J.44. Photo: J. M. Rosenfield.



Fig. 175. Fragment of a standing figure, reverse of Fig. 174; ca. third–fourth century CE. State Museum, Lucknow; J.44. Photo: J. M. Rosenfield.



Fig. 176. Fragment of a carved lintel, from Jamālpur-Ṭīlā, Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca.. 150 CE. Red sandstone; H. 2' × W. 4' (61 × 122 cm). Government Museum, Mathura; P.1. Photo: From J. P. Vogel, *La Sculpture de Mathura*, Pl. XXIIa.



Fig. 177. Kaṇa plaque, from Kaṅkālī-Ṭīlā, Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; 226 CE (Year Ninety-Nine). Buff sandstone; H. 21½" × W. 19" (8.5 × 7.5 cm). State Museum, Lucknow; J.623. Photo: J. M. Rosenfield.



Fig. 178. Koḷiya Gaṇa *āyāgapaṭa*, from Manohar Purā Ṭīlā, Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. third century CE. Buff sandstone; H. 9½" × W. 19" × D. 3" (24 × 48.5 × 8 cm). Government Museum, Mathura; 20-21.1603. Photo: S. R. Quintanilla.



Fig. 179. Laghaka *āyāgapaṭa*, from Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. first century CE. Buff sandstone. H. 7½" (including tenon) × W. 7" (19.1 × 17.8 cm). State Museum, Lucknow; J.251. Photo: S. R. Quintanilla.

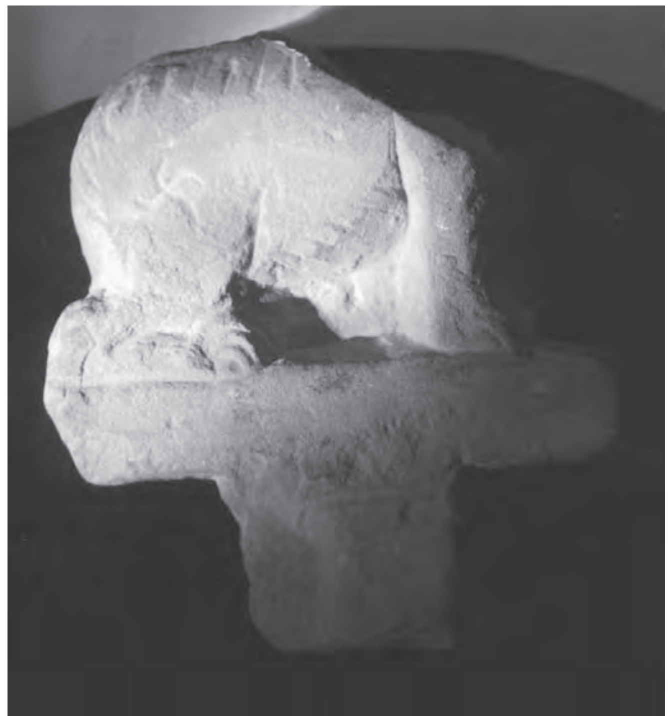


Fig. 180. Seated lion, reverse of Fig. 179; ca. second or third century CE. Photo: S. R. Quintanilla.



Fig. 181. Male figure riding a griffin, from Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 75–50 BCE. Sandstone; H. 1' 5½" × 10" (45 × 26 cm). Government Museum, Mathura; I.13. Photo: American Institute of Indian Studies.



Fig. 182. Architrave fragment with *makara*, dragon-legged composite figure, and lotus rhizome, from Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 50–20 BCE. Buff sandstone; H. 8" × L. 2'1½" (20 × 66 cm). Government Museum, Mathura; M.2. Photo: American Institute of Indian Studies.



Fig. 183. Detail of Fig. 182. Photo: S. R. Quintanilla.



Fig. 184. Coping fragment with walled garden, from Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 50–20 BCE. Red sandstone; H. 11½" × W. 1' 6" (29 × 46 cm). Formerly in the collection of Spink and Son (see *Artibus Asiae*, vol. 35, no. 3, 1973, end). Photo: Spink & Son.



Fig. 185. Bas relief panels on reverse of the Kaṭhika railing pillar, from Chaubāra-Ṭīlā, Mound A, Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 50–20 BCE. Red sandstone; H. 2' 7½" (80 cm). Government Museum, Mathura; J.7. Photo: American Institute of Indian Studies.



Fig. 186. Detail of Fig. 185. Photo: S. R. Quintanilla.



Fig. 187. Detail of Fig. 185. Photo: S. R. Quintanilla.



Fig. 188. Male figure or *yakṣa* on obverse of the Kaṭhika railing pillar (Fig. 185), from Chaubāra-Ṭīlā, Mound A, Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 50–20 BCE. Red sandstone; H. 2' 7½" (80 cm). Government Museum, Mathura; J.7. Photo: From L. Bachhofer, *Early Indian Sculpture*, Pl. 98.



Fig. 189. *Yakṣī* on a railing pillar donated by Kaṭhika, from Chaubāra-Ṭīlā, Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 50–20 BCE. Red sandstone; 4' 6" (137 cm). Private Collection, Switzerland. Photo by the owner.

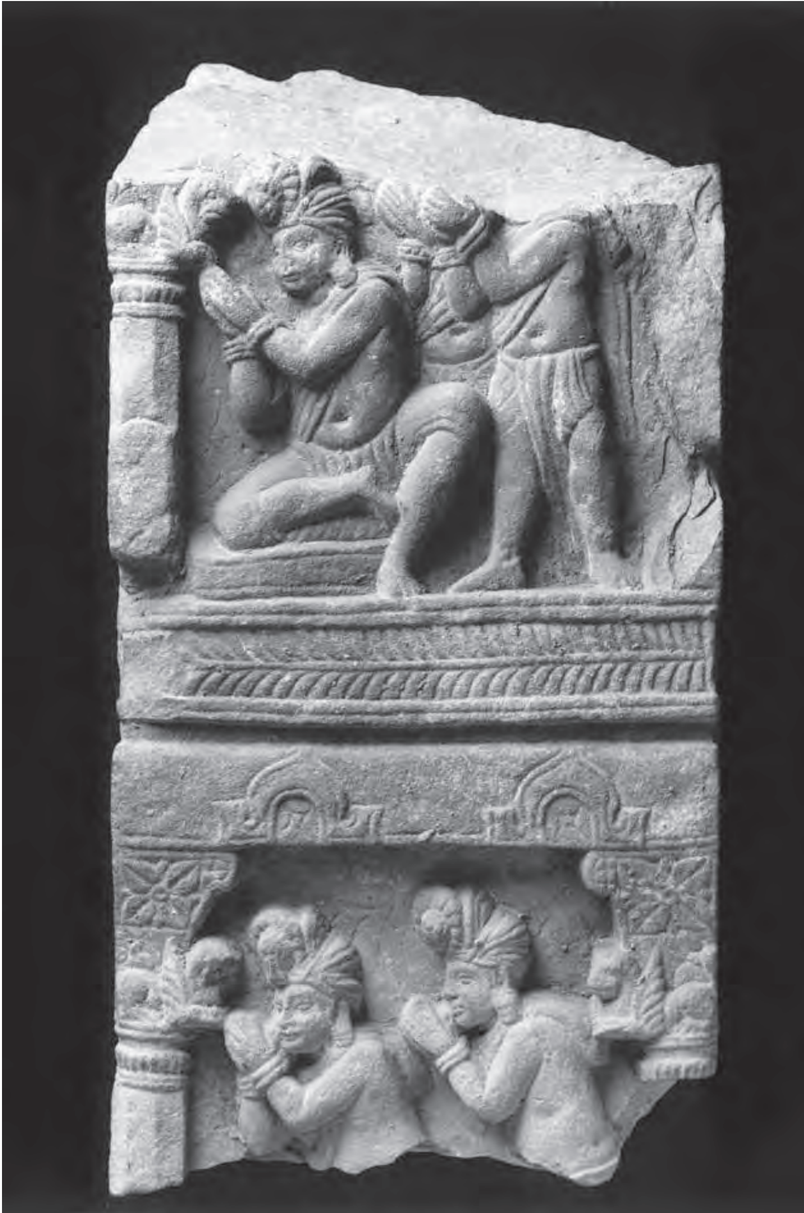


Fig. 190a. *Añjalī* pillar fragment, from Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 50–20 BCE. Red sandstone; H. 15 ¾" × W. 8 ½" (40 × 21.6 cm). In the collection of Spink & Son, 1997. Photo: Spink & Son, London.



Fig. 190b. *Āñjalī* pillar: female figure holding a palm fan, obverse of Fig. 190a, from Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 50–20 BCE. Red sandstone; H. 15 ¾" × W. 8 ½" (40 × 21.6 cm). In the collection of Spink & Son, 1997. Photo: Spink & Son, London.



Fig. 191. Gāyatrī-Ṭīlā doorjamb, from Gāyatrī-Ṭīlā, Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 50–20 BCE. Red sandstone; H. 1' 10" (55.9 cm). Government Museum, Mathura; 17.1343. Photo: From J. P. Vogel, *La Sculpture de Mathura*, Pl. LIX b.



Fig. 192. Detail of Dhanamitra *āyāgapaṭa*, from Kāṅkālī Ṭīlā, Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 20 BCE. Red sandstone; State Museum, Lucknow; J.250. See also Figs. 140–142b. Photo: S. R. Quintanilla.



Fig. 193. Jankhat doorjamb, from Jankhat, Farrukhabad District, western Uttar Pradesh; ca. 50–20 BCE. Buff sandstone; H. 3½′ × W. 1′ 7½″ (93 × 50 cm). Kannauj Archaeological Museum; 79/219. Photo: American Institute of Indian Studies.



Fig. 194. Reverse of Fig. 193. Photo: American Institute of Indian Studies.



Fig. 195. Jankhat doorjamb with *śālābhañjikā*, from Jankhat, Farrukhabad District, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 50–20 BCE. Buff sandstone. Kannauj Archaeological Museum; 79/ 218. Photo: American Institute of Indian Studies.



Fig. 196. Reverse of Fig. 195. Photo: American Institute of Indian Studies.



Fig. 197. Standing *nāga*, from Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; 297 CE (Year 170). Red sandstone; H. 48 7/8" × W. 14 7/8" × 6 7/8" (124.1 × 38.8 × 17.5 cm). Asian Art Museum, San Francisco, gift of the Walter and Phyllis Shorenstein Fund; B.86S4. Photo: ©Asian Art Museum.



Fig. 198. Isisiṃgiya (Ṛśyaśṛṅga) *Jātaka*, medallion of a railing pillar, from Bharhut, Madhya Pradesh; ca. 150 BCE. Plum sandstone. Indian Museum, Calcutta; no. 225. Photo: R. C. Sharma.



Fig. 199. Bharat Kala Bhavan *yakṣī*, from Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 50–20 BCE. Red and buff sandstone; H. 2' 6" × W. 7½" (76.2 × 19 cm). Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi; #695. Photo: S. R. Quintanilla.



Fig. 200. *Yakṣī*, from Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 20 BCE. Red sandstone; H. 21" × 9 ½" × 6" (53.34 × 24.13 × 15.24 cm). Los Angeles County Museum of Art, From the Nasli and Alice Heeramaneck Collection, ; L69.24.286. Photo: © 2006 Museum Associates/LACMA.



Fig. 201. Sanghol *yakṣī*, from Sanghol, eastern Punjab; ca. 150–200 CE. Red sandstone. Archaeological Museum, Sanghol; no. 112. Photo: From S. P. Gupta, ed., *Kushāṇa Sculptures from Sanghol*, p. 75, fig. 14.



Fig. 202. Woman riding a griffin, from Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 50–20 BCE. Red sandstone; H. 9¾" × W. 1' 4" (23 × 40.5 cm). Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi; #21768. Photo: American Institute of Indian Studies.



Fig. 203. Female votary from Faizabad (or Faizabad *yakṣī*), from Deokali, near Faizabad (now Ayodhya), exported from Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 50–20 BCE. Red sandstone; H. 3' 2½" (98.2 cm). Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi; #170. Photo: American Institute of Indian Studies.



Fig. 204. Detail of Fig. 203. Photo: American Institute of Indian Studies.



Fig. 205. Detail of Fig. 203. Photo: American Institute of Indian Studies.



Fig. 206. Detail of Fig. 203. Photo: American Institute of Indian Studies.



Fig. 207. Kaṅkālī-Ṭīlā *yakṣī*, from Kaṅkālī-Ṭīlā, Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 100–125 CE. Red sandstone; H. 1' 10" (55.88 cm). Government Museum, Mathura; 369. Photo: From L. Bachhofer, *Early Indian Sculpture*, Pl. 101.



Fig. 208. Detail of a *vedikā-stambha*, from Amaravati, Andhra Pradesh; ca. second century CE. Limestone. Government Museum, Madras. Photo: From A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Yakṣas*, Pl. 42a.



Fig. 209. Detail of a coping, from Besnagar, Madhya Pradesh; ca. 100–50 BCE. Gray sandstone; length of whole coping is 11' 6" × H. 11" (3.5 × 0.28 m). Gwalior Museum; #11. Photo: S. R. Quintanilla.



Fig. 210. Camuṇḍa-Ṭīlā capital, from Camuṇḍa-Ṭīlā, Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. last quarter of the first century BCE. Red sandstone; H. 2' 5" (74 cm). Government Museum, Mathura; 72.7. Photo: American Institute of Indian Studies.



Fig. 211. Reverse of Fig. 210. Photo: American Institute of Indian Studies.



Fig. 212. Detail of Fig. 210. Photo: S. R. Quintanilla.



Fig. 213. Mathura lion capital, from Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 2 BCE–6 CE. Red sandstone; H. 1' 8" (50.8 cm). British Museum; 1889, 3-14,1. B & M. Photo: Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.



Fig. 214. Reverse of Fig. 213. Photo: Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

Fig. 215. Bottom of Fig. 213. Photo: British Museum.

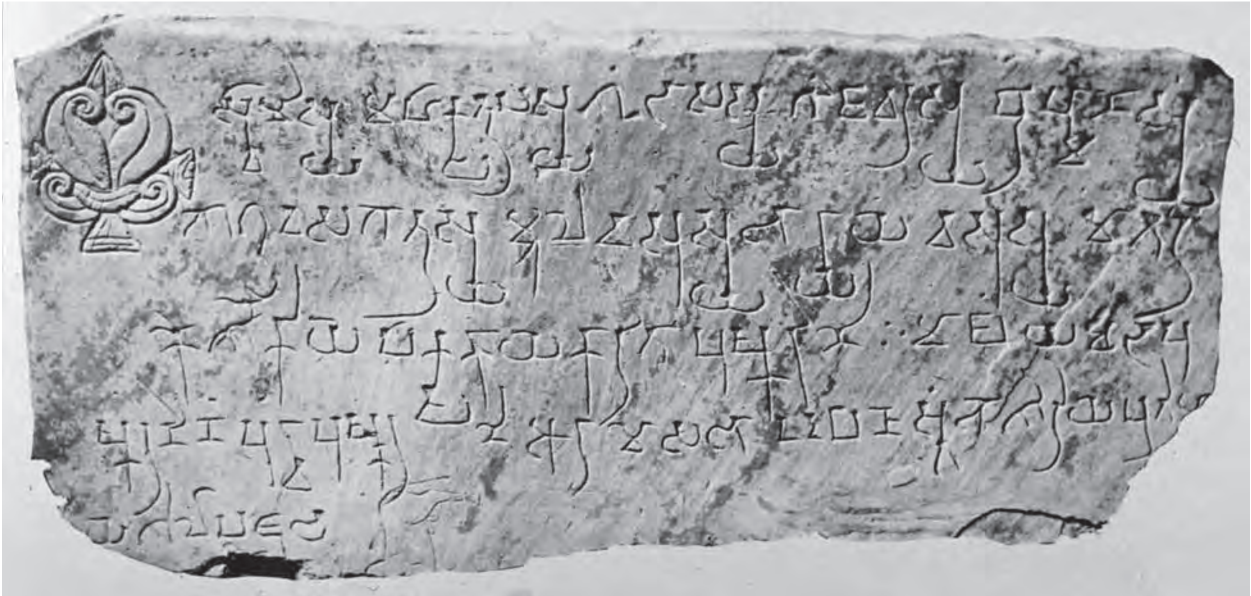


Fig. 216. Mirjāpur stele inscription, from Mirjāpur Village, southern outskirts of Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 15 CE. Red sandstone; H. 1' 5" × W. 3' (44 × 96 cm). Government Museum, Mathura; 79.29. Photo: From R. C. Sharma, "New Inscriptions from Mathurā," in *Mathura: The Cultural Heritage*, ed. Doris Meth Srinivasan, Pl. 31.I.A.



Fig. 217. Katrā *toraṇa* fragment, from Katrā Keśavadeva, Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 15 CE. Red sandstone; H. 11½" × W. 8¾" × D. 7½" (29.21 × 22.225 × 19.05). Government Museum, Mathura; 54.3768. Photo: S. R. Quintanilla.



Fig. 218. Katrā *toraṇa* fragment, from Katrā Keśavadeva, Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 15 CE. Red sandstone; H. 11½" × W. 8¾" × D. 7½" (29.21 × 22.225 × 19.05 cm). Government Museum, Mathura; 54.3768. Photo: American Institute of Indian Studies.



Fig. 219. *Mahābodhi Jātaka*, from Bharhut, Madhya Pradesh; ca. 150 BCE. Plum sandstone. Indian Museum, Calcutta. Photo: From A. K. Coomaraswamy, *La Sculpture de Bharhut*, fig. 137.



Fig. 220. *Secha Jātaka*, from Bharhut, Madhya Pradesh; ca. 150 BCE. Plum sandstone. Indian Museum, Calcutta. Photo: From A. K. Coomaraswamy, *La Sculpture de Bharhut*, Fig. 237.



Fig. 221. *Ardhaphālakas*, from Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 15 CE. Red sandstone; H. 7¼" × W. 24½" (18.4 × 61.5 cm). Brooklyn Museum of Art; 87.188.5. Photo: Brooklyn Museum of Art.



Fig. 222. National Museum tympanum, from Kaṅkālī-Ṭīlā, Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 15 CE. Red sandstone; H. 3' 3" (99.1 cm). National Museum, New Delhi; J.555. Photo: From L. Bachhofer, *Early Indian Sculpture*, Pl. 102; Fig. 224.



Fig 223. National Museum tympanum, from Kaṅkālī-Ṭīlā, Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 15 CE. Red sandstone; H. 3' 3" (99.1 cm). National Museum, New Delhi; J.555. Photo: From L. Bachhofer, *Early Indian Sculpture*, Pl. 102; Fig. 224.



Fig. 224. Detail of Fig. 222. Photo: From P. Pal ed., *The Peaceful Liberators: Jain Art from India*, Los Angeles, 1994, p. 102.



Fig. 225. Detail of Fig. 222. Photo: S. R. Quintanilla.



Fig. 226. Detail of Fig. 222. Photo: S. R. Quintanilla.



Fig. 227. Detail of Fig. 222. Photo: S. R. Quintanilla.



Fig. 228. Detail of Fig. 222. Photo: S. R. Quintanilla.



Fig. 229. Detail of Fig. 223. Photo: S. R. Quintanilla.


Fig. 230. Detail of Fig. 223. Photo: S. R. Quintanilla.


Fig. 231. Detail of Fig. 223. Photo: S. R. Quintanilla.



Fig. 232. Detail of Fig. 223. Photo: S. R. Quintanilla.



Fig. 233. Jaina tympanum, from Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 150–200 CE. Red sandstone; H. 12½" × W. 2' 2½" (31.75 × 36.83). State Museum, Lucknow; B.207. Photo: S. R. Quintanilla.



Fig. 234. Balahastinī doorjamb, from Kaṅkālī-Ṭīlā, Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 15 CE. Red sandstone; H. 2' 6" × W. 9" (76.5 × 23 cm). State Museum, Lucknow; J.532. Photo: S. R. Quintanilla.



Fig. 235. Detail of Fig. 234. Photo: American Institute of Indian Studies.



Fig. 236. Detail of Fig. 234. Photo: S. R. Quintanilla.



Fig. 237. Reverse of Fig. 234. Photo: S. R. Quintanilla.



Fig. 238. Detail of Fig. 237. Photo: S. R. Quintanilla.



→

Fig. 239. Ṛśyaśṛṅga Pillar, from Govindnagar, Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 15 CE. Red sandstone; H. 4' × W. 8½" × D. 6½" (H. 139 × 21.59 × 16.51 cm). Government Museum, Mathura; 76.40. Photo: S. R. Quintanilla.



Fig. 240. Detail of Fig. 239. Photo: S. R. Quintanilla.



Fig. 241. Detail of Fig. 239. Photo: S. R. Quintanilla.



Fig. 242. Detail of Fig. 239. Photo: S. R. Quintanilla.


Fig. 243. Detail of Fig. 239. Photo: S. R. Quintanilla.


Fig. 244. Reverse of Fig. 239. Photo: S. R. Quintanilla.


Fig. 245. Detail of Fig. 244. Photo: S. R. Quintanilla.



Fig.246. Detail of Fig. 244. Photo: S. R. Quintanilla.



Fig. 247. Detail of Fig. 244. Photo: S. R. Quintanilla.



Fig. 248. Detail of Fig. 244. Photo: S. R. Quintanilla.



Fig. 249. Norton Simon Museum pillar, from Govindnagar, Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 15 CE. Red sandstone; H. 7' 7" × W. 8 5/8" × D 8¾" (231 × 21.59 × 22.225 cm). Norton Simon Museum; F.1975.07.S. Photo: The Norton Simon Foundation, Pasadena, CA.

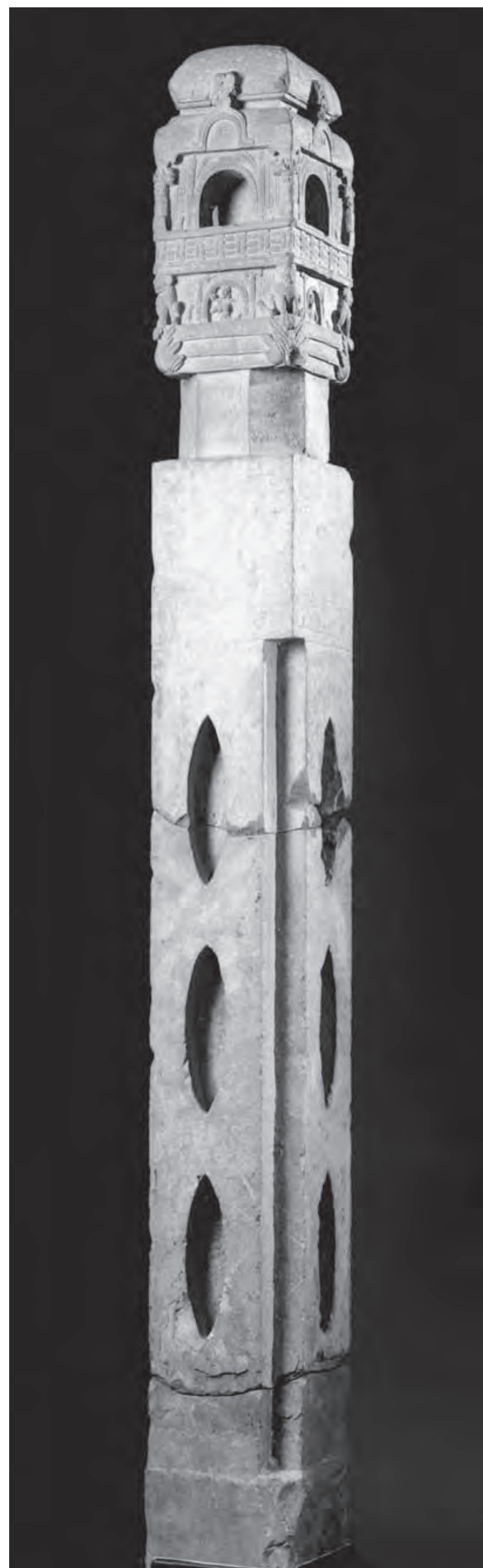


Fig. 250. Reverse of Fig. 249. Photo: The Norton Simon Foundation, Pasadena, CA.



Fig. 251. Detail of Fig. 249. Photo: The Norton Simon Foundation, Pasadena, CA.



Fig. 252. Detail of Fig. 249. Photo: S. R. Quintanilla.



Fig. 253. Detail of Fig. 249. Photo: The Norton Simon Foundation, Pasadena, CA.



Fig. 254. Detail of Fig. 249. Photo: The Norton Simon Foundation, Pasadena, CA.



Fig. 255. Detail of Fig. 249. Photo: The Norton Simon Foundation, Pasadena, CA.



Fig. 256. Detail of Fig. 249. Photo: The Norton Simon Foundation, Pasadena, CA.



Fig. 257. Detail of Fig. 249. Photo: The Norton Simon Foundation, Pasadena, CA.



Fig. 258. Detail of Fig. 249. Photo: The Norton Simon Foundation, Pasadena, CA.



Fig. 259. Detail of Fig. 249. Photo: The Norton Simon Foundation, Pasadena, CA.



Fig. 260. Detail of Fig. 249. Photo: The Norton Simon Foundation, Pasadena, CA.



Fig. 261. Detail of Fig. 249. Photo: The Norton Simon Foundation, Pasadena, CA.



Fig. 262. Īsāpur railing, from Īsāpur Village, opposite bank from Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 15 CE. Buff sandstone; H. 1' 7" (48.2 cm). Government Museum, Mathura; H.12. Photo: American Institute of Indian Studies.



Fig. 263. Brahmin hermit instructing disciples, from Bharhut, Madhya Pradesh; ca. 150 BCE. Plum sandstone. Indian Museum, Calcutta. Photo: From A. K. Coomaraswamy, *La Sculpture de Bharhut*, Fig. 172.



Fig. 264. Vasu doorjamb, found in the cantonment, Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 15 CE. Red sandstone; H. 8' 5" × W. 1' 4" × D. 8" (256.54 × 40.64 × 20.32 cm). Government Museum, Mathura; 13.367. Photo: American Institute of Indian Studies.



Fig. 265. Morā doorjamb, from Morā, seven miles (11.27 km) west of Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 15 CE. Red sandstone; H. 8½' × W. 1' (265 × 30 cm). State Museum, Lucknow; J.526. Photo: American Institute of Indian Studies.

Fig. 266. Detail from reverse of Fig. 265. Photo: American Institute of Indian Studies.

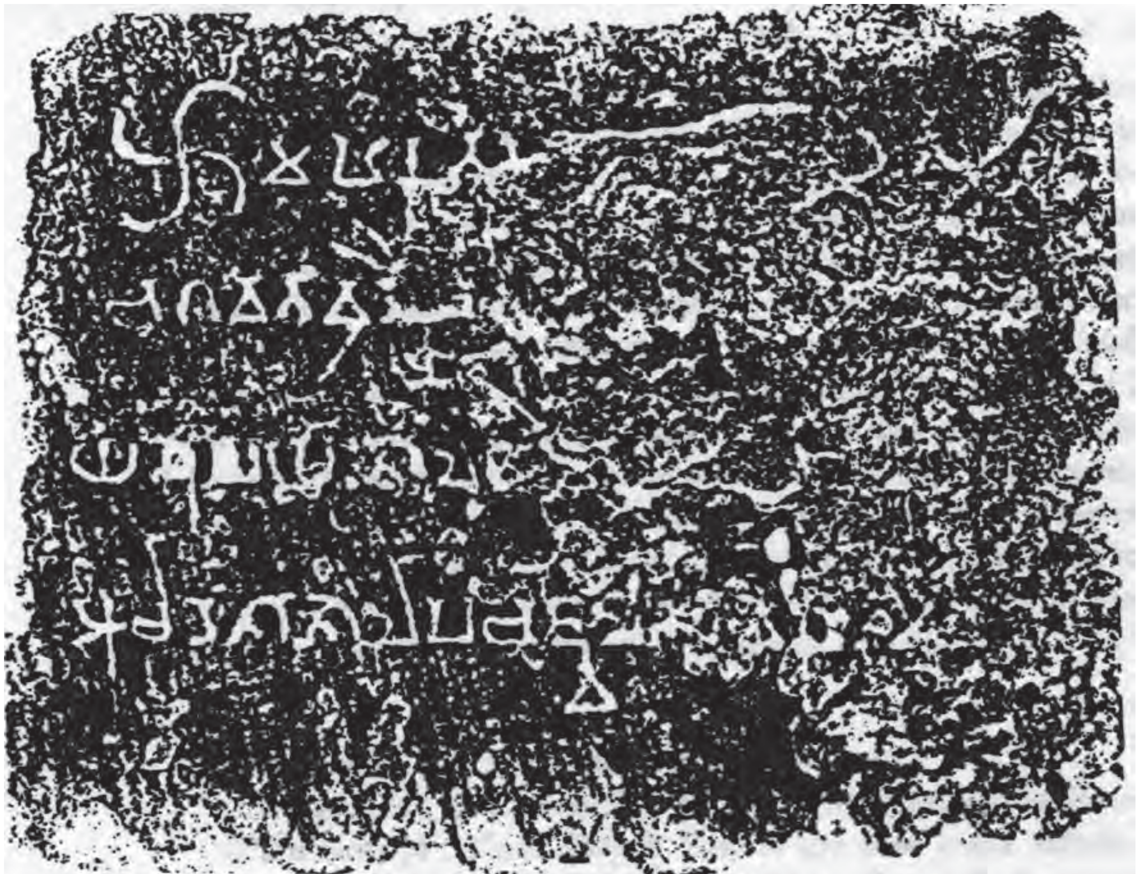


Fig. 267. Morā well inscription, from Morā, seven miles (11.27 km) west of Mathura, Uttar Pradesh, ca. 15 CE. Red sandstone; H. 11' 2" × W. 2' 11" (350.6 × 916 cm). Government Museum, Mathura; Q.1. Photo: From H. Lüders, "Seven Brahmi Inscriptions from Mathura, Uttar Pradesh and its Vicinity," Fig. I.



Fig. 268. Architectural fragment with man playing a stringed instrument, from Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 15 CE. Red sandstone; H. 11 1/3" × W. 9 7/8" (28.5 × 25 cm). State Museum, Lucknow; J.632. Photo: S. R. Quintanilla.



Fig. 269. Architectural fragment, from Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 15 CE. Red sandstone; H. 7½" × W. 11½" (19 × 29.21 cm). State Museum, Lucknow; J.627. Photo: American Institute of Indian Studies.



Fig. 270. Architectural fragment, from Kaṭhoti well, Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 15 CE. Red sandstone; H. 7" × W. 11" × D. 3" (28.5 × 17.5 cm). Government Museum, Mathura; 14.405. Photo: American Institute of Indian Studies.



Fig. 271. Akrūr-Ṭīlā *devatā*, from Akrūr-Ṭīlā, Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 15 CE. Red sandstone; H. 2' (61.5cm). Government Museum, Mathura; F.6. Photo: S. R. Quintanilla.



Fig. 272. Reverse of Fig. 271. Photo: American Institute of Indian Studies.



Fig. 273. Detail of the Amohini *āyavati* (see also Figs. 148 and 149), from Kaṅkālī-Ṭīlā, Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; CE 15 (Year Seventy-Two). Red sandstone. State Museum, Lucknow; J.1. Photo: American Institute of Indian Studies.



Fig. 274. Fragment of a coping stone, from Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 15 CE. Buff sandstone; H. 8½" × W. 2' (21.6 × 64.8 cm). Formerly in the Doris Wiener Gallery, New York; current location unknown. Photo: Sotheby's, auction catalogue *Indian and Southeast Asian Art*, September 21, 1995.



Fig. 275. Architectural fragment with *stūpa* and *nāgas*, from Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 15 CE. Buff sandstone. H. 2' × 15" (61 × 37.5 cm). Government Museum, Mathura; I.9. Photo: S. R. Quintanilla.



Fig. 276. Morā torso, from Morā Village, seven miles (11.27 km) west of Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 15 CE. Red sandstone; H. 2' 3" (68.58 cm). Government Museum, Mathura; E.22. Photo: American Institute of Indian Studies.



Fig. 277. Side view of Fig. 276. Photo: S. R. Quintanilla.



Fig. 278. Morā torso, from Morā Village, seven miles (11.27 km) west of Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 15 CE. Red sandstone; H. 3' (91.44 cm). Government Museum, Mathura; E.21. Photo: S. R. Quintanilla.



Fig. 279. Reverse of Fig. 278. Photo: S. R. Quintanilla.



Fig. 280. Agni, from Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 15 CE. Red sandstone; H. 19" × 11" (48.26 × 27.94 cm). Bharat Kala Bhavan, Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi; #23171. Photo: S. R. Quintanilla.



Fig. 281. Standing male divinity, from Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 15 CE. Buff sandstone; H. 21" × W. 15" (53.34 × 38.1 cm). Government Museum, Mathura; 35.2576. Photo: S. R. Quintanilla.



Fig. 282. Reverse of Fig. 281. Photo: S. R. Quintanilla.



Fig. 283. Seated male figure, from Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 15 CE. Red sandstone; H. 22½" (57 cm). Linden-Museum, Staatliche Museum für Völkerkunde, Stuttgart; SA 35687L. Photo: Ursula Didoni for Linden-Museum.



Fig. 284. Buddhist tympanum, from Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. second quarter of the first century CE. Red sandstone; H. 30" × W. 20" (78 × 50.8 cm). Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; 1926.241. Photo: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.



Fig. 285. Buddhist tympanum, from Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. second quarter of the first century CE. Red sandstone; H. 30" × W. 20" (78 × 50.8 cm). Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; 1926.241. Photo: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.



Fig. 286. Buddhist tympanum, from Jamālpur-Ṭīlā, Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 150 CE. Red sandstone; H. 3' (94 cm). National Museum, New Delhi; I.1. Photo: From L. Bachhofer, *Early Indian Sculpture*, Pl. 103.



Fig. 287. Buddhist tympanum, from Jamālpur-Ṭīlā, Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 150 CE. Red sandstone; H. 3' (94 cm). National Museum, New Delhi; I.1. Photo: From L. Bachhofer, *Early Indian Sculpture*, Pl. 103.



Fig. 288. Coping stone with *Romaka Jātaka*, from Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 25–50 CE. Buff sandstone; H. 9" × L. 3' (23 × 92 cm). Government Museum, Mathura; I.4. Photo: S. R. Quintanilla.



Fig. 289. Bas relief panel with the Buddha addressing a king, from Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 50–100 CE. Buff sandstone; H. 12" × W. 18" × D. 3" (30.48 × 45.72 × 7.62); State Museum, Lucknow; J.531. Photo: American Institute of Indian Studies.



Fig. 290. Architrave fragment with three men and elephant riders, from Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 50 CE. Buff sandstone; H. 1' × 1' 9" (30 × 54 cm). Government Museum, Mathura; S.N. 203. Photo: American Institute of Indian Studies.



Fig. 291. Naigameṣin architrave, from Kaṅkālī-Ṭīlā, Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca 75–100 CE. Red sandstone; H. 10" × 1' 10" (25 × 55 cm). State Museum, Lucknow; J.626/528. Photo: American Institute of Indian Studies.



Fig. 292. Detail of Fig. 291. Photo: S. R. Quintanilla.



Fig. 293. Detail of Fig. 291. Photo: S. R. Quintanilla.



Fig. 294. Reverse of Fig. 291. Photo: American Institute of Indian Studies.



Fig. 295. Indraśaila architrave, from Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 75–100 CE. Red sandstone; H. 7 ½" × W. 8' (19 × 252 cm). Government Museum, Mathura; M.3. Photo: From L. Bachhofer, *Early Indian Sculpture*, Pl. 104.

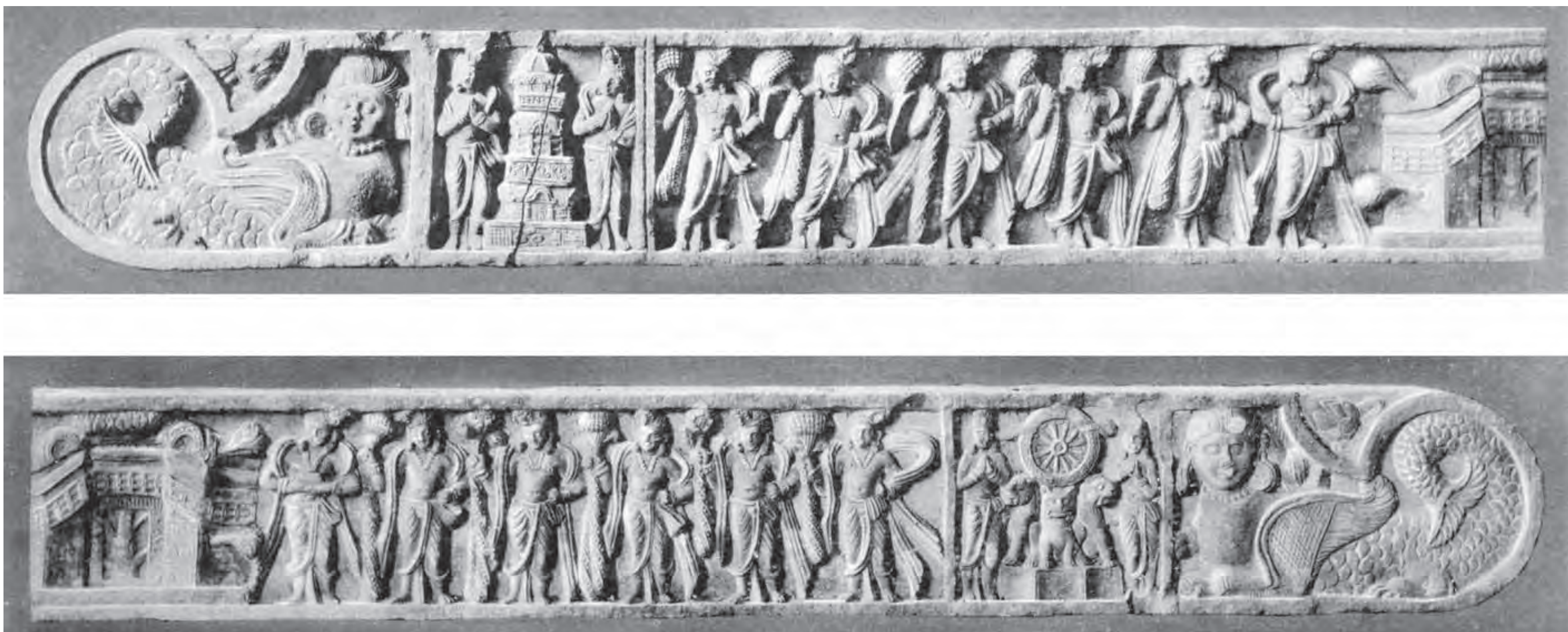


Fig. 296. Indraśaila architrave, from Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 75–100 CE. Red sandstone; H. 7 ½" × W. 8' (19 × 252 cm). Government Museum, Mathura; M.3. Photo: From L. Bachhofer, *Early Indian Sculpture*, Pl. 104.



Fig. 297. Detail of Fig. 295. Photo: S. R. Quintanilla.



Fig. 298. Detail of Fig. 295. Photo: S. R. Quintanilla.



Fig. 299. Detail of Fig. 296. Photo: American Institute of Indian Studies.



Fig. 300. Detail of Fig. 296. Photo: American Institute of Indian Studies.



Fig. 301. Detail of Fig. 296. Photo: American Institute of Indian Studies.



Fig. 302. Buddhist pedestal with Indra and Brahmā, from Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 50–100 CE. Buff sandstone; H. 28" × W. 33" (71 × 83.82 cm). State Museum, Lucknow; B.18. Photo: S. R. Quintanilla.



Fig. 303. Harvard Buddha triad, from Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 75–100 CE. Spotted red sandstone; H. 7" × W. 8½" (18.5 × 21.5 cm). Harvard University, Arthur M. Sackler Museum, Ernst B. and Helen Pratt Dane Fund for the Acquisition of Oriental Art, 1982.51. Photo: S. R. Quintanilla.



Fig. 304. *Nāga*, from Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 75–100 CE. Buff sandstone; H. 3' 7" (1.07 m). Government Museum, Mathura; 17.1257. Photo: S. R. Quintanilla.



Fig. 305. Standing male divinity, from Ganeśarā, Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 75–100 CE. Red sandstone; H. 9½' (3 m). State Museum, Lucknow; B.12. Photo: American Institute of Indian Studies.



Fig. 306. Reverse of Fig. 305. Photo: S. R. Quintanilla.



Fig. 307. *Yakṣī*, from Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; ca. 75–100 CE. Red sandstone; H. 4' (124.4 cm). The Cleveland Museum of Art, Purchase from the J. H. Wade Fund 1968.104. Photo: © The Cleveland Museum of Art.



Fig. 308. Reverse of Fig. 307. Photo: S. R. Quintanilla.



Fig. 309. Pedestal of Mahāvīra, Mathura, Uttar Pradesh; 113 or 114 CE (Year 299). Pink sandstone. State Museum, Lucknow; J.2. Photo: S. R. Quintanilla.



Fig. 310. Detail of Fig. 309. Photo: S. R. Quintanilla.